

The Aristocracy
in the
County of Champagne,
1100-1300



Theodore Evergates

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*The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne,
1100–1300*

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*The Aristocracy in the
County of Champagne,
1100–1300*

THEODORE EVERGATES

PENN

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Introduction

The medieval county of Champagne is well known for its court under Count Henry the Liberal and Countess Marie and for its trade fairs, which made Champagne the crossroads of international commerce and finance through most of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But the county's achievements in fact were much broader than that. In recent decades intense scholarly study has revealed Champagne's contributions in the domains of art and architecture, monasticism (especially Cistercian), and intellectual life as well as literature. At the same time, a steady stream of critical editions (ecclesiastical cartularies, chancery registers, the customary) and meticulous genealogical studies of the region's important families continues to enlarge our understanding of the county and its medieval society. Still lacking, however, is a broad study of the county's aristocracy.¹ This book attempts to fill that void.

This study is primarily a sociological analysis of a regional elite, its formation and evolution, and its practices. It does not attempt to provide a detailed political history of the county over two centuries or a comprehensive catalog of all the important families. Nor does it view the aristocracy primarily through its military activities. It seeks rather to understand the critical relationships within the aristocracy: between the barons and the counts, fiefholders and their lords, husbands and wives, parents and children, and between siblings. It seeks also to track the life courses of individuals, both men and women, as well as the fates of lineages. Since women are pervasively present in the sources and involved in numerous domains too often assumed to have been restricted to men, the approach here is to examine men and women together within a single social fabric. In the process, we encounter a cast of characters as captivating as the Arthurian characters invented by Chrétien de Troyes, who surely knew some of the individuals mentioned here.

Champagne is an ideal laboratory for examining a medieval aristocracy.² It possesses an exceptionally rich, varied, and in some respects unique collection of source materials relating directly to aristocratic families and their practices. Moreover, since direct royal influence remained episodic and peripheral during the county's existence as an independent principality (1152–1285), a line of counts—not kings—shaped the region's institutions, customs, identity, and in large measure the aristocracy itself. Thus it

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is possible to observe the evolution of a regional aristocracy through the entire life cycle of a medieval principality, from the emergence of Champagne as a new political entity in the mid-twelfth century under Henry the Liberal to its demise as an independent polity after the marriage of its heirless Jeanne to the future King Philip IV.

Chapters 1–2 treat the evolving relationships between the counts and the barons and fiefholders. They examine the state-building techniques that Henry I the Liberal (1152–81) used to create a new principality east of the royal domain, and the policies of Thibaut III and Blanche (1198–1222), who molded a loosely affiliated baronage into a landed aristocracy accountable to a well-oiled bureaucracy. These chapters stress the omnipresence of fiefs and their role in the rise of the comital state and the evolution of the aristocracy within the principality. Chapter 3 argues that the circulation of fiefs through grant, benefaction, inheritance, mortgage, sale, and allodial conversion constituted a veritable market from the early decades of the twelfth century. The counts, castle lords, knights, and religious communities all participated in that market and reacted to its unintended consequences, as reflected in the shifting policies of the counts—permissive in the twelfth century, restrictive in the thirteenth—toward the alienation of fiefs to the church. The significance of fiefholding itself evolved: largely limited to knights and castle lords until the late twelfth century, it came to be regarded as an aristocratic tenure open to women and nonknighted men in the thirteenth century. The fief market was a forum, in essence, where relations between the counts, the fiefholding aristocracy, and religious communities intersected in their most concrete terms.

Chapters 4–6 examine what might be called family practices. They begin with a review of the terminology (primogeniture, patrilineage, and patrimony) that has acquired canonical standing among social and literary historians for the analysis of the medieval family but fails to accord with the evidence from Champagne and from northern and eastern France more generally. Since the elementary form of the aristocratic family was in fact the conjugal unit, not lineage, the customs framing the medieval notion of the family—community property, familial consent, the lifetime dower, and partible inheritance—are centrally important here, especially in how they affected women. Not all women disappeared behind their husbands during marriage (at least in the extant documents); some appeared prominently as co-lords with their husbands, and later as forceful widows. It is simply not the case that widows were systematically expelled from their residences and that younger sons and daughters were dispossessed in the interests of eldest sons. In fact, the principle of partibility assured all children an equitable share of the parental property. Taken together, the practices of aristocratic families reveal a deep stability in the norms surrounding the conjugal family and the devolution of property but a large measure of variation in

the implementation of those norms resulting from the vagaries of individual lives.

Chapters 7–8 turn to the fates of individuals and families. A prosopographical analysis based on sixty-four minibiographies (Appendix D), attempts to identify patterns in the life courses of both women and men, including age at first marriage, succession, and knighthood; duration of marriage and widowhood; frequency of remarriage; and longevity. What the prosopographical analysis reveals, beyond a few elementary patterns, is a great variety of life courses, affected as they were by personal decisions and family circumstances as much as by customary norms. The histories of several well-documented castle-holding families confirm the inherent instability of succession, no matter whether a family possessed a single castle or several, or was a derivative lineage or a new one. It is remarkable how many lineages survived through younger sons and daughters and how few “new men” managed to reach the highest echelons of the aristocracy solely through marriage or service to the count.

The scope of this study has been determined by the nature and availability of the sources. Champagne lacks the local and regional chronicles like those available for Flanders and the Anglo-Norman that might have provided a contemporary narrative of the deeds of the counts. The Cistercian chronicler Aubry of Trois-Fontaines, a keen observer of the regional families, could have written such an account, but his “universal” history has little to say about the counts of Champagne and their county.³ This study consequently relies on three other types of record. The first consists of what are described generically as “charters,” the written instruments preserved by religious communities as records of their possessions and privileges. Consisting of internally drafted notices and letters patent sealed by the counts, prelates, and barons, these documents record property transactions for the most part (donations, bequests, confirmations, sales, mortgages) and resolutions of disputes (arbitrations and court judgments). Since they name the principals and family members involved in the transactions, as well as the witnesses and lordly consenters to the acts, these documents furnish the basic building blocks for reconstituting the lives of the individuals mentioned in them. By their sheer number and specificity (the acts after 1120 are usually dated to the year and month, and some even to the day), charters are fundamental to any study of a medieval aristocracy.

The second set of records, documents produced by the count’s officials, is of particular importance for viewing the aristocracy through the eyes of the prince. From the mid-twelfth century, the chancery drafted the count’s outgoing letters patent and produced a number of administrative registers dealing with governance and fiefholding. The unique series of registers of fiefs and homages (1178–1275), in effect, a database of the count’s fiefholders, makes possible a rudimentary quantitative analysis of an entire regional aristocracy over the course of several generations. Although only

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fragments of the count's financial accounts survive, there do exist important extracts from the registers of the High Court (1270–90), which cite the principles of family and property law extending back to the early decades of the thirteenth century, and in some instances (for example, regarding the dower custom) to the twelfth century. These three sets of comital records—the count's letters, the chancery's registers, the High Court's adjudications—are critical to this study because they illuminate relations between the counts and the aristocracy independent of the records produced by ecclesiastical institutions.

The third set of records consists of the letters patent drawn up for and sealed by aristocratic men and women, both for their private transactions and for their communications with the count and his officials. Although long subsumed under the generic category of “charter,” the aristocratic letters patent actually constitute a distinct genre of document, part of a revolution in the production and validation of written instruments in the twelfth century.⁴ By 1200, letters patent were commonly used for all kinds of strictly lay transactions. If we have underestimated their significance it is because, in the absence of extant family archives, relatively few of them survive. Most of the aristocratic letters patent known today were deposited in the count's chancery archive, which in the thirteenth century held the largest collection of those letters outside the royal chancery. They provide a mine of information about family customs (marriage, dowry, dower, inheritance) and practices relating to fiefholding (homage, tenure, the circulation of fiefs). Since the letters patent often “speak” for the aristocratic sealers in whose name they were written, they considerably enrich an already ample dossier on the customary practices of a regional aristocracy.

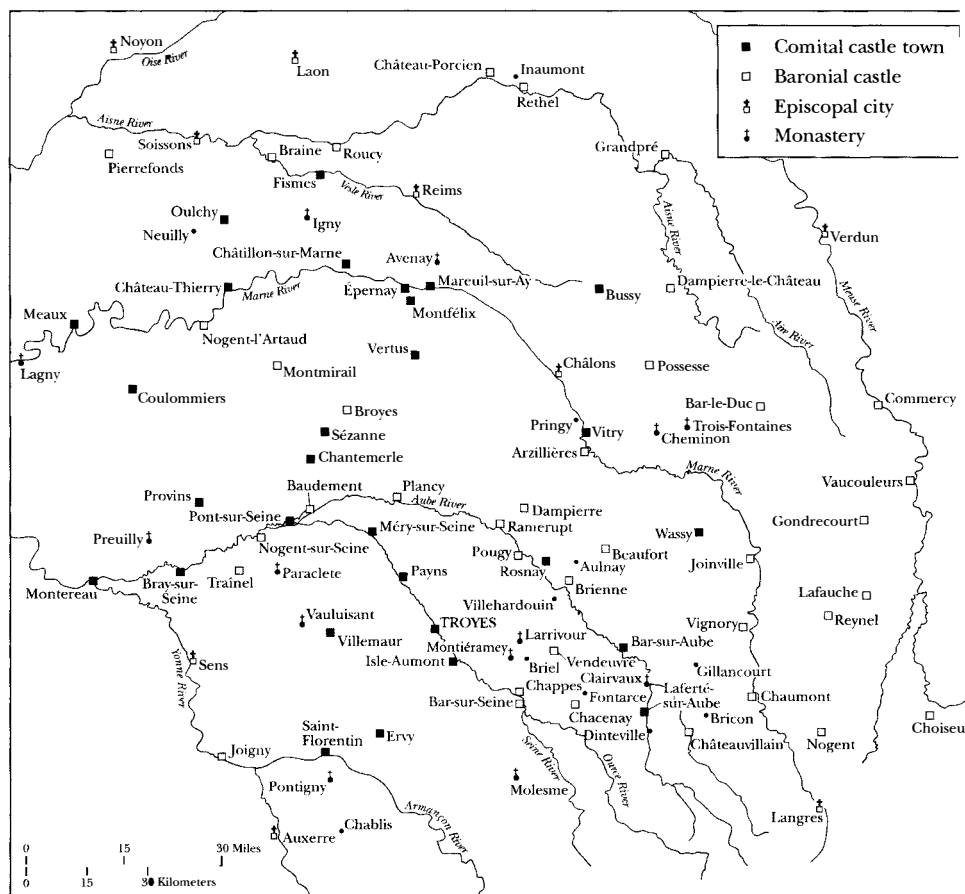
This study rests on an enormous collection of source materials; each chapter, in fact, could well have yielded a separate monograph. Since the purpose of this book is to present a coherent regional picture, I have tried to steer a course between documenting the minutiae of strictly local interest and drawing broad generalizations at the expense of the regional details. The notes contain extended quotations from the texts for the benefit of those who are unable to consult the documents in archival collections or in editions not readily available.

Chapter 1

Forming the County and a Regional Aristocracy

The vast open lands (*campi*) east of Paris bounded by the rivers Aisne, Meuse, and Yonne were among the last regions of medieval France to acquire territorial cohesion. Even into the twelfth century, Champagne remained a highly fragmented frontier zone between the French royal domain and the German Empire, extending from Burgundy in the south to Namur in the north. The region eluded domination by its immediate neighbors in part because the largest urban centers and their surrounding counties became episcopal principalities in the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries. By 1100 Reims, Châlons, and Langres were independent episcopal lordships; Sens came under joint royal-episcopal control; and Meaux was shared by its count and bishop. Of the old episcopal cities in Champagne, only Troyes and its county remained under a firm lay hand.¹ The existence of a large number of lesser counts and castle lords ensconced in their allodial enclaves further compounded the task of forging a regional polity.

It would have seemed improbable, before the First Crusade, that Champagne would emerge in the twelfth century as one of the premier territorial states of northern France. That it did so was due entirely to a dynasty of energetic counts. Their farsighted economic policies stimulated new rural settlements, encouraged urban expansion, and promoted a series of trade fairs that made Champagne the center of international trade and finance. Widely reputed for their benefactions to religious houses, the counts also generously endowed the new reformed monasteries in the countryside and founded chapters of secular canons in their most populous towns. Their cultural interests and patronage made Troyes a preeminent court as well, best known today from the imaginative works of Chrétien de Troyes. But their most enduring contribution was to reorganize the political space of Champagne by creating a new principality with a durable administrative apparatus to manage it. The rise of the comital state, in fact, played a determining role in forging a disparate collection of virtually independent barons and knights into a regional aristocracy with shared customs, institutions, and identity. Indeed, the aristocracy in Champagne became



Map 1. The County of Champagne in 1181.

inextricably tied to the comital state and cannot be understood without reference to it.

Champagne Before the County, 1093–1152

The territorial consolidation of Champagne was a long and fitful process that began in the eleventh century, when the counts of Blois acquired extensive holdings in the region directly east of the French royal domain. Count Odo II (996–1037) inherited the two largest and contiguous old counties, Meaux and Troyes (1021), as well as a number of discrete lordships, including Épernay, Provins, Château-Thierry, and Saint-Florentin.² His successor, Thibaut III (1037–89), split that haphazard collection of lands into two relatively cohesive blocks for the eldest sons of his two wives.³

The firstborn Stephen, who became count of Blois (1089–1102), inherited the lands directly east of the royal domain centered on Meaux and the adjacent lordships of Provins and Montereau, a region later known as Brie. For the next half century, those counties and lordships on either side of the royal domain were ruled successively by Stephen's widow Adela (1102–20) and their son Thibaut IV (count of Blois, 1120–52). The county of Troyes passed to Thibaut III's second son, Odo (1089–93), who died without issue, then to the youngest, Hugh, who soon also inherited his mother Adelaide of Valois' adjacent counties of Bar-sur-Aube and Vitry.⁴ By 1100 Hugh held the three contiguous counties in southern Champagne that formed the core of the future "county of Champagne."

COUNT HUGH

Count Hugh (1093–1125) was the first authentic count of Champagne in the sense that his counties of Troyes, Bar-sur-Aube, and Vitry were commonly identified with the region called Champagne, as distinct from the county of Meaux in Brie.⁵ The monastic scribes who drew up his charters called him variously "count of Troyes," after his paternal inheritance, and "count of Champagne," in recognition of his multicounty lordship in southern Champagne.⁶ But Hugh himself preferred "count of Troyes," the title associated with his most important (and only episcopal) town, where he had his primary residence and frequently held court within the old walled city.⁷ His first public act, a monastic benefaction in 1094, symbolically marked the beginning of a new era for Champagne by later becoming the oldest document in the comital archive.⁸

Like most peripatetic lords of the time, Hugh is most visible to us when he held court in his various residences or visited monasteries in order to observe holy days and conduct *colloquia* with his powerful neighbors. Since the documents produced on those occasions invariably record his benefactions and confirmations of earlier donations, or resolutions of disputes regarding monastic property, they tell us little about strictly secular affairs. But they do depict Hugh as a protector of monasteries who could discipline abusive advocates and usurping barons.⁹ Even Pope Urban II, a native of Châtillon-sur-Marne, sought Hugh's aid in combating malefactors on church lands, while the monks of Saint-Germain of Auxerre noted approvingly that Hugh "ruled his lands vigorously."¹⁰

The exact relationship between Hugh and his barons is difficult to ascertain in the absence of written attestations of homage like those found in southern France, and of narrative accounts like the chronicles written in the Anglo-Norman realm and Flanders.¹¹ What can be gleaned from the monastic property records suggests that Hugh practiced a collegial type of lordship. They quote him as acting "with the advice of my barons" in important matters, as in endowing the new Cistercian monastery Che-

minon and in founding a priory of Molesme in his castle at Isle-Aumont.¹² About twenty barons appeared with Hugh at one time or another, notably the counts of Bar-sur-Seine, Brienne, and Joigny, and the lords (*domini*) of Baudement, Broyes, Chacenay, Chappes, Châtillon, Chaumont, Joinville, Montmirail, Nogent-sur-Seine, Payns, Plancy, Ramerupt, Reynel, Trainel, Vendevre, Vignory, and Villemaur.¹³ With lands located mostly at the peripheries of Hugh's three counties, the barons could not rival his resources that included the region's largest castle towns.¹⁴ Even so, barons possessing a castle or two ranked among the wealthiest and most powerful local lords. When they sat with Hugh at court (*in curia*) or in his hall (*in aula comitis*) in Troyes or in his other castle residences, they were described as being his men (*homines*), his magnates (*magnates*), his barons (*barones*), or the nobles (*nobiles*) who witnessed his acts.¹⁵ They were more than passive witnesses, of course, although it is not clear what being Hugh's "man" entailed. Not a single document before 1125 mentions a castle lord doing homage to the count or surrendering his castle for the count's use, as was the case later in the century. In fact, several barons who frequented Hugh's court held their primary castles (Bar-sur-Seine, Chacenay, Choiseul) from the bishop of Langres.¹⁶ In one instance Hugh licensed the disposition of a baron's castle, but only because it had been mortgaged to him and thus required his consent.¹⁷ Otherwise, Hugh is not known to have intruded in the lands or castles of his barons.

Traveling through his lands with a small and varying group of officials, usually including his seneschal, Hugh held court in his castle towns in the presence of the provosts who administered his lands and the local barons directly affected by the court's business. Since the extant records of those sessions were drawn up and preserved by their monastic beneficiaries, they tell us mostly about monastic-baronial affairs. Hugh's chaplain and household clerics who accompanied him on his itinerations may well have drafted documents and correspondence that have not survived, but Hugh lacked a proper chancery with a stable core of clerics to write his own letters, prepare internal administrative and financial records, and maintain an archive of his correspondence.¹⁸ The ad hoc character of record-making and record-keeping under Hugh captures well the local and limited reach of his rule.

COUNT THIBAUT II

The counties of Troyes, Bar-sur-Aube, and Vitry that Hugh ruled for three decades might have coalesced as a small polity in southern Champagne had Hugh's only son Odo inherited them. But Odo "the Champenois" was still an infant in 1125 when Hugh decided to join the Templars, recently founded by one of his barons, Hugh of Payns.¹⁹ And so Count Hugh left his lands instead to his nephew Thibaut IV, count of Blois and Meaux

(1120–52), an experienced ruler in his early thirties with whom Hugh had a long, close relationship.²⁰ During the next quarter-century, Thibaut (II of Champagne, 1125–52) traveled incessantly through his eastern lands, from one castle town to another, holding court with local castle lords and confirming the actions of his knights and barons. His peripatetic court drew barons from all four eastern counties and beyond, including castle lords of the bishop of Langres in the south who had attended Hugh's court, as well as the counts of Grandpré, Rethel, and Roucy in the north who held their principal lands from the archbishop of Reims.²¹ Thibaut's reputation as "a distinguished warrior, a lover of peace and justice, conspicuous among the greatest princes of France for his wealth and virtue" (Orderic Vitalis) made his court the most prominent lay court between the royal domain and Lorraine and a refreshing prospect for the barons in a region saturated with episcopal lords.²² By treating his uncle Hugh's counties in southern Champagne and his own paternal inheritance centered in Brie as a single collection of lands, without internal borders or separate identities, Thibaut accelerated the consolidation of a hitherto fragmented region into what would be treated, after his death, as a single entity.²³

Thibaut's economic policies were as critical as his political leadership in laying the foundation for the region's long-term prosperity. By encouraging immigrants to settle in his lands, he stimulated the development of a sparsely populated countryside, especially in the eastern border lands.²⁴ More important, he enticed merchants away from the old episcopal cities of Reims and Châlons to his own smaller towns of Bar-sur-Aube, Provins, and Troyes, where he promoted a system of trade fairs located on the emerging international trade route linking northern Europe with the Mediterranean.²⁵ His charter for Provins (1137) set the model for a protected and regulated place where foreign merchants could sell their goods.²⁶ Tolls and sales taxes from the fairs would provide an almost inexhaustible source of revenue for the political and cultural ambitions of the counts far into the thirteenth century. Fair revenues also fueled the market in fiefs, primarily in funding fief-rents, which became a characteristic feature of fief-holding in Champagne. Thibaut, in fact, is the first count known to have granted fief-rents from those fairs as a means of forging bonds of loyalty with barons beyond his lands; his cousin Archambaud of Sully and Gautier of La Roche, constable of Burgundy, were among the earliest recipients.²⁷

It is impossible to determine from the evidence available before 1150, all of which derives from the archives of religious institutions, how many baronial fortifications located within Thibaut's lands were held from him as fiefs. Only two castles, Baudement and Braine, are known to have "moved" (*movebat*) or "descended" (*descendebat*) from the count. André of Baudement, his seneschal, sought Thibaut's consent before giving land and revenues within his walled town (*castrum*) of Baudement to the Templars because, he said, they moved from the count. André carefully excluded

from that gift both the tower (*firmitas*) of Baudement and the attached fiefs (*casamenta*) of his knights (1133).²⁸ Twelve years later André's daughter-in-law Alix sought the count's permission to alienate revenues from her inherited castle at Braine because, said the count, it moved from him as a fief.²⁹ Absent those examples, there is no evidence that the barons in Champagne sought the count's consent in the disposition of their castles.³⁰ Like Hugh before him, Thibaut did not intrude in the lands or private affairs of his barons except to protect the rights of religious communities.³¹ Certainly the barons held fiefs from the count, for which they did homage.³² Indeed, Thibaut specifically allowed them to donate those fiefs to the new order of Templars.³³ But whether the barons' castles were regarded as fiefs at that time is not clear, since neither the counts nor the regional prelates before the mid-twelfth century thought it necessary to record homages.³⁴ Like their counterparts in eastern France, the castle lords of Champagne enjoyed presumptive rights over their ancestral properties, including castles built on allodial land, at least on land they deemed allodial. In this respect, Champagne and neighboring Lorraine stand in marked contrast to the Anglo-Norman realm under Henry I (1100–35), who confiscated and reassigned the castles and lands of disloyal barons.³⁵

Count Thibaut's collegial leadership accorded with a widely held ideal of good lordship that accounts in part for the esteem in which he was held by both laymen and churchmen. He once even jeopardized his relations with young Louis VII, refusing to obey a royal summons to military service before obtaining, as the count put it, "the advice of my barons."³⁶ Acting with the advice of his barons might well have been prudent on the occasion of an improper royal mandate, but it also characterized a collegial form of governance necessitated by the absence of central administrative institutions. Ultimately, Thibaut remained a peripatetic prince of a vast and ill-defined assemblage of lands. Accompanied by a small contingent of household officials, notably his clerics and chamberlains, the count itinerated among his scattered castle residences to conduct business in the presence of local castellans, viscounts, provosts, and mayors who witnessed his judgments, confirmations, and donations.³⁷

Since Thibaut, unlike Hugh, rarely held court at monasteries—perhaps because he often traveled with Countess Mathilda (after 1126) and young Henry (after 1134)—petitioners who brought their suits to his castle towns often presented him documents already prepared for his confirmation and seal. The process was similar to the one witnessed by Orderic Vitalis in 1113, when King Henry I, after celebrating Candelmass with the monks of Saint-Evroul, ordered them to make a record of their possessions. The monks drew up a document and took it to Rouen, where the king confirmed it with his seal and had his barons put crosses on it.³⁸ The monks of Molesme did the same shortly after Thibaut succeeded as count of Troyes, when they presented for his confirmation and sealing a long pancarte they

had prepared recapitulating Count Hugh's grants in 1097, 1104, and 1108.³⁹

Even matters transacted at Thibaut's court often were put to parchment later and elsewhere. On one occasion, after he and his barons at Sézanne brokered a settlement between the monks of Molesme and a layman, the monks returned home to prepare a document recording the terms of the settlement, then brought it to Troyes where it was reread, confirmed by the count and his barons, and sealed by the count.⁴⁰ The nuns of the Paraclete, too, drafted a document recording a transaction made earlier at Thibaut's court at Provins, then presented it for his confirmation and seal.⁴¹ On occasion, Thibaut's own clerics drew up the documents sealed in his name, with William (1137–47) writing and the chaplain Raoul (1137–51) sealing. The charter reforming the fair at Provins is an example of an instrument written and validated entirely within the count's own household, no doubt because it was presented to the townsmen of Provins rather than to a religious community.⁴² But if Thibaut's clerics produced some documents in-house, they did so on an ad hoc basis for an itinerant court in the absence of a fixed comital residence and chancery.

The 1140s marked a decisive turn in Thibaut's rule. In the summer or fall of 1142, Louis VII, enraged against Thibaut by several events that challenged his authority and *amour-propre*, invaded eastern Champagne, destroyed the count's castle town of Vitry, and granted it to Hugh's son, Odo "the Champenois."⁴³ The king's clumsy incursion did not so much discipline Thibaut as reveal the strategic importance of Troyes, both for its distance from the royal domain and for its independence of royal and episcopal overlordship, and may well have prompted Thibaut's homage to his son-in-law Odo II, duke of Burgundy (1143–62). Thibaut might have done homage earlier to Louis VI, who called him "my man" (*homo meus*), for the counties of Blois and Meaux.⁴⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux urged him in 1128 to do homage to the bishop of Langres: "For the fief (*casamento*) that you hold [Bar-sur-Aube], you should do the homage (*hominium*) you owe with respect and humility," but it is not known whether he did so.⁴⁵ Thibaut's homage to the duke of Burgundy in 1143 is the earliest recorded for a count of Champagne. At the frontier between their two lands, Thibaut "did homage (*fecit hominium*) and recognized that he held . . . the entire county of Troyes and Troyes itself in fief (*de feodo*) from the duke." Thibaut and Odo each received a copy of the two-part chirograph that described the event and listed the castles constituting Thibaut's fief.⁴⁶

The mid-1140s witnessed another precipitating event: the Angevin conquest of Normandy (1144) and domination of western France, which boded ill for Thibaut's paternal inheritance in Blois and Chartres. Certainly by that time Thibaut, then in his early fifties, must have realized that his sprawling collection of lands stretching from Chartres and Blois to Troyes and Vitry, without center or natural definition, lacked viability as a

political entity, and that he should provide his sons compact territories rather than lands according to their paternal or maternal associations. His eldest son, Henry, consequently, would inherit the entire block of lands east of the royal domain, including the four major counties of Meaux, Troyes, Bar-sur-Aube, and Vitry, what later would be called Champagne and Brie. His second son, Thibaut, would take the ancestral western counties of Blois and Chartres, while the third son, Stephen, would inherit relatively minor lands in Berry with the new title “count of Sancerre.”

The eastern counties clearly held the greatest potential: a region endowed with prime agricultural and forested lands just beginning to be developed; heartland of the Cistercians who were vigorously expanding under the charismatic Bernard of Clairvaux, one of Thibaut’s closest friends; rapidly growing towns located right on the major international trade route connecting the Mediterranean and northern Europe; and best of all, a region devoid of any lord powerful enough to rival the count of Troyes, Meaux, Bar-sur-Aube, and Vitry. Yet at Thibaut’s death in 1152, Champagne was still only a collection of lordships, not yet a principality.⁴⁷ It lacked a fixed political center, a bureau of accounts, a chancery to produce and preserve its vital records, and a dynastic necropolis to memorialize its ruling family. All these it would acquire in the second half of the century.

BARONS AND KNIGHTS

In the absence of administrative records and chronicles like those that illuminate the contemporary Anglo-Norman world, our view of lay society in Champagne before 1150 depends almost entirely on the documents produced and preserved by religious institutions as records of their acquisitions, rights, and privileges. Even so, the ecclesiastical archives from Champagne are relatively limited. Old Benedictine houses like Montiéramé, Montier-en-Der, and Saint-Loup of Troyes, for example, are represented by only about twenty charters each from the first half of the twelfth century, while Saint-Nicaise of Reims has forty-three.⁴⁸ Although the new Cistercian houses that proliferated in southern Champagne ultimately amassed substantial archives, few of their records before 1150 have survived: forty-four documents from Vauluisant, sixty-seven from Pontigny, and perhaps eighty from Clairvaux, including seven *pancartes* summarizing more than 100 separate oral transactions.⁴⁹ The most substantial archive, with 272 documents before 1142, is from Molesme, progenitor of the Cistercians.⁵⁰ Altogether, perhaps 1,000 documents (about 300 involving the counts) survive from the first half of the twelfth century.

As might be expected, the monastic records depict a lay society common to northern France, from adjacent Lorraine and northern Burgundy to the Vendômois and Haut-Maine in western France.⁵¹ The monks received from

laymen both allodial property, which required the consent of the proprietor's family for title to pass, and fiefs, which required the consent of the donor's lord as well.⁵² Given the broad support by the counts and barons for monastic communities, permission to alienate fiefs was largely a formality. Count Hugh readily confirmed the donations of his fiefholders like Jacques of Germaine, who had given land with its ban and justice to Saint-Nicaise of Reims, and the four knights who gave their fiefs to the newly founded Cistercian abbey of Cheminon.⁵³ Castle lords like Hugh III of Broyes and Milo I of Nogent-sur-Seine acted with their wives in granting similar permissions to their knights.⁵⁴ Count Hugh also granted open-ended licenses for the future acquisition of fiefs without his further confirmation.⁵⁵ He was especially generous to the nuns of Avenay who restored him to health after an attempted assassination, allowing them to receive fiefs from any of his fiefholders to endow a daughter as a nun, to provide for their own burials, or for "any beneficial cause."⁵⁶ Hugh once boasted that, "following my example and at my entreaty," the counts of Nevers, Bar-sur-Seine, Brienne, and Reynel, and other barons in his company sealed a document allowing their own fiefholders to donate fiefs to Molesme in the future.⁵⁷ Thibaut II granted the same right to the Cistercians at Pontigny, as did the lords of Broyes, Chacenay, Choiseul, Vendevre, and Vignory to other monasteries.⁵⁸ Castle lords like Milo I of Nogent-sur-Seine and Anseric II of Chacenay, who provided the initial endowments for the Paraclete and Mores, actively encouraged their own knights to support those institutions through donations of fiefs.⁵⁹ The monks at Clairvaux, who drew up detailed lists of their property acquisitions for episcopal and papal confirmations, carefully distinguished between the fiefs they already had acquired and the open-ended licenses they received for the future acquisition of fiefs ("whatever they have acquired from his fief or whatever they are able to acquire in the future").⁶⁰

It is impossible to estimate the number of individuals who held fiefs or the extent of land held in fief at that time, but the ubiquity of authorizations for the transfer of fiefs to monastic institutions testifies to widespread fiefholding in Champagne by the early twelfth century. The donors of fiefs were usually qualified as knights, but just who the knights were is not always evident.⁶¹ Some were full-time garrison soldiers like Bartholomew, a castle knight (*miles castrî*) of Bar-sur-Seine; Leterius, a castle knight (*opidi miles*) of Ervy; and the brothers Pierre and Hugh of Laferté (*militēs castelli*), who apparently lived within that walled complex.⁶² Other knights seem to have been primarily allodial proprietors ("allodial knights") who supplemented their ancestral lands with fiefs received from barons and prelates in return for service.⁶³ Nevel, a castle knight at Bar-sur-Seine with a wife and son, was able to offer the monks of Molesme substantial allodial property, perhaps the entire village of Celles-sur-Ource, in return for burial rights there.⁶⁴ The knight Leteric, who entered Molesme as a monk after being

overwhelmed by debts and having mortgaged his allodial property, still could bring as his entry gift a tithe rent he held in fief.⁶⁵ The knight Waldric of Rouvres-sur-Aube took extensive allodial properties with him when taking the habit at Molesme, ceremoniously placing his gift on the altar next to the crucifix in the presence of his son Hugh, also a knight, and his wife.⁶⁶ These landed proprietors of modest social standing, who possessed allods as well as fiefs, were very much like the “neighborhood knights” (*vicinorum milites*) who joined with the monks of Coincy in asking the count to establish a market in their village.⁶⁷

Between the knightly proprietors and the castle lords there existed an ill-defined group of prominent, well-to-do men described by monastic scribes as notables who attended their lord’s court and shared in governance.⁶⁸ The count of Brienne called them his barons (*barones*) and notables (*proceres*) who attended his court, while Alix of Braine spoke of them as her castle nobles (*nobiles castri*).⁶⁹ Orderic Vitalis, writing about the same time, noted a similar division in Normandy between local barons (*barones*) and simple landed knights (*modesti milites, milites pagenses*).⁷⁰ Rarely are the local nobles identified by name, although in Champagne the Briel-sur-Barse and the Villehardouin qualified, both being substantial landed proprietors who attended the courts of castle lords but who lacked castles of their own. The Briel spawned several knightly lineages and the Villehardouin became marshals of the count, but neither produced or married into an old noble family.⁷¹ Certainly there could be no confusion on the ground about the social and economic chasm between the small, closed elite of castle-holding families and the knights who held fiefs from them. But whether they were substantial castle lords, middling allodial proprietors, or simply stipendiary knights who served in the retinues and garrisons of their lords, they all held property or revenue in fief tenure.⁷² The pre-1150 charters are consistent in describing those fiefholders as a diverse and stratified class of proprietors that belies any starkly drawn contrast between barons and knights.⁷³

Even more remarkable than the diversity of the knight class before 1150 is the presence of wives, widows, and children in the ecclesiastical records, most often in their capacity as consenters to the alienation of property. In a few acts women even appear as fiefholders who alienated fiefs both while married and as widows.⁷⁴ When Bernard of Clairvaux’s aunt Anolz entered Jully-les-Nonnains in 1128, no one disputed her right to hold or to alienate her deceased husband’s 10*l.* fief-rent that she took as her entry gift.⁷⁵ For the foundation of Andecy in 1131, Marie of Broyes gave one-third of a tithe she held in fief from Helias, lord of Montmirail, with his consent.⁷⁶ Anseric II of Chacenay’s wife Hubeline gave the nuns of Jully her share of the tithe of Saint-Lyé, which she held *de casamento* from the bishop of Troyes; Anseric witnessed and consented but did not otherwise participate in her formal presentation in the episcopal residence in the presence of the bishops of Chartres and Meaux, the abbot of Trois-Fontaines, and the prior of Clair-

vaux.⁷⁷ These tantalizing glimpses of women as fiefholders will seem less discordant in the more informative records after 1150, particularly the registers of fiefs and the private letters.

Creating a Principality, 1152–98

COUNT HENRY I THE LIBERAL

As the first count born in Champagne, Henry I (1152–81) was prepared from an early age to rule his father's four eastern counties and various ancillary lordships.⁷⁸ At seven he attended his father's court in Troyes; at sixteen he witnessed his father's homage to the duke of Burgundy; at eighteen he sealed his first act; and at twenty he served as his father's proxy in leading a contingent of Champenois on the Second Crusade (1147–48). His noteworthy conduct on that expedition earned him the respect of a cohort of barons who would serve him loyally thereafter. On returning from the Holy Land, Henry assumed the countship of Bar-sur-Aube and Vitry (1149–51), then in January 1152, at twenty-five, he succeeded his father as count of Troyes and Meaux. Although contemporaries knew Henry as "count of Champagne," he styled himself exclusively "count of Troyes," after the county he had witnessed his father do homage for in 1143 and the only one not held from the king or a prelate. Its principal city of Troyes, which his father had largely ignored until the 1140s, was the most important urban center and only episcopal seat in southern Champagne. Within the next three decades, Henry transformed those lands into a cohesive new principality, the county of Champagne, one of the premier states of northern France. It would survive the comital dynasty to become a major province of early modern France.

Throughout his twenty-nine-year rule Henry continued his father's policies of generously endowing monasteries, protecting and encouraging the trade fairs, and governing collegially with his barons. During his first decade he made no attempt to expand his domain lands, extend his lordship over baronial lands along his borders, or alter the institutions within his lands. But two of his initiatives would profoundly mark the county. The first was to continue the close personal relationship he had forged with Louis VII during the Second Crusade.⁷⁹ In his first year as count, Henry not only supported the king's war against Henry Plantagenet, he also betrothed Louis and Eleanor of Aquitaine's eldest daughter, Marie (1153), and saw his brother Thibaut V, count of Blois (1152–90), appointed royal senechal. Henry soon figured prominently in the high politics of the time, supporting Louis' attempt to impose a peace throughout the realm (1155), witnessing the treaty between the kings of France and England (1160), and mediating between Louis and Emperor Frederick I during the papal schism (1162). Louis' marriage to Henry's youngest sister, Adele (1160),

capped a rapprochement between the royal and comital lines begun during the Second Crusade; it created a fundamental, if occasionally fragile, strand in the county's history through the next century.

Henry's second major undertaking, and his singular achievement, was to construct a territorial state from his father's disparate lands in Champagne. Shortly after his accession, he assembled a core of high officers to help him govern. He retained his father's marshals and chamberlains (*de facto* treasurers) but added to his inner circle several young barons who had accompanied him overseas: Anselm II of Traînel, his most trusted companion of about the same age, became butler (1152–84); Geoffroy III of Joinville, about ten years older, became seneschal (1152–88); and Odo of Pougy became constable (1151–69).⁸⁰ His chaplain William, who had accompanied Henry on the crusade after serving as scribe and sealer of his father's documents, took charge of the count's writing bureau with the new title of chancellor (1152–75).⁸¹ This handful of close companions, together with a small staff of household knights, notaries, and councillors, attended to the count's affairs and regularly witnessed his public acts when and wherever he held court.

As the administrative center of his new state, Henry built a palace to replace Hugh's antiquated tower and walled enclave within the old city of Troyes. Located just outside the city walls in the suburb of Saint-Denis, the new two-storied residence (*domus, palatium*) offered a direct view of the Seine and, beyond it, of the rapidly developing commercial district of Troyes. In the great hall (*aula*), the count received petitioners and sat with his barons, listening to their advice on matters of policy and their judgment in cases brought to him. Upon completion of his palace, Henry constructed the chapel of Saint-Etienne next to and open to it (1157), so that he had an unobstructed view of the altar from a balcony within his residential quarters.⁸² He richly endowed Saint-Etienne and established a chapter of sixty secular canons to serve his administrative needs, primarily as his chancery, accounting bureau, and treasury.⁸³ The very size of Saint-Etienne—it dwarfed even the bishop's cathedral within the old city—and its attachment to the comital residence left no doubt that this building complex was the heart of a new principality.⁸⁴

The canons of Saint-Etienne who served as the count's chancery drafted virtually all the documents sealed in his name (more than 500 of his letters survive).⁸⁵ That the count's own chancery drew up almost all of his acts marks an evolution from his father's *ad hoc* practices, by which Thibaut II often sealed documents presented to him by the beneficiaries. Henry's clerics, whether writing in Troyes or in his other castle towns, henceforth controlled the language of the documents sealed in his name.⁸⁶ Most of his letters patent—whether donations to religious communities, confirmations of the acts of others, or arbitrations and settlements of disputes—are said to have been “done in public” (*actum in publice*), that is, openly in the pres-

ence of witnesses whose names the chancery notaries recorded in the documents. Witnesses usually included his inner circle of officials—the seneschal, butler, marshal, and treasurer—as well as a few clerics and household knights who regularly followed the count on his peregrinations. After the final document was written and sealed, the chancellor often presented it to the beneficiary. Since the chancery under Henry I neither registered the count's outgoing letters nor systematically archived incoming ones, it remained primarily a record-producing bureau rather than a record-preserving one.

The Feoda Campanie

The truly innovative character of Henry's rule is best revealed in the only administrative record to survive from twelfth-century Champagne, a set of registers known to modern historians as the *Feoda Campanie*, the Fiefs of Champagne.⁸⁷ Based on an inquest undertaken in 1178 after Henry had decided to revisit the Holy Land, it was intended to be a record of the count's fiefholders for the benefit of Marie and her thirteen-year-old son, should Henry not return from his pilgrimage.⁸⁸ Similar inquests had been prepared earlier in Norman Italy (1150), Catalonia (1140s-79), Normandy (1163, 1172), and England (1166), and the idea of recording the names of barons and fiefholders must have been in the air and discussed at international gatherings.⁸⁹ But unlike those one-time surveys, Henry's inquest became a model for subsequent inquests in Champagne: in the century between 1178 and 1275, the chancery undertook inquests on six occasions, creating the longest series of registers of fiefholders produced by any principality in medieval France. They were part of a vast enterprise of writing down relationships and obligations hitherto left to the realm of oral memory.⁹⁰

Count Henry's inquest embodied the organization of the new state he had created in conjunction with the building of his palace and chapel in Troyes. It was based on the castellany (*castellaria*), which supplanted the old county as the primary administrative district within Champagne. Encompassing the area surrounding a castle or castle town, the castellany included both the count's domain lands and the fiefs whose service was attached to the castle. A viscount or castellan was placed in charge of the castle and the knights who performed castleguard there and who policed the roads within the castellany, protecting merchants traveling to the trade fairs.⁹¹ Within the castellany a provost supervised the mayors of the count's villages, held local courts, and collected rents, tailles, and taxes from the count's domain lands.⁹² With Henry, castellanies become the basic unit of account for military, administrative, and financial matters under the direct oversight of his officials in Troyes.⁹³ Henceforth not only the count's peasants and townsmen, but even his knights and barons and their fiefs were

located within the count's castellanies.⁹⁴ While the castellany template established only the fact that a relationship existed between the count and his barons and knights, not the degree of the relationship, it began a process by which the barons would be incorporated within a new administrative grid and accounted for in the same manner as the count's ordinary knights. The count's thirty or so castellanies in effect subsumed both his own inherited counties and the smaller counties and castellanies of his barons.

The count's fiefholders were not convened in 1178 to give testimony about their fiefs and obligations as were the English barons, who in 1166 sealed letters patent attesting to their fiefholders, and the Norman barons, who were summoned to Caen in 1172 to take oaths and seal letters confirming the oaths.⁹⁵ Rather, the count's sergeants (*servientes*) in each castellany center collected and forwarded the relevant information to the chancery at Saint-Etienne where the new chancellor, Stephen of Provins (1176–79), supervised scribes in making fair copies of the data.⁹⁶ Entries were made on strips of parchment, one for each castellany, which were then rolled up for convenient storage and access, much like contemporary chancery rolls in England and Flanders and all subsequent rolls of fiefs in Champagne.⁹⁷ At Henry's departure in May 1179, the rolls were placed for safekeeping in his treasury at Saint-Etienne.⁹⁸ Chancery scribes referred to the rolls as lists or registers (*breves, scripta*), while Geoffroy of Villehardouin, who knew them in his capacity as marshal (1185–1204), called them registers of fiefs (*scripta feodorum*).⁹⁹ Seventy years later, the rolls were accorded the authority of ancient registers (*antiqua scripta*) that were compared to the *nova scripta* produced by the inquest of 1249–51.¹⁰⁰

Unlike the inquests in Normandy, England, and southern Italy, Henry's inquest sought information only about his direct fiefholders, not about the knights enfeoffed on the lands of his barons; nor did it inquire about the castles and fiefs of the fifty-eight barons (counts and lords) named in the rolls.¹⁰¹ Certainly the barons whose ancestors had been virtual peers of the count of Troyes would not have considered their lordships to be located "in" any of the count's castellanies. Yet the barons appear in the rolls in the same lists with the 1,900 fiefholders identified as knights of the count's castellanies (*milites castellarie*).¹⁰² In essence, Henry's inquest began a process by which barons and various strata of knights were incorporated within his countywide castellany template. The castellany remained the basic unit for locating the count's fiefholders through the thirteenth century, even after castellanies were grouped into *bailliages* under the oversight of a bailliff.

Each roll of fiefs records minimally the names of the count's fiefholders, whether they were his liegemen, and the amount of castleguard they owed. What is unclear is whether the knights gave sworn testimony, as they would in the thirteenth century, or did homage at the time of the inquest.¹⁰³ The

scribes did note the types of homage already rendered: about half (49 percent) of the count's fiefholders held their fiefs by liege homage (*homagium ligium*), that is, as their primary fief.¹⁰⁴ Almost as many (47 percent), those who held their primary fiefs from other lords, held their comital fiefs by simple homage (*homagium, planum homagium, homagium non ligium*). The remaining 5 percent of fiefholders, mostly borderland barons, owed the count a contingent homage (*ligius post X*). Among those was Bartholomew of Vignory, whose homage to the count of Burgundy for his castle of Vignory took precedence over his homage to the count of Champagne.¹⁰⁵ But all the count's high officers and military commanders—his castellans and viscounts—were his liegemen. So were many of his barons, like the count of Bar-sur-Seine and lords of Chacenay, Chaumont, Choiseul, and Joinville, even if their castles were not regarded as fiefs moving directly from the count or renderable to him, at least not in 1178.¹⁰⁶ That is entirely in accord with the observation of Gislebert of Mons, chancellor of Hainaut (1178/80–95), who wrote authoritatively about the princes of northern France in the last decades of twelfth century and who cites numerous instances of homage (*hominium*) and liege homage (*ligium hominium*) done by the counts, barons, and knights of Hainaut in those same decades.¹⁰⁷ Henry was of course thoroughly imbued with the practices of homage and fiefholding. He had witnessed his father's homage in 1143, and he himself had done homage to the archbishop of Reims for the castle of Vertus (1154) and later for all nine castles he held from the see of Reims (ca. 1178), although there is no record of his homage to the king or any other episcopal lord.¹⁰⁸ Most of Henry's barons and knights were in fact multiple fiefholders, and thus had done homage to several lords. What the chancery scribes did not say in 1178, is whether Henry's fiefholders did homage at his court or chancery in Troyes, or in his other castle towns, and whether they did it to him or to a proxy.

Several rolls furnish information about the count's fiefs that could have come only from oral testimony or from internal financial registers no longer extant. Fiefs were described as being entire villages, arable land, pastures, mills, and ovens that Henry had granted from his domain lands; grain and wine paid from his domain revenues; taxes from crops, land, and customary obligations; and annual cash payments (fief-rents) paid from the taxes collected at his tolls and fairs. Most fiefs, in fact, were relatively modest, consisting of revenues paid in cash rather than landed property.¹⁰⁹ Although annual cash or in-kind payments were not at that time distinguished from landed fiefs, modern historians prefer to call them money fiefs or fief-rents.¹¹⁰ They are known from eleventh-century Flanders, Normandy, and Blois, where prelates assigned their knights revenues for military service, primarily castleguard, and by the mid-twelfth century fief-rents were common in northern France.¹¹¹ In Champagne, many of the count's fief-rents were assigned on his fairs, tollhouses, and banal taxes in castella-

nies facing the royal domain in Brie, rather than in his fair towns of Troyes, Provins, and Bar-sur-Aube, a fact that confirms the military nature of fief-rents in the twelfth century.¹¹² While some of those fiefs must have been a knight's only income, others clearly represented supplemental revenues for modest landed proprietors. Similarly the barons in Champagne, like those in Burgundy, held substantial allodial properties as well as fiefs from other lords.¹¹³ In sum, Henry's rolls are neither a census per se of the entire fiefholding class in Champagne nor a complete inventory of their possessions; they list only the count's fiefs held by his direct fiefholders.

The rolls are invaluable in revealing a dimension of Henry's policies—the creation of fiefs—not otherwise observable in the absence of extant financial accounts and family archives. Only three of Henry's known letters patent are grants of new fiefs, all three relating to commercial property in Provins.¹¹⁴ But the rolls mention a number of new fiefs he had granted from his domain lands, like the village with its woods that he gave to Jean of Hochecourt.¹¹⁵ Chancery scribes noted that Henry paid knights to convert their allodial properties to fiefs.¹¹⁶ He also gave cash for the purchase of fiefs already in circulation: 60*l.* to Ralph the Pauper “that he must place in a comital fief,” and 100*l.* to the brothers Guy and Pierre of Poincy “for purchasing a fief.”¹¹⁷ Gaucher of Combault received 50*l.* to purchase a fief, but 25*l.* was withheld until the butler, Anselm II of Traînel, verified that Gaucher actually had invested the first installment of 25*l.* *in feodo*.¹¹⁸

It is impossible to determine how many of the 2,039 fiefs listed in the rolls were granted by Henry since 1152, for only in rare cases is it possible to witness a fief's moment of creation. We know that Henry granted a new fief (a field) to Philip of Verricourt in 1154, and that Philip still held it in 1178, twenty-four years later.¹¹⁹ We know about a few other new fiefs because the letters patent that Henry presented with them were returned to the chancery or were transferred with the fiefs to other proprietors. Forty years after Matthew II, count of Beaumont-sur-Oise, received a 25*l.* fief-rent (1174), his son Jean returned both the fief and Henry's letter granting it, which entered the chancery archive (1215).¹²⁰ The Templars obtained a number Henry's sealed letter-grants as title deeds to the fiefs they acquired from the count's fiefholders, including fruit stalls in Provins from the chamberer Abraham and a house from Bernard of La Grange-Bléneau.¹²¹ Those chance examples confirm what the fief rolls of Henry I, and of Henry II a decade later, reveal: a thriving market by fiefs that is scarcely detectable in the archives of religious institutions, which track the unidirectional alienation of fiefs from laymen to those institutions. Not only did the counts and barons grant new fiefs, the knights themselves created fiefs by converting their allodial properties to fiefs, and by freely buying and selling fiefs among themselves. The variety of fief transfers reflected in the rolls corroborates the fragmentary evidence of a market in fiefs much earlier, from the 1130s, when knights sold their fiefs to monas-

teries and when lords licensed the alienation of fiefs “by purchase or donation.”¹²²

The rolls reveal another, perhaps unexpected, aspect of the count’s fiefs: most (60 percent) were unencumbered by an annual castleguard obligation.¹²³ Certainly all the count’s knights owed military service during wartime, that is, they had to remain (*stare*) in his castle towns during hostilities, but only about 40 percent of them performed annual tours of duty in his towns and fortresses, where they reinforced a small permanent cadre of officers (viscounts and castellans) and knights who rendered full-time service (*estagium*).¹²⁴ Garrison commanders generally came from distinguished families that had long served the counts in that capacity: the castellan of Vitry was Henry, younger son of the count of Rethel, and the viscount of Troyes was Clarembaud III, lord of Chappes.¹²⁵ Knights who rendered yearlong castleguard came from less prominent families. Erard of Aulnay, for example, was on permanent duty in Troyes when he came to the attention of Countess Marie, who recognized his skills by appointing him as her marshal (1181–85).¹²⁶ For the rest of the fiefholders who owed annual castleguard (*garda, custodia*)—like Erard of Aulnay’s cousin Geofroy of Villehardouin, the future marshal—tours of duty ranged from one week to six months, typically six to eight weeks.¹²⁷

Since most of the count’s castles were small walled towns, the knights brought their families with them during their tours of duty. We know that because in 1178, precisely when the rolls of fiefs were being compiled, the priory of Saint-Flavit, located within the walls of Villemaur, solicited from the bishop of Troyes the right to minister to the enfeoffed knights (*milites feodati*) who came to reside temporarily in the castle of Villemaur with their wives and households in order to perform their guard duty.¹²⁸ For the twenty-seven barons and knights who rotated through their annual duty tours at Villemaur, that must have been the occasion for socializing as well, involving meals and entertainment shared with local knightly and lordly families.¹²⁹ In the next century Hugh V of Châtillon even *required* his knights to bring their wives and families to Saint-Pol while they performed their annual forty days of castleguard. If he or his wife was present, he stipulated, the knights and their wives had to take their first meal together at his court. But their wives were not obligated to attend if Hugh’s wife was absent, and if she left town, they too were free to depart.¹³⁰

Collegial Governance

If Henry was an innovator with respect to the organization of his own lands, he also was an adept practitioner of traditional collegial lordship with his barons. On feast days, especially at Christmas and Easter, he held court with his barons, usually in Troyes or in one of his secondary residences in his other castle towns. The few instances for which there is evi-

dence of deliberations confirm Henry's highly collegial style of governance. Like his predecessors, Henry claimed to consult with his barons on important matters; indeed, he founded Saint-Etienne of Troyes with their advice, he said.¹³¹ Once he even risked the king's wrath when, like his father before him, he refused to obey a royal summons before consulting with his barons: he had convened his barons for next Easter, he explained, and would seek their advice at that time as to whether he should attend the king's council.¹³² The etiquette of his court, too, suggests that Henry lacked any desire to exploit his barons for his own benefit, if the case presented to his Christmas court in 1166 is indicative.

The case involved the castle of Possesse, which its lord, Guy II (ca. 1149–62), had mortgaged to the count before disappearing. Guy's younger brother Jean succeeded as lord of Possesse, without the castle (1163–65), but after Jean took the habit at Clairvaux, the lordship fell to the youngest brother, Hugh.¹³³ When Hugh in turn abandoned Possesse, the mortgaged castle and castellany lacked a lord. At that point Guy of Garlande, a cousin, presented himself as the closest relative.¹³⁴ At his Christmas court in 1166, the count accepted Guy's claim. But the count's barons (*barones mei*) decided that Henry should notify Hugh, who had settled in Italy, that unless he returned within one year, the count would invest (*investire*) Guy of Garlande with the castle and, in the interim, would entrust (*committere*) it to Guy.¹³⁵ Since Hugh did not return to Champagne, Guy and his son Anselm retained Possesse.¹³⁶ Although Henry might reasonably have incorporated the mortgaged castle into his own domain, he did not, as he did not seek to aggrandize his own lands at the expense of his barons.¹³⁷ In this sense, Henry was exercising "good lordship," much like Count Hugh in a similar case four decades earlier.¹³⁸ During his thirty-year rule, in fact, Henry incorporated only a single private lordship into his domain: Neuilly-Saint-Front, near Château-Thierry, which he purchased from his close companion, the butler Anselm II of Traînel.¹³⁹ Neuilly's strategic location on the frontier facing the royal domain, where a series of new settlements and monastic foundations was fixing the county's western frontier, made it an exceptional case.¹⁴⁰

If Henry did not dispossess his barons of their castles, he was not averse to extending his lordship over borderland castles held from other lords. Between 1162 and 1178 he acquired the direct *mouvance* of fifteen or more castles, significantly reshaping the county's fluid borders. In the wake of the aborted meeting he sponsored between Louis VII and Frederick I at Saint-Jean-de-Losne, to mediate the disputed papal election of Alexander III, Henry assumed overlordship of nine castles on the royal-imperial frontier.¹⁴¹ How that happened is not entirely clear, but Henry became an imperial vassal in addition to being a vassal of the king, the duke of Burgundy, and the prelates of Reims and Langres.¹⁴² Whatever the status of those castles before 1162—it is not certain that they ever were regarded as being

within the kingdom—henceforth they were located within Champagne; they projected Henry's influence over a broad front eastward of his inherited counties and laid the foundation for further expansion by his successors.

The second major reordering of frontiers occurred on the county's northern and southern borders. The proximate cause of that realignment may have been a violent and protracted conflict with Henry, archbishop of Reims (1162–75) and the king's brother (and the count's brother-in-law), who was reasserting episcopal rights in the see of Reims as he earlier had done in Beauvais. After provoking a communal revolt in Reims (1167), then angering the castle lords of northern Champagne, the archbishop unleashed a full-scale border war (1171–72) with Count Henry, who responded by building towers on episcopal lands.¹⁴³ The pope declined to intervene in a messy family dispute involving the king, the archbishop, and the count, but the issue became moot with the archbishop's death (1175) and the elevation of the count's brother, William, as archbishop of Reims (1176–1202). Within the next few years, most likely in 1178, Henry and William formalized a new political order in northern Champagne, perhaps in anticipation of Henry's imminent departure on pilgrimage. The count already held five castle towns with their castellanies and fiefholders in liege homage from the archbishop (Vitry, Vertus, Châtillon-sur-Marne, Épernay, and Fismes); now he assumed overlordship of four additional castles and castellanies hitherto held in fief by their barons directly from the archbishop (Braine, Roucy, Rethel, and Château-Porcien).¹⁴⁴ It was a win-win solution: the archbishop placed his most powerful and occasionally unruly vassals under the hand of the region's preeminent lay ruler; the count extended his reach beyond the Marne to the Aisne River, in effect recovering an area largely abandoned by his predecessors to the archbishops; and the king benefited by having the northern barons firmly attached to the county, hence the kingdom, rather than to the imperial county of Namur, where they had been drawn by familial alliances.¹⁴⁵

A similar but less transparent realignment occurred along the more porous southern and southeastern border zones, with several castle lords of the bishops of Langres and Auxerre transferring their primary loyalties to Henry, perhaps as a result of his deliberate intrusion into the region.¹⁴⁶ Pierre of Courtenay later claimed that, on becoming count of Nevers by marriage (1184), he was unaware of the status of his wife's castle of Mailly; but after consulting his knights, he did homage to Countess Marie for it, without objection from the then bishop of Auxerre. No record was made of that homage, and we would not know about it except for Pierre's sealed letter twenty-three years later attesting to it.¹⁴⁷ The case is doubly interesting in that it actually is an example of a transfer of *mouvance* from an episcopal lord. Whether Pierre was exploiting the bishop's inattention or was genuinely uncertain about his castle's *mouvance* is not clear, but he shared

with other borderland lords a preference for a lay overlord of the castles they regarded as family inheritances. Henry the Liberal, the most prestigious lord of the region, proved an attractive choice. The borderland realignments generally were peaceful affairs, with the prelates of Reims, Langres, and Auxerre giving up the *mouvance* of outlying castles in return for secure control of their urban centers.¹⁴⁸ The fact that the lordship over episcopal castles was renegotiated at all reflects the increasing difficulty of prelates in controlling their castle lords. In several other cases, *mouvance* remained ambiguous, as Henry nourished close relations with barons who frequented his court but who continued to hold their principal castles from episcopal lords. His chancery listed the castle lords of Bar-sur-Seine, Chacenay, and Choiseul as his men at the same time that the bishop of Langres claimed *mouvance* over their castles.¹⁴⁹ The very complexity of the count's relationships with his barons and knights, who were tied to him variously by simple, liege, or contingent homage, may have been one reason for the chancery to record those relationships before Henry left for the Holy Land in 1179.

THE REGENCIES OF COUNTESS MARIE

With Henry's departure in May 1179, Marie, then thirty-four, became *de facto* ruler of Champagne.¹⁵⁰ She had not shared in governance with Henry earlier because he and his senior officers had developed an effective *modus operandi* long before she arrived in Troyes in 1164. But she ruled in Henry's stead during his pilgrimage (May 1179-February 1181) and for another six years after his death (16 March 1181) as regent for their oldest son. At Henry II's majority (July 1187), Marie withdrew to Fontaines-les-Nonnes, a Fontevrist priory near Meaux, where she professed as a nun.¹⁵¹ But Henry II, swept up by crusading zeal after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin, soon took a large contingent of barons and knights on the Third Crusade, and Marie returned to Troyes to rule the county in his absence (May 1190-September 1197). After his death overseas she continued as regent for her younger son Thibaut (III) until she died in March 1198 at fifty-three. For all practical purposes, Marie had ruled the county for almost two decades after Henry I left on pilgrimage in May 1179.

Countess Marie ruled vigorously and alone, without restriction by a regency council, by the king, or by Henry's male relatives. In the great hall of the comital palace at Troyes, she sat with a small council of barons and administrative officers, engaging in all the activities with which she was familiar during her fourteen years as countess with Henry. She received petitions, arbitrated disputes, made benefactions to the church, confirmed private transactions, received homages, confiscated fiefs, and granted new ones. Her acts, drawn up by the same officials who had served her husband, display no difference in form or content from his own. Nor was there any

significant change in governance or policy. She did, however, make several important appointments, notably of two marshals, Erard of Aulnay (1181) and his uncle Geoffroy of Villehardouin (1185), and two chancellors, Haice of Plancy (1181), a well-known canon at Saint-Etienne who became bishop of Troyes, and Gautier of Chappes, a younger son of a prominent baronial family (1190). Marie's most significant political act, beyond briefly defying the young king, her half brother Philip II, was to oversee the construction and placement of her husband's tomb, which Henry himself had designed and commissioned. Placed in the center of the choir of Saint-Etienne, it asserted the old count's continuing presence in the affairs of his principality.¹⁵²

Marie and Henry II continued to receive homages for new and existing fiefs, although the chancery did not ordinarily record them. Pierre of Courtenay, count of Nevers, recalled in 1207 that he had done homage to Marie (ca. 1184) and then to Henry II, but the chancery made no record of either homage at that time.¹⁵³ The chancery did however conduct a survey of the count's fiefholders in anticipation of Henry II's departure on the Third Crusade. According to Guy of Chappes, lord of Jully-sur-Sarce, who testified at a papal commission of inquiry in 1213, Henry II summoned his barons to Sézanne in 1190 to swear oaths accepting his twelve-year-old brother Thibaut as count in the event that the unmarried Henry did not return to Champagne.¹⁵⁴ It appears that the count's knights swore the same oath on that occasion and did homage to Thibaut for their fiefs.¹⁵⁵

Chancery scribes used those oaths and homages to update the entries in Henry I's rolls of a decade earlier.¹⁵⁶ They noted when a listed fiefholder was still alive (*vivit*); they remarked those who had done homage for their fiefs (*fecit hominium, fecit*); and they inserted the names of new tenants, many of whom were sons (*filius fecit*) or widows (*uxor ejus fecit*) of previous fiefholders.¹⁵⁷ The scribes also identified fiefs that had reverted (*excidit*) to the count or had been confiscated (*comitissa saisivit*).¹⁵⁸ One knight was considered ineligible to hold his fief because he had joined the Templars; another lost his 7*l.* annual fief-rent when the bridge from which he collected his rent collapsed.¹⁵⁹ Beyond those details, the rolls of 1190 are important in providing the earliest references to a calculus of fief value based on annual revenue, which suggests that the count's financial officials already were accounting for fiefs in terms of revenue rather than knight service, as in Normandy. When Henry I and his successors granted a fief-rent from revenues generated at their fairs or tollhouses, they ordinarily designated only the annual revenue, leaving to a later date the designation of its specific source. Thus Matthew II, count of Beaumont, learned only after the count had given him a 25*l.* fief-rent that the revenue was to be collected from a tollhouse during the fairs of May.¹⁶⁰ That practice of assessing fiefs in terms of annual revenue was extended to landed fiefs in the 1180s, leading to the invention of a unit of account, the *libratus terre* (*l.t.*),

representing the total annual revenue generated by a fief, no matter what its specific components.¹⁶¹ The *libratus terre* facilitated the valuation of fiefs for dowries, for distribution among heirs, and for sale, with the cash value ordinarily being set at ten times the annual revenue.¹⁶²

After emending Henry I's rolls, the scribes in 1190 transferred the currently valid information to an entirely new set of rolls representing the state of the count's fiefholders.¹⁶³ According to Milo II Breban, son of the treasurer, and Geoffroy of Villehardouin, the marshal, the rolls were deposited in the count's treasury in Saint-Etienne after being copied into a codex volume (*exemplarium*) for Henry II to take with him overseas.¹⁶⁴ A decade later, chancery scribes referred to the two sets of rolls as "the registers of Henry [I] the father and of his son."¹⁶⁵ There is no indication as to whether the rolls were consulted during Marie's second regency except by the marshal Geoffroy of Villehardouin, who knew them well.

County and Aristocracy: A New Symbiosis

Between the accession of Henry I in January 1152 and the death of Marie in March 1198, Champagne was transformed from a loose assortment of counties and quasi-independent lordships into a cohesive territorial state. Although the counts in their letters continued to identify themselves as "count of Troyes," they and their officials came to view their lands and fiefholders through the prism of the new castellany grid embodied in the rolls of fiefs.¹⁶⁶ The count's castellanies, the new administrative districts centered on his towns and fortresses, encompassed all his fiefholders, from ordinary knights to barons with inherited castle lordships. In effect, a single polity consisting of the count's castellanies had subsumed Thibaut II's collection of old counties and lordships. Geoffroy of Villehardouin, who surveyed the military disposition of the county through the rolls of fiefs, was the first to adapt his title to reflect the new political reality. Initially known as "marshal" and "marshal of the count," Geoffroy began to style himself "marshal of Champagne" after returning from the Third Crusade in 1194.¹⁶⁷ Count Henry II, too, had begun to understand his title, "count of Troyes," in that expansive sense of all Champagne when he spoke of the lands "in my county," meaning not the old county of Troyes but rather all the lands under his authority, no matter their location or ancient title.¹⁶⁸ Gislebert of Mons, the chancellor of Hainaut who was exceptionally well-informed about Champagne, wrote in his chronicle (1195–96) that the "count of Troyes" was commonly (*vulgariter*) called "count of Champagne."¹⁶⁹ That sense of Champagne as a distinct polity, soon to become the "county of Champagne and Brie," was unimaginable before 1152.

Henry the Liberal's achievement, and Marie's in preserving it, was to construct the institutions of a new principality while retaining the loyalty of the barons through a traditional style of collegial governance. By recruit-

ing his high officers from the old baronial lines—Chappes, Châtillon, Dampierre, Joinville, Plancy, Pougy, and Traînel—and by not overtly intruding into their inherited castle lordships, Henry co-opted the baronial class in the construction of his new state. The chapters of secular canons he founded in Troyes, Provins, Bar-sur-Aube, and Sézanne, each with twenty to sixty or seventy prebends, furnished careers for well-born young men without a military or monastic calling, and served as a pool of literate personnel for the count's administrative needs.¹⁷⁰ Even those without formal office, like Garnier of Traînel, served the count in a quasi-official capacity. Garnier and his brother Anselm II of Traînel, the count's butler, had been very close since the Second Crusade as co-lords of their inherited lands, and they often sat together at the count's court. In 1174 the count asked Garnier to arbitrate a complicated dispute between Larrivour and Montiéramé, two powerful monasteries not far from Troyes. In his sealed report to the count, Garnier related "what I saw and heard and what was done through my hand." Satisfied with Garnier's disposition of the matter, the count had Garnier's letter copied verbatim and sealed with his own seal; the chancellor presented the monks of Larrivour with both Garnier's original report and the count's sealed confirmation of the settlement.¹⁷¹ That symbiotic relationship between the count and the region's wealthiest and most powerful barons assured their continuing support during Marie's regencies. Ultimately, the count's new administrative apparatus rested lightly on the barons, who continued to act as virtually independent lords within their own lands where they held court, oversaw their fiefholders, and conducted their own familial affairs without interference from the count.

Coincident with the rise of the comital state under Henry and Marie, and indeed fostered by it, were two related developments with far-reaching implications for the aristocracy. The first was the diminishing role of baronial castles within the county. The count's burgeoning towns, especially Troyes, Provins, and Bar-sur-Aube, whose regulated trade fairs made them vibrant commercial centers, marginalized the private castles. The prominence of the count's new principal residence in Troyes, with its attached chapel serving as his chancery, treasury, and mausoleum, was particularly dramatic. None of the baronial castle towns, not even Brienne, Joigny, or Bar-sur-Seine, which were located on the trade routes, could rival the count's towns in either size or economic or cultural importance. At the same time, the construction of fortified residences (*domus*, *domus fortis*) in the open countryside ended the dominance of the old castles. The new walled residential compounds, quadrangular moated sites with stout stone walls often reinforced by perimeter towers, began to dot the countryside from the 1170s.¹⁷² Whether they were built with the count's license, or were renderable to him, is not entirely clear, although many of the fortified residences in the castellanies of Meaux and Coulommiers facing the royal

domain appear to have been licensed, perhaps even subsidized, by Henry I to strengthen the county's border in a region of few old baronial castles.¹⁷³ Others were built on allodial properties beyond the count's purview and without his license. In 1176, for example, the knight Hugh of Plancy, a relative of the lord of Plancy, tried to build a fortified residence (*domus firmus*) in the village of Marsangis, where he shared lordship with a local priory. When the monks objected and brought suit, the count brokered an agreement (*pactio*) allowing Hugh to build only a "plain" or "simple" house without moat and walls.¹⁷⁴ The count neither licensed nor consented to the new residence, as it was not located on his fief; he simply confirmed the settlement. For knightly families like the Plancy and Villehardouin that could afford to build them, fortified residences became highly desirable social markers in the last decades of the century. Within a generation those walled compounds transformed the landscape, just as the construction of new villages and reformed monasteries earlier in the century had filled in the open spaces between the old towns, castles, and Benedictine monasteries.

The second development promoted by the rise of the comital state was the chancery's validation of women as fiefholders. Certainly women had held and disposed of fiefs much earlier in the century, as they had elsewhere. It was not fiefholding per se that was new but rather chancery conventions: whereas the scribes of Henry I's rolls of fiefs named only men and their male heirs as fiefholders (only 12 women appear among the 1,899 fiefholders in 1178), a decade later the scribes of Henry II's rolls routinely included among the count's current fiefholders the wives and widows who held their dower fiefs and acted as custodians for their children's fiefs (in 1190, women held about 13.4 percent of recently transferred fiefs).¹⁷⁵ In every subsequent inquest through the thirteenth century, women held between 17 percent and 20 percent of the count's fiefs—as their own inheritances, as dowers, or in custody for their husbands and heirs. Unlike the monastic scribes, who often represented wives as only consenters to the disposition of their own properties, the count's scribes recognized the actual role of women as fiefholders by right of inheritance, dower, or custody. What is particularly remarkable about the chancery's referencing of women fiefholders in the last decades of the century is that it coincides with the use of personal seals by highborn women, who had begun to seal letters patent, both jointly with their husbands and independently for their personal transactions.

LETTERS PATENT

The adoption of personal seals by the aristocracy, coincident with but largely independent of the rise of the comital state, must rank as a major sociological event of the second half of the twelfth century. In Champagne,

as in most of northern France, castle lords first acquired personal seals in the 1130s.¹⁷⁶ Simon I of Broys was among the first to seal a document with his own seal (1131); he did so, he said, because the abbot of Molesme asked him to confirm the bequests of his father, who had died two decades earlier.¹⁷⁷ The Cistercian abbot of Boulancourt asked Simon's son to do the same (1155), to seal a confirmation of gifts his father and grandfather had made "forty years ago" because, explained Simon (of Beaufort), "at the time the gift was made, it was not customary to seal charters of donation."¹⁷⁸ Neither the father in 1131 nor the son in 1155 explained how he acquired his seal matrix. But in a letter of 1156/61 that still survives, Bartholomew II of Nogent did: it was his friend, the abbot of La Crête, who had a seal matrix made in the abbey so that Bartholomew could validate the document describing the resolution of their dispute.¹⁷⁹ The fact that abbots solicited sealed instruments from important laymen to validate both oral benefactions and settlements of disputes suggests a new attitude regarding the symbolic value of personal seals in the middle decades of the century.¹⁸⁰

Sealing by castle lords increased markedly after the Second Crusade, and by the 1160s most of the barons in Champagne possessed a personal seal. Monastic institutions were particularly interested in having the barons validate their benefactions, confirm the acts of others (particularly fiefholders), and report the arbitrations and adjudications of their disputes with laymen.¹⁸¹ Two letters sealed by Bartholomew of Vignory, among the earliest extant letters in Clairvaux's archive, are typical. In one, drafted and sealed in his castle at Vignory (1158), Bartholomew confirmed his earlier settlement with the monks; in the other, he confirmed the resolution of a dispute between his knight, Bertrand of Provençères, and the monks of Beaulieu (1169).¹⁸² On another occasion Bartholomew and two neighboring barons, Bartholomew II of Nogent and Renier of Chaumont, met at Nogent castle where they sealed identical letters drawn up by their own clerics confirming the settlement of a dispute (1161).¹⁸³ Increasingly, the barons had letters patent drawn up by household clerics or canons of chapters in their castles, beyond the confines of monasteries and cathedral chanceries which hitherto had monopolized the production and validation of sealed instruments.¹⁸⁴ In those same years aristocratic women, too, acquired seals and began to seal letters jointly with their husbands and independently as widows. Agnes, heiress of Baudement, sealed a number of letters with her second husband, Robert I of Dreux, over the course of thirty years (1155–86).¹⁸⁵ Ade, viscountess of Meaux, and Agathe of Pierrefonds sealed with their husbands from the 1160s.¹⁸⁶ By 1190 prominent widows like Helvide of Dampierre and Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine were sealing third-party confirmations and arbitrations of disputes, just as their husbands did earlier.¹⁸⁷

At first, personal seals were used to validate documents describing acts

made orally before witnesses, just as the sealed instruments of the counts recorded acts done “in public” at their court. But from the 1170s, letters patent increasingly omitted references to witnesses, as the authority of the seal sufficed to validate the document. In 1179, for example, the monks of Clairvaux asked Erard I of Chacenay (1179–91) to confirm the donations of his grandfather Anseric II and grandmother Hubeline, as contained in their sealed instruments; Erard did so by sealing his own letter, in essence confirming a written record rather than an oral act he had witnessed, a practice that his son would repeat a quarter century later.¹⁸⁸ Count Henry II did the same in 1188, when the monks of Cheminon presented Ermengard of Le Plessis’s sealed letter of donation for his confirmation; chancery scribes copied her letter (without mentioning it) under the count’s name and affixed his seal to the confirmation, in effect, validating a reported act rather than a witnessed one.¹⁸⁹ In that same year, 1188, the chancery dispensed with witnesses altogether in the count’s own letters. No longer would it be possible to summon witnesses to verify what had transpired in their presence, as Henry I could for most of his acts, and as Hugh did earlier in the century, when he ordered a document read aloud so that the named witnesses could recall and confirm his earlier decision.¹⁹⁰ Thereafter the chancery routinely drafted and sealed confirmations of privately sealed letters patent, that is, of acts reported *per litteras* rather than acts performed orally in public.¹⁹¹ Even the prelates of Reims and Sens began to confirm aristocratic letters patent on the authority of their seals alone.¹⁹² Although the sealed instrument did not entirely displace the witnessed oral act, it increasingly supplanted it. And just as significant, the count’s chancery and baronial household clerics emerged as alternatives to episcopal chanceries and monastic scriptoria for the drafting of constitutive transactions.

Since most of the sealed letters written in the name of laymen were intended as records of the possessions and rights of religious institutions, they took their place beside the royal, princely, papal, and episcopal instruments in those institutional archives. The Paraclete had a letter of donation from Elvide, lady of Nangis; a letter of arbitration from Hermesend of Barsur-Seine, dowager lady of Traînel; a court decision by Garnier III, lord of Traînel; and a confirmation of a gift by Hugh III, lord of Broys.¹⁹³ Even the monks of Clairvaux, who preferred episcopal confirmations of their property transactions, amassed a small collection of baronial letters patent (perhaps thirty) by the end of the century, including letters from Gautier I of Vignory and the seneschal Geoffroy V of Joinville (gift of a fief from each), Erard I of Chacenay (gift of a vineyard), Guy of Dampierre (license to cut down five oak trees annually), and Hugh II of Plancy (grant of a 60s. toll rent for an anniversary Mass).¹⁹⁴

Even more intriguing are the letters patent sealed by laymen for their private transactions with each other. Although most of those letters later

perished in the family archives where they were deposited, we know from the few that survive in the archives of religious institutions that by 1200 they were commonly used to record routine, strictly lay transactions. Giles of Plancy sealed a letter for his sister Caprarie, promising her their mother's land at Pâlis.¹⁹⁵ Hugh III of Broyes gave his second wife, Elizabeth of Dreux, a dower letter, which she placed with the monks of Clairvaux for safekeeping.¹⁹⁶ These examples suggest the existence of a body of strictly lay letters circulating within the aristocracy in the last decades of the century.¹⁹⁷ Even knights like Manasses of Villegruis were sealing instruments by that time; he carried his seal matrix with him on the Third Crusade and sealed a letter at the siege of Acre in 1191.¹⁹⁸ What aristocratic men and women did not do, before 1198, was to submit sealed letters to the count or his chancery. They would do so within a few years of Countess Marie's death.

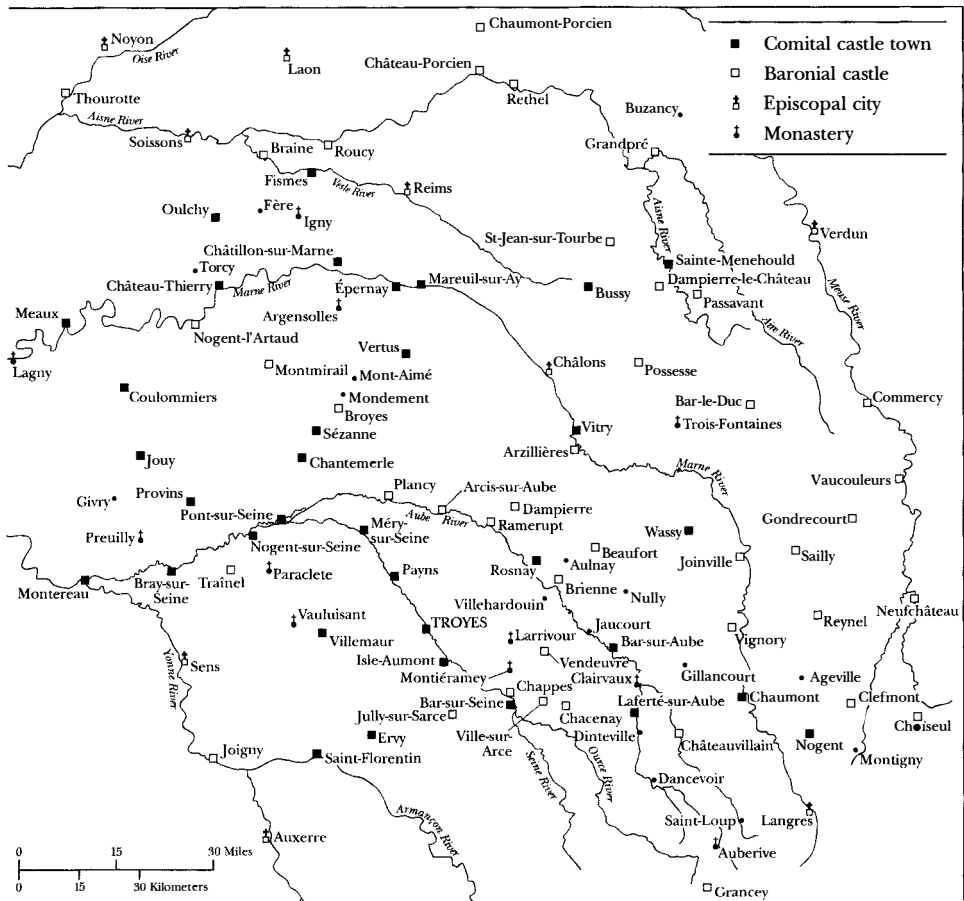
Chapter 2

Governing the Principality and Its Aristocracy

The death of Countess Marie (11 March 1198) closed a half-century during which Champagne coalesced as an independent principality adjacent to the royal domain. In Troyes, a centralized bureaucracy housed in Saint-Etienne served as its chancery, treasury, and mausoleum (where Henry the Liberal's monumental tomb dominated the chapel). With the palace complex serving as the administrative and dynastic epicenter of his new state, Henry had created a credible rival, at last, to the old episcopal principalities that ringed his lands. Two generations of sustained land clearing and urban growth fueled the county's economic expansion, and its periodic trade fairs, protected and regulated by the counts, attracted a stream of merchants from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, ensuring that the trunk route of international commerce would pass through the county. The intellectual and literary interests of Henry and Marie made Troyes a cultural center as well. The one dark cloud, in 1198, was the lingering aftermath of the failed Third Crusade, which had shattered many lordly and knightly families: an entire generation of men had vanished, lamented Guiot of Provins, replaced by younger, less accomplished heirs.¹

Transforming Governance, 1198–1253

The easy collegial style of governance under Henry and Marie evolved into a more controlling, subordinating one under Thibaut III (1198–1201), Blanche (1201–22), and Thibaut IV (1222–53). New comital policies regulated the building and use of fortifications, imposed liege homage on younger sons, and monitored the disposition of comital fiefs, in effect, circumscribing the use of the barons' most important properties. At the same time, the counts aggressively expanded their domain through the acquisition of baronial castles and strategically located properties, particularly along the fragmented eastern border with the empire. Between 1198 and 1253, six castles and castellanies with their enfeoffed knights entered the comital domain, not to mention the smaller lordships absorbed into the count's existing castellanies.² By mid-century, the county had attained its penultimate form with thirty-five castellanies.



Map 2. The County of Champagne in 1250.

The structural changes that Thibaut III and Blanche brought to the county and its aristocracy can be tracked in exceptional detail through the chancery's records. Chief among the internally produced registers are the incomparable rolls of fiefs and books of homages that surveyed the count's fiefholders periodically through the thirteenth century. The chancery also processed an increasing volume of letters patent. It continued to draft the count's own letters dealing with his barons, fiefholders, and religious communities, and it began to archive letters received from the barons regarding their fiefs, homages, and family affairs. Although the barons had been sealing letters patent for monasteries since the 1150s, and recently had been exchanging self-sealed letters among themselves for their private transactions, they did not submit letters to the counts before

Thibaut III required them to do so; in that, he was following the example of the king, who began to collect letters patent from his barons on returning from the Third Crusade in December 1191.³

COUNT THIBAUT III

Thibaut was only eighteen at the time of his brother Henry II's death (September 1197) and still a minor with respect to the comital office, but after Countess Marie died the next spring, the king accepted his homage (April 1198).⁴ That act spared Thibaut a regency by his closest relatives—his aunt Adele, the dowager queen, and his uncle William, the archbishop of Reims—the very persons responsible for Philip's own troubled accession nineteen years earlier. Despite a very brief rule (1198–1201) engulfed by preparations for the Fourth Crusade, Thibaut initiated several new policies that fundamentally redefined comital-baronial relationships in Champagne.⁵

Thibaut's most conspicuous initiative was the implementation of a multifaceted castle policy, beginning with the acquisition of strategically located baronial castles, much like what the dukes of Burgundy attempted in their lands.⁶ Within a year of his accession, he purchased Nogent-sur-Seine with its eleven enfeoffed knights from its heiress Elizabeth, who had survived her husband and three childless sons.⁷ Although Nogent moved from the abbey of Saint-Denis, its location on the Seine, astride the main interior route between Troyes and Provins, made it critically important to the count.⁸ Then in September 1200, Thibaut acquired the castle of Sainte-Menehould by exchange with Hugh II, count of Rethel, who had held it in fief.⁹ Located at the edge of the Argonne Forest on the road between Reims and Verdun, Sainte-Menehould spearheaded an expansion of comital influence into the still fluid eastern frontier, a task pursued through the next half-century by Thibaut's widow and son. Nogent-sur-Seine and Sainte-Menehould were the first significant increases of the comital domain since Henry I purchased Neuilly and Oulchy three decades earlier.

Of more immediate consequence to the baronage, however, was Thibaut's policy regarding the *mouvance*, construction, and use of baronial castles and fortified residences. Despite Carolingian precedents, neither the counts nor the dukes of Burgundy in the twelfth century regulated the construction or use of fortifications erected on allodial lands.¹⁰ Thibaut began to impose his direct lordship over all baronial fortifications, including those held by younger brothers from their older brothers. It is not known what prompted him to adopt a new castle policy. Perhaps he was attempting to consolidate his control over the baronial families in anticipation of rival claims to the county by his brother Henry II's two daughters. A more tangible concern might have been the wave of castle building throughout France in the 1190s, especially by younger sons of barons who owed their

primary allegiance to older brothers, uncles, or cousins rather than to the count. Those familial networks, which could easily evolve into armed leagues, were especially troublesome along border regions where the count, with few domain lands, appeared primarily as a distant overlord of his barons. Certainly the king understood the potential threat of such castle-holders whose primary loyalty ran to their close relatives: acting with the duke of Burgundy, the count of Nevers, and several prominent northern barons, Philip II tried to impose a new custom in 1209, to wit, that whenever fiefs were divided, each part would be held directly from the original lord to whom service, justice, and relief were owed.¹¹ The royal ordinance on fiefs (*stabilimentum feodorum*) did not run in Champagne, where the custom remained otherwise. As the High Court later reaffirmed, younger children could choose whether to hold their inheritances in fief from an older brother or directly from the count:

It is still the custom that when a vassal dies with children, the eldest child must retake[the fief] from the lord; the other children have the choice of retaking [their shares] from the eldest brother or from the lord from whom the inheritance moves, but they must do so within a year of reaching their majority.¹²

Thibaut attempted to circumvent that custom by insisting, as his son later explained, that “in Champagne all fortifications, no matter what type, must be held [directly] from the count of Champagne.”¹³ That is, even younger sons, if they held fortifications, were required to become the count’s liegemen despite customary practices. The import of that policy was readily apparent, for by preempting the homage of younger brothers, the count usurped the traditional role of the eldest son. Thibaut employed his youthful charm—no man had more true friends, said his marshal, Geoffroy of Villehardouin—as well as considerable financial resources in overcoming resistance to that policy.¹⁴ Simon of Châteauvillain said that he preferred to hold his castle in fief from his older half brother but did homage to the count after receiving a 30*l.* fief-rent “in compensation.”¹⁵ Guy of Jully-sur-Sarce likewise held his castle from his older brother, Clarembaud IV of Chappes, until compelled (*pourforcé*) to hold it directly from the count, his grandson recalled sixty-five years later.¹⁶

More difficult to reconstruct is how Thibaut induced some barons to promise to deliver their castles to him on demand, whether or not they held the castles in fief from him. Earlier counts had not expected the barons to hand over their castles, and the fact that Thibaut III and his successors had to negotiate that recognition for each castle suggests that the count’s preoccupation with renderability was a new concern.¹⁷ It was about 1200 that the barons began to promise to render (*reddere*) their castles, which were said to be renderable (*reddibile*) at the count’s need. Castles became “promised by oath and renderable” (*jurabile et reddibile*) or, as Countess Blanche put it in 1206, “promised to me and my heirs in aid and

renderable [to me] against all men who can live and die”¹⁸ Renderability also applied to fortified residences, the stone-built residential compounds constructed from the last decades of the twelfth century. By the time of Thibaut’s death, at least eighteen castles and fortified structures were officially listed as being renderable to him, and thereafter all new fortifications authorized for construction became renderable liege fiefs. With the exception of a handful of powerful barons whose royal ties allowed them to evade the count’s restrictions, the right of the barons to construct fortifications within the county had been circumscribed.¹⁹ The consequences of Thibaut’s castle policy became apparent during the next two decades of his widow’s regency, at a time when Philip II implemented a similar policy to control the castles of his own barons.²⁰

Beyond his castle policies, Thibaut’s innovations in record-making and record-keeping had far-reaching consequences for the aristocracy. The chancery put to parchment each of his transactions with his barons. In granting new fiefs, Thibaut presented sealed instruments describing the fiefs to serve as title deeds, as in his letters granting entire villages to Raoul Plunquet (Vandières) and Jocelin of Avallon (Gillancourt).²¹ Those letters survive because they were returned to the chancery, but they must have been typical of many of the count’s letters that later perished in the family archives of their recipients.²² The barons, for their part, were expected to deliver to the chancery their own sealed letters reporting or certifying all matters pertaining to the count and his fiefs. Geoffroy V of Joinville, the seneschal, vouched for his men living in the count’s lands; the counts of Brienne and Rethel confirmed their exchanges of property with Thibaut; and Jean of Montmirail reported the sale of his wife’s dower and his assignment of a new dower—all quite routine matters written down for the count’s benefit and preserved in the chancery archive.²³ That marked the beginning of an enormous expansion of the archive and its role in the governance of the principality.

THE REGENCY OF COUNTESS BLANCHE

Thibaut III died on 24 May 1201 while countess Blanche, then twenty-two, was in the last week of her second pregnancy.²⁴ Married for only two years and with slight experience as countess, Blanche immediately became an active regent for her daughter and expected child. Within days she sought out Philip II, who happened to be at Sens with the dowager queens Adele of France (Thibaut’s paternal aunt) and Berengaria of England (Blanche’s sister). Blanche presented her dower letter of 1199 for the king’s confirmation, then did liege homage, the first ever done by a countess of Champagne.²⁵ She promised not to remarry without the king’s permission; she surrendered two castles bordering the royal domain, Bray-sur-Seine and Montereau-Fault-Yonne, as security for her loyalty; and she gave up her

infant daughter to be raised at the royal court. Thus when Blanche delivered a son on 30 May, she and the future Thibaut IV were under royal protection. And since it had become customary for counts to succeed at twenty-one years of age, she would be regent for the next twenty-one years (1201–22).

The prospect of a lengthy regency by a foreign-born woman, after almost two decades of Countess Marie, must have unsettled some barons. Moreover, her son's right to the county was not entirely secure. In 1190 when the barons swore to accept Henry II's younger brother as count, should he not return from the Third Crusade, no one could have imagined that Henry would remain in the Levant, marry Isabelle, queen of Jerusalem, and have children there. So in May 1201 the question was fairly posed: did not the daughters of Henry II, who were born while he was still count, have a better claim to Champagne than his brother Thibaut's posthumous son? The mass exodus of barons and knights the next spring on the Fourth Crusade—many had taken the cross with Thibaut in 1199—temporarily diffused the issue while Blanche consolidated her grip on the county. But the question of succession overshadowed all other events for the next two decades.

The First Decade

After securing oaths of loyalty from her provosts, under threat of her "wrath and ill-will," Blanche actively pursued Thibaut's expansionist policies.²⁶ On the northeastern frontier she strengthened the newly acquired castle of Sainte-Menehould and awarded fiefs for a garrison of knights.²⁷ She insisted that the recently constructed fortress of Saint-Jean-sur-Tourbe, which controlled the road between Sainte-Menehould and Reims, be held in fief directly from her rather than through the count of Grandpré.²⁸ And she established co-lordships with monasteries over the nearby villages of La Neuville-au-Pont and Chaudefontaine, thereby extending the comital presence into the countryside where the counts lacked their own domain lands.²⁹ At the same time and more dramatically in the southeast, she retained possession of the mortgaged castle of Chaumont after its lord, Milo, died on the Fourth Crusade. Milo had mortgaged his castle to Henry II before the Third Crusade, and again to Thibaut III before the Fourth Crusade, but this time he died with the debt outstanding.³⁰ Like Nogent-sur-Seine a few years earlier, Chaumont lacked a direct heir and Blanche insisted, against some opposition from barons in the Bassigny, that it remain in the comital domain. At her Christmas court in Troyes (1205), she bought off Milo's half brother in the presence of the bishop of Langres and "all the barons of Champagne," a phrase obviously crafted to legitimize her possession of Chaumont.³¹ It was the first time the house of Champagne had intruded into the Bassigny, hitherto a haven for independent

baronial families on the fringes of Champagne, Burgundy, Bar-le-Duc, and Lorraine. Chaumont became the staging post for the subsequent comital penetration of the Bassigny, and by mid-century it was the center of a *bailiage*.³²

Within the first three years of Blanche's regency, the chancery undertook a new census of fiefholders, or perhaps completed one begun earlier in anticipation of the Fourth Crusade, just as it had prepared surveys preceding the expeditions of Henry I and Henry II.³³ The former baronial castellanies of Nogent-sur-Seine, Sainte-Menehould, and Chaumont appear for the first time as comital castellanies.³⁴ A separate roll listed renderable baronial castles.³⁵ Despite their immediate utility, those lists of fiefs and renderable castles were the last of their kind for fifty years. The rolls had served Henry I in recasting the political space of Champagne, but they had short lives as current registers; letters patent sealed by the barons would prove more effective as an administrative tool during Blanche's regency. By 1209, in fact, chancery clerics were so unfamiliar with the rolls that they could not ascertain whether the counts of Blois and Sancerre were Blanche's liegemen. She had to ask Geoffroy of Villehardouin and Milo II Breban, the former marshal and chamberlain, who remained in Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade as marshal and butler of the Latin Empire. They replied that the counts of Blois and Sancerre were indeed her liegemen, which she could verify by consulting the rolls of fiefs (*scripta feodorum*) that Henry II had deposited (in 1190) in Saint-Etienne.³⁶

Countess Blanche, like Marie before her, was remarkably active in conducting the routine affairs of the comital office. She received petitions, resolved disputes, confirmed private agreements, granted new fiefs, and received homages at her court. She was particularly vigilant in enforcing her husband's castle policy after the barons returned from Constantinople in 1204 and 1205. She induced Gautier I of Vignory to make his walled town of Vignory a comital fief, despite the fact that he held its castle and tower as a liege fief from the count of Burgundy.³⁷ She prohibited Robert II of Dreux and Braine, one of the more powerful barons of northern France, from reinforcing his house at Torcy and constructing a new fortified residence at Lizy-sur-Ourcq; she allowed him instead to erect a substantial fortress on his allodial land at Fère, but only after he made it a renderable fief in accordance with Thibaut III's new policy.³⁸ Behind all these moves lay Blanche's preoccupation with her son's succession, for Henry II's daughters Alix and Philippa were reaching the age of marriage. As Thibaut entered his ninth year in 1209, Blanche sought the king's unequivocal guarantee of her son's right to succeed. Philip promised to take the boy's homage at twenty-one "for the lands his father held when he died." The king would not to hear any challenge until that time (May 1222) because, he explained: "the custom and practice in France is this, that no one under twenty-one should have to defend the inheritance his

father held without challenge when he died.”³⁹ That accord, endorsed by three other overlords of Champagne—the prelates of Langres and Reims and the duke of Burgundy—seemed to settle the issue.⁴⁰ In February 1210, eight-year-old Thibaut began a four-year stay at the royal court.

Despite the king’s strong stance, Blanche pursued an aggressive castle policy in the event that Thibaut’s succession required a military solution. She purchased the castle of Baudement from its heiress, Elizabeth of Dreux, and she bought out the vestigial lordly rights of families with whom the counts had long shared the castle towns of Pont-sur-Seine, Villemaur, and Ery.⁴¹ She coaxed several castle lords, including Guy II of Dampierre, to make their castles liege and renderable; she paid others, like Simon of Passavant, to fortify their residences; and she built an entirely new castle complex at the centrally located site of Mont-Aimé.⁴² Approaching the tenth year of her rule, Blanche appointed her nephew, Remi of Navarre, as chancellor (1211–20). Within a year (by October 1211), chancery clerics produced the first-ever codex copy of the archive’s holdings, with full-text copies of letters received from the prelates and barons since 1201.⁴³ That volume served as both a finding aid to the archive and a convenient record of Blanche’s first decade of rule. The next year she convened thirty-four prominent barons to approve her ordinance regulating the succession to castles by daughters in the absence of sons, in effect, reconciling the principle of partible succession with her need for intact fortifications.⁴⁴

The Civil War

The issue of succession reemerged, just as Blanche had feared, in the spring of 1213. Erard of Ramerupt, scion of the powerful old Brienne family, announced his departure for the Holy Land to marry Henry II’s youngest daughter Philippa, then about sixteen or seventeen, in order to claim the county as her inheritance. Reacting with characteristic vigor, Blanche obtained the king’s renewal of his earlier commitment.⁴⁵ She also sought Pope Innocent III’s ruling on three questions: had the county been legitimately transferred to Thibaut III; was Henry II’s own marriage in fact invalid (and his daughter therefore illegitimate); and was Erard himself related to Philippa within the prohibited degree for a legitimate marriage? By late fall, a papal commission of inquiry found for Blanche on all points.⁴⁶ At the same time, Blanche asked the king to accept the boy’s homage despite Thibaut’s age and her earlier agreement with the king. Philip declined to do so. Instead, at Compiègne on 21 November 1213, he compromised: Blanche swore that Thibaut would not do homage (to other lords) until he reached twenty-one, while Philip promised to accept Thibaut’s homage at that time but not before, “unless by my will.”⁴⁷ Ten leading barons of Champagne swore to observe that understanding and to submit sealed letters in attestation.⁴⁸ Next August, however, after Thibaut

had completed his four-year residency at Paris (March 1214) and had performed valorous deeds at the Battle of Bouvines (14 July), Philip relented in the face of Blanche's persistent entreaties. He accepted Thibaut's liege homage for "the entire county of Champagne and Brie," a formulation designed to prevent any other overlord of Champagne (like William of Joinville, the contentious bishop of Langres) from accepting a homage (specifically of Erard of Brienne) for any part of the county (particularly the old county of Bar-sur-Aube, which moved from the bishop of Langres).⁴⁹ Thibaut, for his part, promised to remain under his mother's tutelage, despite his homage, until he attained his majority, and sealed his first letter in attestation.⁵⁰ That novel solution—an anticipatory homage—effectively precluded any legal challenge on its merits.

On returning to Troyes in that same month of August 1214, Blanche made peace with two dangerous adversaries: her seneschal Simon of Joinville (1204–33), who had claimed his office by hereditary right; and his brother William, bishop of Langres (1209–19) and overlord of the county of Bar-sur-Aube. William was the first of Thibaut's episcopal overlords to receive his homage.⁵¹ In September Blanche accompanied Thibaut to do homage to his other overlords: Odo III, duke of Burgundy, who was gravely ill at Fontenay; Aubry, archbishop of Reims; Gérard, bishop of Châlons; Pierre, archbishop of Sens; and William, bishop of Auxerre.⁵² Blanche had successfully shifted the basis of Thibaut's rights from "custom" (the age of succession) and canon law (the legitimacy of Erard of Brienne's wife and their marriage) to homage. Thibaut's homages had created powerful new facts on the ground. But Blanche did not stop there: anticipating an armed conflict, she collected sealed declarations of loyalty from her most important barons.⁵³

The king finally heard Erard of Brienne's suit at Melun in July 1216. Erard asked Philip to accept his homage for "the county of Champagne as Count Henry [II] formerly held it" and which passed, he claimed, to his wife Philippa. The king and the peers of the realm, nine named prelates and nine named "barons," concluded that Erard and Philippa lacked standing because, according to the custom of France, "if anyone is invested with a fief by the lord of the fief, the latter should not accept the homage of another person for that fief so long as the person already invested with it is ready to answer for it in his lord's court." Thibaut III had done homage to the king (1198) "with the assent of the barons and without objection," said the court, and since Blanche after him did homage for her custody (1201), and then Thibaut himself did homage (1214), it was not right that Blanche and Thibaut be dispossessed of the county. Having decided the business at hand, the court adjourned *sine die*.⁵⁴ Erard promised to observe an open-ended truce so long as Blanche and Thibaut submitted to the king's court.⁵⁵ Philip directed all attending barons and prelates to seal their own letters patent confirming both the court's decision and Erard's prom-

ise to observe a truce; most of them did so in virtually identical letters deposited with the chancery.⁵⁶

Ignoring the truce declared at Melun, Erard and his allies took up arms against Blanche and for two years ravaged the southeastern quadrant of the county, disrupting the merchant caravans traveling to the fairs at Troyes and Bar-sur-Aube. The prelates of Champagne aided Blanche, with the exception of Hervé, bishop of Troyes, and William, bishop of Langres, who ignored papal instructions to excommunicate the seneschal Simon of Joinville for betraying the countess.⁵⁷ The most powerful ally of the rebels, Thibaut I, duke of Lorraine (1213–20), exploited the conflict by accepting homages from barons who sealed letters renouncing their fidelity to Blanche; that she later retrieved those incriminating letters suggests how important personally sealed instruments had become after 1200.⁵⁸

Ultimately the rebellion remained a localized affair, never transcending the narrow self-interests of the rebel barons. By early 1218 they had become isolated, as the papal excommunications and interdicts filtered through the region and Blanche pursued a relentless military campaign.⁵⁹ She ravaged the lands of her seneschal, who had failed to heed his earlier agreement, and imposed a humiliating peace: surrender of *mouvance* over Lafauche castle, delivery of his eldest son Geoffroy as hostage, and transfer of his ancestral castle of Joinville to his brother, Bishop William, as security for his good conduct.⁶⁰ With the aid of the dukes of Burgundy and Bar-le-Duc, Blanche led an army to Nancy and burned the town; she then joined with Emperor Frederick II in besieging the castle of Amance, which the duke of Lorraine surrendered at the end of May. After the duke renewed his fidelity to Blanche on 1 June, the rebellion collapsed and the barons made their separate peace. Blanche confiscated outright the castle of Giles of Saint-Jean-sur-Tourbe and reassigned it.⁶¹ But she allowed Simon IV of Clefmont, who had openly renounced his “fidelity and homage,” to keep his paternal and maternal inheritances as well as his wife’s inheritance after renewing his fidelity and homage.⁶² Blanche solidified her hold over the barons by granting sizable new fief-rents for the conversion of allodial castles to fiefs, for making fortresses renderable, and for future support against Erard of Brienne and his allies.⁶³ As for Erard of Brienne, the instigator of the war, he received exceptionally generous terms (4,000*l.* in cash and a lifetime rent of 1,200*l.*), a handsome reward for his persistence and sufficient to place him among the wealthiest barons of the county.⁶⁴

Blanche not only had saved her son’s inheritance, she had projected comital influence along the county’s eastern frontier far beyond its traditional limits, particularly into the Bassigny, homeland of many rebel barons who resented her presence in Chaumont. The task of pacifying the region was aided by the fortuitous departure of the bishop of Langres, William of Joinville, who was elected archbishop of Reims (9 June 1219).⁶⁵ Blanche sealed her victory in the east by having her nineteen-year-old son marry

Gertrude of Dagsburg, the sixteen-year-old widow of her most redoubtable adversary, Thibaut I of Lorraine, who died under mysterious circumstances (May 1220).⁶⁶ The duke's successor, his brother Matthew II, shrewdly converted his allodial castle and town of Neufchâteau to a comital fief.⁶⁷ The last baron to make peace, Erard II of Chacenay, swore his loyalty on 7 March 1222, two months before Thibaut IV's accession.⁶⁸ Blanche must have felt a profound sense of satisfaction in May 1222 when she withdrew to Argensolles, the Cistercian convent she founded as her retirement home.

One enduring consequence of the succession crisis was that it established a new norm of comital-baronial relationships. Whether they remained loyal to Blanche and Thibaut or made peace after rebelling, the barons were required to give tangible proof of their loyalty in the form of letters patent deposited in the chancery archive. As Raoul of Château-Porcien said in his, "I swear good faith . . . and so that no one may harbor any suspicion about it, I give my lord this letter in attestation of it."⁶⁹ But the consequences of the war extended even further. Blanche was the first ruler to circumvent the barons by imposing comital rights directly over their own knights and fiefholders. Perhaps she was copying the king, who in 1201 and again in 1213 had required the knights and townsmen of her own castle towns to swear oaths to her good conduct.⁷⁰ Blanche sent Matthew of Touquin to Joigny to receive the oaths of twelve named knights and thirty-seven townsmen to guarantee that their new count, Pierre, would render the castle on demand.⁷¹ She required the same from the knights of Jully-sur-Sarce and Gondrecourt castles.⁷² Thibaut IV obtained similar oaths from the knights and townsmen of Dampierre castle and the fiefholders of its castellany.⁷³

Within one generation Thibaut III and Blanche had made the castle lords of Champagne accountable for their fortifications. Since all castles and fortified residences henceforth were considered to be direct comital fiefs—and most of them also renderable on demand—all aristocratic residences located within "the county of Champagne and Brie," as the king called it, ipso facto came under the count's hand. The lines of loyalty to the count having being simplified and sharpened, all homages effectively had become liege homages.⁷⁴ Even so, the act of homage alone had proved insufficient to warrant a baron's loyal conduct. Blanche demanded, in addition, the supporting oaths of a baron's knights and his own sealed letter, which was preserved in the chancery archives under the heading *De homagiis nobis factis*.⁷⁵ The civil war had ended any lingering pretense of collegial governance in Champagne.

COUNT THIBAUT IV

Thibaut IV's rule (1222–53) is conventionally divided into two parts, before and after he inherited the kingdom of Navarre. The first twelve

years are viewed as a series of misadventures in which Thibaut was accused of abandoning Louis VIII at the siege of Avignon (1226), dallying with the regent queen, Blanche of Castile, and betraying the great northern French barons who in outrage invaded Champagne (1229–30).⁷⁶ According to this narrative, Thibaut's misfortunes came to a head in 1233 when Alix, Henry II's eldest daughter and queen of Cyprus, threatened to reprise the civil war of Thibaut's minority with her claim to Champagne. The very next year, Thibaut's fortunes took a dramatic turn when he became king of Navarre (8 May 1234) after the death of his maternal uncle, Sancho VII the Strong, and simultaneously liquidated Alix's claim to Champagne.⁷⁷ For the rest of his reign, except for his expedition to the Holy Land (1239–40), the count-king spent most of his time in Navarre or traveling between Champagne and Navarre.

Such an account obscures the fact that Thibaut initially had cordial relations with Louis VIII, with whom he was intimately familiar since his residence at the royal court (1210–14); that Louis may have arranged Thibaut's marriage with Agnes of Beaujeu (1223) after his divorce from Gertrude of Dagsburg; and that Thibaut's first military experience as count was in service with Louis in western France (1224). It ignores as well Thibaut's considerable achievements within Champagne in those same years. Not only did he continue his mother's political and economic policies and heal the divisions caused by the civil war, he established a set of post-conflict administrative and record-keeping practices that rivaled in originality his grandfather Henry I's inquest on fiefs a half-century earlier.

Administering a Feudal Polity

The Chancery. Thibaut began his rule with the appointment of a new chancellor, William (1222–32), who thoroughly reorganized the chancery's archive and record-keeping procedures.⁷⁸ The hundreds of baronial letters patent received during Blanche's regency were reclassified and copied into a codex volume (Cartulary-Register 4) that served as a finding aid to a closed archive. A copy of that volume, later known as the "Cartulary of Countess Blanche" (Cartulary-Register 3), was made for Blanche's consultation in retirement at Argensolles (1222–29). At the same time, chancery clerics opened a new depository for incoming letters received after Thibaut's accession and created two novel registers to track the count's transactions with his fiefholders. One register contained the minutes of the count's own letters, essentially copies of the stenographic notes made on wax tablets from which scribes composed his formal letters. That register predated the royal register of minutes by a half-century.⁷⁹ The second register, a book of homages, recorded in chronological order the names of those who did homage to the count or to his chancery officials in Troyes.⁸⁰ Being open-ended, the two registers were kept in unbound quires rather

than in rolls (used for inquests) or bound volumes (which functioned as finding aids and commemorative volumes). Thus within two years of Thibaut's accession, the chancery had devised an efficient system for tracking current transactions between the count and his fiefholders: an open archive for incoming letters, minutes of the count's own outgoing letters, and a register of homages. That simple record-keeping system remedied the singular deficiency of the periodic inquest, which became outdated from the moment of its completion.

The chancery reorganization was completed before Thibaut returned to Champagne in September 1224 after a summer campaigning with Louis VIII in Aquitaine. That fall he reformed the coinage, replacing the coins of Troyes, Provins, and Meaux with a single new and heavier coin, the *provi-nois*.⁸¹ He then convened a general council of barons to meet in Troyes during the Christmas holidays. It was the first general gathering of the barons since Blanche had summoned them in 1212 to regulate the succession to castles by heiresses. Well over thirty barons attended the meeting (about as many as in 1212) whose primary purpose was to extend to sons the principles enacted earlier for daughters.⁸² In a spirit of reconciliation, even former rebel barons were present. The strong ties that Thibaut established with his barons in those early years would serve him well later: they withstood the crisis with Louis VIII (1226), the invasion of the northern barons (1229–30), and even the lure of Alix of Lusignan (1233–34), who drew only one baron, Renier II of Nogent, to her cause.⁸³ There is no evidence of baronial discontent in Champagne during Thibaut's subsequent long absences from the county, nor indeed under his successors through the rest of the century.

The only seriously disruptive event of Thibaut's rule was the invasion of 1229–30, which resulted in the devastation of villages and towns south of Troyes and even threatened Troyes itself. But the seneschal, Simon of Joinville, rallied the townsmen of Troyes, and the count's other castle towns also held. In gratitude, Thibaut granted generous communal franchises, in his first vernacular acts, to his largest urban centers (September 1230 to January 1232).⁸⁴ At the same time the chancery, which had faced the loss of its most precious records, undertook to recopy all its registers documenting the count's relations with his fiefholders. The four cartularies housed in the chancery (Cartulary-Registers 1, 2, 4, 5) were recopied in a massive, 356-folio duplicate volume (Cartulary-Register 6).⁸⁵ The extant rolls of fiefs from the time of Henry I, Henry II, and Blanche, perhaps seventy-five to ninety rolls in all, and the current book of homages were recopied in a separate 127-folio volume subsequently entitled *Feoda Campanie*.⁸⁶ Those two duplicate volumes—one of archived letters patent, the other of the chancery's internal registers of fiefs and homages—contained a half-century's worth of information on the count's fiefs and fiefholders. Whether the volumes were consulted is unknown. They may have been car-

ried by the count in transit or simply retained in the chancery as security copies. But the fact that they were made at all attests to the critical role of the chancery records in the governance of the principality.

Bailiffs. Bailiffs (*baillivi*) had been collecting and dispersing the count's revenues since at least 1166.⁸⁷ Under Blanche, they gradually extended their oversight to the barons and knights, especially after 1210.⁸⁸ By 1220 the full range of their activities becomes visible: they resolved disputes between laymen and religious,⁸⁹ they conducted inquests,⁹⁰ they served as notaries in business transactions between townsmen,⁹¹ and they physically enforced the count's rights.⁹² The bailiff Jean of Épernay even personally delivered the count's letter to the monks of Saint-Martin of Epernay recommending the election of Guy of Igny as their abbot.⁹³ The same bailiff examined Count Hugh's foundation charter for Sermaize priory (1094)—for what reason we do not know—and had a copy made of the document with its crumbling seal before sending both the original and the copy to the chancery.⁹⁴

The bailiffs, and the provosts who assisted them, paid particular attention to the count's fiefs.⁹⁵ The knight Hugh of Vallery, for example, who did homage to Thibaut for a 30*l.* fief-rent at Provins, left a letter of receipt with the bailiff there (1229); it was still on deposit twenty years later when the bailiff had it copied during the inquest on fiefs.⁹⁶ Aubert of Le Plessis left a sealed letter with the bailiff of Sainte-Menehould promising that both his sons would be the count's liegemen (1231); the knight Matthew of Buzancy gave the bailiff of Meaux a letter declaring his two inherited fiefs (1241).⁹⁷ Jean, count of Rethel, in his letter to the bailiff of Sainte-Menehould (1245), named the castles and lands he had just inherited from his brother.⁹⁸ Those letters, too, were copied during the inquest of 1249–51. Beyond overseeing routine transfers of fiefs, the bailiffs often took a direct hand in other matters involving the count's fiefs. The bailiff of Bar-sur-Aube, for example, acting on the count's order, confiscated Simon of Clefmont's fief at Coupray because it had been sold without license to the lord of Châteauvillain.⁹⁹ Leo of Sézanne, bailiff of Sézanne, certified that the fief the count had acquired, then granted to Eustace of Conflans, actually produced a 20*l.* of revenue.¹⁰⁰ Margaret of Dampierre went so far as to insert a clause in her daughter's marriage contract requiring a bailiff to verify the value of her daughter's dowry so that she could recover its full value if the prospective husband, Hugh III of Rethel, died without children, which he did.¹⁰¹

Bailiffs continued to serve as the primary intermediary between the count and the fiefholding aristocracy through the rest of the century, but after 1234 they ordinarily answered to a new executive officer, the vice-regent (*vicegens, custos, garde*), who administered the county during the count's extended absences in Navarre.¹⁰² Thibaut first appointed his father-

in-law Archambaud VII of Bourbon (1234–37), then his wife’s uncle, Jean III of Thourotte (1237–51), to serve in that capacity.¹⁰³ Henceforth the count’s fiefholders reported their affairs either to a bailiff or to the vice-regent. The vice-regent also heard suits on appeal from the bailiffs’ courts and kept the count informed about current affairs in the county.¹⁰⁴ Financial transactions between the count and his fiefholders were handled by a revolving group of experienced bailiffs and businessmen under the supervision of the count’s receiver (*receptor*), or chief financial officer, with the collegiate chapter of Saint-Quiriace of Provins serving as a bureau of accounts. The chapter’s treasurer, Jacques of Rebais (1238–55), and dean, Jean of Voisines (1239–73), were among Thibaut’s most trusted officials.¹⁰⁵ Jacques of Rebais in particular was intimately involved in buying back the count’s fiefs (1240s) and in conducting the great inquest on fiefs (1249–51). By that time, the regional aristocracy and religious houses had become accustomed to dealing with the count’s various officials—bailiffs and provosts in the count’s castle towns, chancery officials in Troyes, financial officials in Provins, and the vice-regent—rather than with the count himself. No longer did the count routinely receive petitioners or hear cases before his court of barons and household officials in the manner of Henry I and Marie.

THE INQUEST OF 1249–51

In the fall of 1249 the count’s officials undertook the most ambitious inquest ever attempted in Champagne. Although a motive was never stated, it may have arisen from discussions at the Council of Lyon in 1245, specifically regarding taxes preparatory to Louis IX’s crusade.¹⁰⁶ Like the contemporary inquest for Charles of Anjou in Provence, the inquest in Champagne collected a wide range of information about the count’s fiefholders and their fiefs.¹⁰⁷ Chancery scribes compared their “new” registers (*nova scripta*) to the original ones made sixty and seventy years earlier (*antiqua scripta*). The new survey resembled its twelfth-century predecessors in being a systematic undertaking organized by castellany, but it gathered far more detailed information pertaining to fiefs, attached rear-fiefs, and alienated fiefs. The commissioners did not collect testimony passively: they questioned implausible statements, verified the accuracy of their entries, and added relevant information from other sources. The inquest of 1249–51 became the model for all subsequent surveys—in 1262 and 1275, and through the fourteenth century under royal officials—although none would rival the precision and scope of its information.

The inquest began in late 1249 or the spring of 1250, with commissioners canvassing the five castellanies closest to Provins: first Provins itself, then Jouy, Pont-sur-Seine, Nogent-sur-Seine, and Bray-sur-Seine.¹⁰⁸ The clerics at Saint-Quiriace who examined the initial returns were preoccu-

pied with the underreporting of castleguard, even though comparisons with those obligations reported in the earlier fief rolls were of limited value by the mid-thirteenth century, when many tenants did not know or were unsure of their obligations.¹⁰⁹ By the late fall of 1250 the mechanics of the inquest had been clarified and the count, en route to Navarre, notified his fiefholders of the impending inquest:

Thibaut, by the grace of God, king of Navarre, count palatine of Champagne and Brie, to all barons, castellans, knights and other fiefholders (*universis baronibus, castellanis, militibus et aliis feodatis*) in the county of Champagne and Brie, greeting and warm regards (*dilectionem*). Be advised that I am sending my trusted Giles of Villenauxe, knight [bailiff of Provins],¹¹⁰ and Master Jacques [of Rebais], my cleric [treasurer of Saint-Quiriace], through all my land to inquire about my fiefs (*feodis*). Therefore, I firmly order you, by the fidelity (*fidelitatem*) you owe me, that when you are asked you will name truthfully, on oath (*per juramenta*), all the fiefs and rear-fiefs (*retrofeodis*) that you hold from me. Given at Bourges, in the year of the Lord 1250 [October–1251 February].¹¹¹

The inquest resumed in the spring of 1251.¹¹² Two commissioners traveled to each of the remaining twenty-nine castellany centers to conduct sessions called “Days” (*dies*), where fiefholders gave sworn testimony to a number of questions: What is your name and title? What do you hold in fief from the count and where? What have you recently alienated from the fief and to whom? What is held from you in rear-fief and by whom? Do you owe castleguard and how much? Have you done homage for your fief? The commissioners noted the names of those who failed to appear (*non venit*) and listened to the testimony of wives, relatives, guardians, and agents of absent tenants, several of whom were ill or overseas. Itier II of La Brosse’s wife spoke for him, as he was overseas, and Milo of La Grange reported for his brother.¹¹³ The widowed lady of Vanault sent her provost Aubry to declare her dower of half the castle of Vanault and other properties yielding 140*l.* and name her fourteen rear-fiefholders.¹¹⁴ Those who had not yet done homage for their fiefs were instructed to do so—before Christmas in the case of the absent Milo of Montigny-Lencoup, whose relative testified for him.¹¹⁵

The commissioners paid close attention to the testimony, often requesting explanation or additional information. When Adam of Fontette reported that Pierre Putemonoie, viscount of Bar-sur-Aube, held the fortified residence and entire village of Courgerennes as a rear-fief, the commissioners wanted to know how and when he acquired it: “Adam replied that Lord William of La Cour acquired it from Lord Manasses of Pougy, but no one did homage for it; asked when this occurred, Adam said that it was not long ago.”¹¹⁶ The lady of Vaurenier, who said she didn’t know how the monks of Vauluisant acquired a revenue, was told to return and “tell the truth.”¹¹⁷ Those who lacked information were instructed to furnish it later: Jacques of Prés near Pont-sur-Seine, who testified about only one of

his two fiefs, was ordered to describe the second one and its castleguard at the next Days after Candlemas (2 February).¹¹⁸ Jacques of Plancy accounted for his own fiefs but failed to satisfy the commissioners about his rear-tenants and his recent alienations: he was instructed to report back on 22 July 1251.¹¹⁹ The widow of Eustace II of Conflans accounted for her dower lands and knew their value, but did not know about her military obligation, her rear-fiefs, or recent alienations: she, too, had to report later.¹²⁰ The commissioners completed their tour by the end of 1251, before the count returned from Navarre.¹²¹

The canons of Saint-Quiriace gathered the voluminous field returns in order to draw up a fair copy of the testimony.¹²² By the spring of 1252 they had produced two sets of rolls for each castellany, one of fiefholders and their fiefs and rear-fiefs, the other of recent alienations.¹²³ The extant rolls (twenty-three rolls of fiefs and three rolls of alienations) reveal how the clerks processed the inquest information. They began with two strips of parchment for each castellany—one for fiefs, one for alienations—onto which they transferred the inquest testimony from the field returns (Figure 1).¹²⁴ As they proceeded, the clerics checked each entry against the rolls of Henry I, noting discrepancies: the widow of Hugh of Grange-sur-Aube said her dower lands owed six weeks castleguard but, noted a scribe, “according to the old roster it owes three months.”¹²⁵ If the field report stated that a tenant was instructed to reappear with additional information (“he must name his rear-fiefs”), that remark was copied in the roll together with any information furnished subsequently (in this case, the names of rear-tenants).¹²⁶

The scribes then consolidated entries, verified the location of the fiefs, and incorporated information received in the course of the inquest.¹²⁷ Guy of Arcis-sur-Aube, for example, sent a letter from his deathbed describing his holdings. The scribes later copied his son’s letter naming the same holdings but crossed it out after realizing that it duplicated his father’s report.¹²⁸ The lady of Traînel wrote that she had been summoned by the “crier of Nogent” to testify before the commissioners at Provins but was sending a letter instead because she was ill.¹²⁹ The lord of Bazoches gave a full account of his fiefs in his letter to the commissioners.¹³⁰ The count of Grandpré wrote directly to Thibaut, declaring his homage for one-half of Ramerupt: one-quarter by collateral inheritance to his wife, and a second quarter by his own purchase.¹³¹ The scribes translated the vernacular letters into Latin, just as they translated oral testimony given during the inquest itself.¹³² Letter-reports that arrived too late to be added to the rolls, like Jean of Cuiseaux’s letter addressed to Jean of Thourotte (vice-regent) and Leo of Sézanne (bailiff of Sézanne), were deposited directly in the chancery archive at Saint-Etienne.¹³³ Those who missed the Days had to report to their bailiffs.¹³⁴ The bailiffs forwarded to Saint-Quiriace both the letters responding to the inquest and the relevant letters they had on file since

the 1230s, all of which were abstracted by chancery clerics in separate rolls entitled “Fiefs [reported] to the bailiff by letter.”¹³⁵

Repercussions of the inquest were evident even before the canons of Saint-Quiriace had fully processed their vast inquest materials. In the spring of 1251, just as the inquest resumed in earnest, the monks of Clairvaux sought to make peace with the count over the forty-two unauthorized acquisitions made since his previous authorization in 1231. Thibaut exacted a high price for that settlement: any property (*immobile*) acquired from laymen in the future required his license, and any gift in alms had to be regranted to a layman within one year and one day, except by special permission. In addition, the monks had to surrender the century-old letter of Thibaut II authorizing Clairvaux to acquire fiefs at will.¹³⁶ Other religious communities gave the count similar letters promising not to acquire his fiefs, rear-fiefs, and allods without license.¹³⁷ In late 1251, just as confiscations were imminent, the monks of Cheminon made a frightful discovery: they had misplaced Thibaut’s letter of amortization of 1223 and thus lacked proof of their good titles. A monk and a former monk, now abbot of Hautefontaine, traveled to Navarre to take oaths on a Bible and a cross, in Thibaut’s presence, that Cheminon had paid the count 300*l.* for his earlier authorization.¹³⁸ Those who waited too long to settle with the count discovered that he was in no mood to authorize new alienations.¹³⁹ His officials proceeded to confiscate fiefs either alienated without license or for which homage had not been done.¹⁴⁰ An ecclesiastical council held at Sens pleaded with the count to return confiscated property that had been in the church’s possession for forty years; a second council in Paris in November 1252 reiterated those concerns, since confiscations were continuing “incessantly from day to day,” and sent a representative to meet with the count, but the outcome of that initiative is unknown.¹⁴¹ Thibaut left for Navarre in the late fall of 1252 and died there on 14 July 1253.

A Landed Aristocracy in 1250

The county at Thibaut IV’s death was significantly different from the one his father inherited a half-century earlier. It was larger by at least five castellanies: two baronial castles within the heartland of the old county of Troyes were purchased from the heirs (Nogent-sur-Seine, 1199, and Bar-sur-Seine, 1220s), while three on the eastern frontier were acquired through exchange (Sainte-Menehould, 1200), unredeemed mortgage (Chaumont, 1204), and confiscation (Nogent, 1235). Other castles (Baudement, 1211) were incorporated into existing comital castellanies. Altogether, the new castellanies added more than two hundred fiefholders, compensating in part for the declining number of fiefholders within the count’s older castellanies.¹⁴²

With territorial expansion and administrative consolidation came a new

sense of the county as a political entity, one that displaced the older conception of Champagne as a congeries of castle lordships under the count of Troyes. Since the 1190s the barons in their letters referred to "the count of Champagne" and "the county of Champagne," while the king recognized Geoffroy of Villehardouin as the "marshal of Champagne."¹⁴³ Blanche, in her ordinance of 1212 governing the female inheritance of castles, spoke of "Champagne and Brie" as if the phrase already belonged to oral discourse.¹⁴⁴ In August 1214 Philip II accepted Thibaut's homage for "the entire county of Champagne and Brie," and three months later Thibaut, in his fourteenth year, sealed his first letter as "count of Champagne."¹⁴⁵ After his accession, Thibaut spoke of "the county of Champagne" and "the principality of Champagne."¹⁴⁶ A castle lord like Roger of Rozoy clearly understood Champagne in that sense when he located his castle and castellany of Chaumont-Porcien as being "within the borders of the county of Champagne."¹⁴⁷ No longer was a collection of semi-autonomous baronial lordships loosely held together by the recognition of the count's authority. The count's principality had subsumed the properties of his barons; their castles were now fully incorporated within his castellany districts and renderable to him according to "the customs of the county of Champagne."¹⁴⁸

If Thibaut III's castle policies created uniform regional customs regarding castles, the formalization of inheritance customs in 1212 and 1224, endorsed as they were by the leading barons of the county, had a comparable effect in standardizing inheritance practices. The dower custom, too, had become so firmly rooted that the seneschal, Simon of Joinville, could promise in a marriage contract (1231) that his son would assign his future wife a dower "according to the practice and custom of Champagne," without designating the property.¹⁴⁹ Other unwritten customs were determined, and thus defined, by the High Court. As the marshal Geoffroy of Villy put it, the count decided cases "according to the customs and practices of Champagne."¹⁵⁰ Like the royal domain at that time, the county was seen to possess a body of regional "customs" that reinforced, as much as reflected, the political consolidation of Champagne under the counts.¹⁵¹

By 1250 the subordination of the barons was complete. Formerly quasi-independent lordships were fully incorporated within the state created by Henry I and strengthened by his successors. The barons had participated in two countywide *parlements* in order to codify inheritance practices, but they no longer shared in the collegial governance of Champagne as their ancestors had with Henry I. Blanche and Thibaut IV entrusted the administration of the county to a cadre of clerical and lay professionals with whom the barons dealt directly through letters patent regarding familial and feudal matters. The barons were held to render their castles, not only to the count personally, but even to his *nuncio* on presentation of letters patent, and their own fiefholders could be required to swear oaths to guarantee

the conduct of their lords, an act unthinkable at the time of Henry I and Marie.¹⁵² The inquest of 1249–51 reflects the further leveling of the barons' role as fiefholders in that it surveys indiscriminately, without regard to rank or wealth, all those who held fiefs directly or indirectly from the count, whether castle lords, knights, squires or their wives, widows, and daughters. The twelfth-century regime of barons and fiefholding knights had evolved into a uniform system of tenure by a highly stratified landed aristocracy.¹⁵³

THE COUNT'S FIEFHOLDERS

The inquest surveyed 1,700 direct fiefholders, about 10 percent fewer than in Henry I's time (about 1,900 in 1178) in a county larger by at least five castellanies.¹⁵⁴ The contraction had been severe within the count's "old" castellanies, which lost almost 30 percent of their fiefholders in the seven decades between 1178 and 1250.¹⁵⁵ Most of that loss resulted from the alienation of fiefs by sale, mortgage, or bequest to monasteries. Thibaut IV contributed to that net loss by failing to regrant confiscated fiefs and the fiefs he purchased from needy tenants, and in awarding fewer new fiefs than his predecessors had in the twelfth century. Yet the fiefholders who disappeared from the registers did not necessarily vanish outright; some retook their alienated fiefs from new (primarily ecclesiastical) lords, while others continued to hold fiefs from other lords or retreated to their allodial properties. The contraction measured through the rolls of fiefs thus masks a countervailing extension of fiefholding beyond the count's purview, mostly on monastic lands.¹⁵⁶

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the count's fiefholders at mid-century is the stratification that had evolved from the simple lord-knight dichotomy found in the earlier rolls. In 1250 only about half of the count's fiefholders (55.5 percent) were knighted men (*domini* or *milites*).¹⁵⁷ That represented a radical change from the 1170s, when all 1,899 fiefholders (except for twelve women) were qualified as knights or barons. In announcing his inquest, in fact, Thibaut IV addressed his "barons, castellans, knights and other fiefholders (*alii feodatis*)."¹⁵⁸ Among those "other" fiefholders were the squires, who made up almost one-fifth of the count's fiefholders (18.5 percent) in 1250. The squire (*armiger*, *escuier*) emerged as a distinct social category from the 1220s, as some sons of knightly and lordly families postponed knighthood until middle age or never assumed it at all. That was a general phenomenon in the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁹ Knighthood no longer served as a natural profession for the sons of knights; it became an exclusive status for those who could afford the expenses of the ceremonial dubbing, the accouterment, and the upkeep of knighthood.¹⁶⁰ It had become a rank.¹⁶¹ And as the men of knightly families increasingly "failed to opt in" to knighthood, for whatever reason, the knightly class experienced a "thinning."¹⁶² What enabled the nonknighted

to delay or avoid knighthood altogether was that squires continued to hold fiefs and share the same noble or “gentleman” standing of their knighted brothers and relatives.¹⁶³ By mid-century the link between fiefholding and knightly status was definitively severed; indeed, a knight might even hold a fief from (and presumably do homage to) a squire.¹⁶⁴ It was precisely the de-linkage of knighthood and tenure in fief that made social designations like “noble squires” (*armigeri nobiles*) and “fiefholders” (*feodati, fievez*) useful in designating nonknighted fiefholders.¹⁶⁵

Less surprising is the fact that women (*dominae, domicellae*), the second major component of “other fiefholders,” accounted for about 20 percent of the count’s fiefholders in 1250 (five of the twenty-three extant rolls of fiefs begin with a woman’s entry).¹⁶⁶ Women had held fiefs since at least the 1120s, and by 1190 they represented about 13.4 percent of the count’s new fiefholders. Thereafter, women became much more visible as fiefholders. They sealed letters patent, they did homage, they declared their dowers at the chancery in Troyes, and they gave sworn statements regarding their fiefs to the inquest commissioners. Their testimony, both oral and written, suggests that they were well-informed about their fiefs, whether they held by inheritance, by dower, or in custody for absent husbands and minor children. Even heiresses were expected to “do homage and receive homages from their vassals” from eleven years of age, declared the High Court.¹⁶⁷ We would have to conclude that women were as immersed in the world of fiefholding as their husbands and sons.

THE COUNT’S FIEFS

The inquest of 1249–51 was the first to collect detailed information on the count’s fiefs. As might be expected, relatively few fiefs (about 17 percent) contained a structure of military significance: about 5 percent had a castle consisting of a walled town (*castrum*) or fortification (*fortericia*), in most cases dating to the twelfth century, and about 12 percent had a walled or fortified residence (*domus fort*) erected since the 1170s.¹⁶⁸ It is not entirely clear how the fiefholders themselves distinguished between a castle, tower, and fortified (or moated) residence, nor is the military value of those structures always apparent.¹⁶⁹ For the count, of course, there was a critical difference between a simple residence and a fortified one that had to be licensed, renderable, and held as a liege fief. The count prohibited Thomas of Mirvaux from fortifying his house with a moat and towers precisely because it was not held as a direct comital fief.¹⁷⁰ It is noteworthy that one of every eight comital fiefs in 1250 contained a walled residential compound of some sort, a type of structure limited to the old baronial families in the time of Henry I.

One-third of the count’s fiefs (35.7 percent) contained a simple house (*domus*), without walls or fortification, a structure that might be described

as a “lordly residence” distinct from neighboring peasant houses.¹⁷¹ The remaining fiefs (44.5 percent) lacked residences altogether, consisting rather of small properties, rents, or taxes, with their specific components depending entirely on familial circumstances. The village of Montfey, for example, worth 115*l.* in annual revenue, was a substantial knightly fief in 1250. Shortly before the inquest, however, it was fractured by partible inheritance into four distinct fiefs of approximately equal value. Lord Hugh, the eldest, had 30*l.* in revenue but only a modest house in Montfey because he had property elsewhere. It was his younger brother Gérard, a squire, who occupied the family’s fortified residence with an equal revenue. Their sister’s son occupied another house in Montfey with 30*l.* revenue, while a second sister received land without a residence of any kind providing about 25*l.* income.¹⁷² Similarly in the village of Rosnay, the eldest son, Jean of Rosnay, did not occupy the family’s fortified residence because his widowed mother held it in dower; Jean had only a small landless fief there, residing instead on his rear-fief at Possesse until his mother died.¹⁷³ Other fiefholders lived in residences on their allodial properties or on fiefs held from other lords; and a few, like the two knights who rented houses from the nuns of Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains of Troyes, may not have owned houses at all.¹⁷⁴ In Champagne as in Burgundy, most of those who held fiefs, and who consequently were regarded as “nobles” and “gentlemen” in the mid-thirteenth century, lived in modest, unfortified residences, and not necessarily on the count’s fiefs.¹⁷⁵

Comital fiefs generally produced quite modest revenues in 1250, as they had in the 1170s. The average fief yielded about 26*l.* annually, about what each of the four Montfey siblings had, and about what a well-to-do knight was expected to provide his daughter as dowry.¹⁷⁶ But the median revenue of 15*l.* reflects better the value of most fiefs at the lower income levels, far below the average value of fiefs with houses (20*l.*), fortified residences (40*l.*), and castles (100*l.*). Of course, since most of the count’s fiefholders held fiefs from other lords and had allodial property as well, the inquest cannot be used to determine a fiefholder’s entire income or to draw any conclusion about the financial well-being of the fiefholding class.

If the count’s fiefs generally were of modest value in 1250, they also were largely free from castleguard: only one-fourth (26.6 percent) of the fiefholders reported any annual service. Tours of duty also were shorter than in 1178, in large part because divided fiefs carried proportional obligations.¹⁷⁷ Most respondents either denied owing castleguard (24.1 percent) or did not mention it (42.5 percent).¹⁷⁸ A few, when queried, experienced amnesia.¹⁷⁹ But others genuinely did not know or were uncertain about it. Stephan of Chanoy said he had heard his father talk about it but did not know how much he owed—it must have been at least a month, he thought.¹⁸⁰ The widow of Philip of Séant said that her husband’s fief owed castleguard but he had not done it in the past forty years.¹⁸¹ Jean of Tige-

court said that he owed forty days duty either at Sézanne or Provins, and probably at Provins, he believed.¹⁸² Such responses suggest that annual castleguard no longer was routinely performed, and indeed was slipping from memory. That is why chancery officials consulted the “old registers” in order to determine the original service obligation.¹⁸³ Ultimately, however, the notion of fiefholding knights performing castleguard in the count’s castle towns, as depicted in Henry I’s rolls of fiefs, was entirely outmoded by 1250.

From County to Royal Province, 1253–85

The two decades following Thibaut IV’s death in 1253 eerily replicated the two decades following Henry I’s death in 1181. In each case the county passed successively to a regent countess, an eldest son, a younger brother, and a second countess as regent for an infant. But whereas the infant boy in 1201 would continue the line of independent counts, the infant girl in 1273 would marry the future King Philip IV (1284), ending the county’s autonomy. The regional aristocracy, deprived of a resident prince, would be marginalized from public life except for the privileged few who attended the king beyond the county.

COUNTESS MARGARET AND COUNT THIBAUT V

Thibaut IV’s eldest son was only eighteen in 1253 and so Margaret of Bourbon, then in her mid-thirties, assumed the regency of Champagne and Navarre (1253–56).¹⁸⁴ Like Blanche a half-century earlier, Margaret faced a threat to her son’s succession, this time in Navarre, where her quick response to the Navarrese barons and her alliance with the king of Aragon preserved her son’s rights there. In Champagne, the dramatic confrontation with religious institutions over their acquisitions of fiefs ended with Thibaut IV’s death, but it marked a fundamental reversal of comital-monastic relations that had been characterized by exceptional generosity on the part of the counts since the time of Count Hugh. Countess Margaret calmed the waters by allowing limited acquisitions of fiefs on an individual basis. The monks of Boulangcourt, for example, were allowed to acquire fiefs yielding a maximum of 10*l.* annually.¹⁸⁵ Only the recalcitrant Templars had to be brought to heel by an outright prohibition of all future acquisitions without prior approval.¹⁸⁶

Thibaut V (1256–70) attained his majority after three years of associate rule with his mother and one year after marrying Louis IX’s daughter Isabelle, then only thirteen.¹⁸⁷ His first six years were consumed by affairs in Champagne, but thereafter he led a peripatetic life, traveling to Navarre, where a foreign and absent king was becoming increasingly problematic, and living in Paris, where he and Isabelle had a palatial residence. The

administration of the county under the vice-regent, financial receivers, and bailiffs continued to function smoothly without his direct intervention in the county's routine business. Except for fragments of financial accounts, the only administrative record to survive from his rule is an inquest on fiefs that might have been prepared to aid the vice-regent during the count's prolonged absences.¹⁸⁸ Those absences might also have prompted the High Court to register its decisions. Had they survived, the court's registers (1270–99) would have comprised the largest collection of adjudications from any region of thirteenth-century France. Today they are known mainly through the extracts made in 1290 by the bailiff William of Le-Châtelet-en-Brie in a compilation known as the *Coutumier* of Champagne.¹⁸⁹ Although not a systematic treatise like Beaumanoir's *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, the *Coutumier* remains an invaluable source book on family, property, and criminal law, for the judges, in announcing their decisions, declared the customs they were upholding.

Thibaut V's rule is perhaps most notable for the collection of several countywide taxes. His first important action as count was to convince his barons and fiefholders to pay a 1 percent income tax for three years to finance his expeditions to Navarre.¹⁹⁰ It was the only direct tax ever imposed by the counts on their fiefholders. Twelve years later, in 1269, he collected two new taxes in order to finance his expedition overseas with his father-in-law, Louis IX. The first was a papal-authorized 1 percent income tax (*centesima*) for his crusade expenses, to be collected from laymen and religious alike.¹⁹¹ The second was an amortization tax collected from townsmen and religious institutions on the fiefs, rear-fiefs, and allods they had acquired without license.¹⁹² Unlike in 1250, when monastic communities expected the count's eventual consent to their unlicensed acquisitions, in 1269–70 they acquiesced in the taxation of property they had acquired from laymen. That was the first general amortization assessed solely to raise revenue, and it might have served as a prototype for the royal amortizations of 1275.

COUNT HENRY III AND COUNTESS BLANCHE OF ARTOIS

The deaths of Thibaut V (4 December 1270) and Isabelle (27 April 1271) on Louis IX's crusade initiated a train of events as momentous for the county and its aristocracy as the one following the death of Henry II in 1197. In the absence of children, Thibaut's lands passed collaterally to his brother Henry III (1271–74), who had just attained his majority after marrying the king's niece, Blanche of Artois.¹⁹³ Henry III and Blanche, much like his grandparents Thibaut III and Blanche of Navarre, were an attractive young couple with an infant son, Thibaut, that boded well for the comital line. But Henry himself had little impact within the county beyond expanding the domain slightly. Perhaps his chief contribution was to initi-

ate a reordering and recopying of the chancery archives, the largest princely archive of the time.¹⁹⁴ About two thousand incoming letters patent from the barons and prelates were copied (1271) into two stout volumes, one of letters from laypersons (the *Liber Principum*), the other of letters from ecclesiastics (the *Liber Pontificum*). It was the third systematic recopying of the chancery archive (after 1211 and 1222), and it preserved many texts of letters, subsequently lost, documenting relations between the counts and their barons and prelates during the preceding seventy years in which the county emerged as a mature northern French principality.¹⁹⁵

Henry III's death at twenty-five (22 July 1274) opened a new chapter in the county's history. Since his son Thibaut had died a year earlier in a tragic accident, his widow Blanche of Artois became regent for their one-year-old daughter Jeanne. Although maternal regencies were well known in Champagne—regent countesses had ruled for thirty-eight of the ninety-two years (41 percent) since Marie's first regency in 1181—this was the first regency for an heiress. Blanche soon betrothed Jeanne to an unspecified son of King Philip III (May 1275) and left her in Paris to be raised in the royal household with the king's own children. Within months, Blanche married Edmund of Lancaster (1244–96), the widowed brother of King Edward III of England, who did homage to Philip III for his wife's lands (January 1276). But Blanche and Edmund spent little time in the county, preferring to reside at the comital residence in Paris.¹⁹⁶ Jean of Acre, butler of France, served as vice-regent of Champagne, ostensibly on Jeanne's behalf, until 17 May 1284, when Blanche took her dower and Edmund resigned his regency. By that time it was clear that Jeanne would not marry a younger royal son who would continue the comital lineage, for the king's oldest son Louis had died in 1276, leaving his younger brother Philip as future king and husband of Jeanne. Philip III insisted that eleven-year-old Jeanne and sixteen-year-old Philip inherit the county after their marriage on 16 August 1284, and he proved by inquest that in Champagne an heiress could do homage and receive homage from the age of eleven.¹⁹⁷ With Philip IV's accession as king on 6 October 1285, Jeanne became queen of France and Navarre, and countess of Champagne and Brie (1285–1305).

The comital chancery began preparations for the transition to direct royal rule immediately after Jeanne's betrothal and removal to Paris in May 1275. Two inquests were undertaken to determine the county's resources: one inventoried revenues and rights in the comital domain, the other surveyed the count's fiefholders.¹⁹⁸ While Philip III respected the region's customs and the High Court's prerogatives, and the machinery of comital government continued to function independently, a subtle shift in allegiances and procedures prepared the county for its eventual loss of autonomy. The role of the vice-regent changed, from administrator in the temporary absence of a count traveling beyond the county, to *de facto* ruler for a nonresident prince.¹⁹⁹ The rapidity with which Jean of Acre imple-

mented the royal ordinance of 1280 authorizing bailiffs to serve as notaries suggests that Paris already was providing direction to the count's local officials.²⁰⁰ Two years earlier, in 1278, the Parlement of Paris instructed the marshal of Champagne to see that the count's knights were paid their fief-rents and that the count's forests remained closed to new cuttings until Jeanne attained her majority.²⁰¹ In that same year, two wardens of the fairs of Champagne who had summoned the royal bailiff of Vermandois to their court were imprisoned in the Châtelet in Paris for having shown a "lack of respect to their superior."²⁰² By then, for all practical purposes, the king controlled the administration of the county and appointed the personnel of the High Court. Queen Jeanne later sealed letters in her capacity as countess of Champagne, but she had spent her entire life in Paris and grew up as much a Capetian as Philip; neither had any particular attachment to Champagne beyond that of a distant ruler.

A PROVINCIAL NOBILITY

Philip IV assumed direct lordship over about 800 fiefholders in Champagne, half the number who had responded to the inquest of 1250 a generation earlier.²⁰³ There were two reasons for that precipitous decline. The expansion of the comital domain had ended, and with it the absorption of new fiefholders that had offset the steady erosion of fiefholders within the old castellanies. And since Henry III actively repurchased fiefs but failed to grant many new ones, the total number of comital fiefs in circulation dropped dramatically. Although it is impossible even to estimate the number of fiefs held from the barons and lesser allodial proprietors, or from monasteries which had been actively acquiring the lordship of fiefs since the 1220s, the count's direct fiefholders represented a distinctly smaller proportion of the fiefholding class in 1285 than they did a century earlier. Beyond that shift in the mix of comital and noncomital fiefholders, two other processes affected the nature of the aristocracy in the late thirteenth century: a redefinition of "nobility," and the severance of the traditional symbiotic relationship between the count and the barons.

Nobility Redefined

"Noble" had long designated a small group of wealthy, inbred, and easily identifiable castle lords.²⁰⁴ Laden with a heavy lexical baggage that referred at once to birth, public service, and high character, the term resonated with writers like Bernard of Clairvaux, who was sensitive to the role of noble-born men as leaders in both the lay and religious worlds, and who understood the implications of social hierarchy in monastic communities like the Cistercians and Templars, which were supposed to be free of the social stratification inherent in nobleness.²⁰⁵ But for monasteries develop-

ing their endowments, it was expedient to elect noble-born abbots with social capital and to flatter generous benefactors in the language of nobility. The monks of Longpont alluded to that characteristic of nobles—they freely shared their resources with monastic communities—when they celebrated Jean I of Montmirail's benefactions *more nobilium*.²⁰⁶ Episcopal chanceries, too, in drafting confirmations for laymen, often described prominent local benefactors as "noble" even though that term did not appear in the letters being confirmed.²⁰⁷ Perhaps, like modern officials striving for accuracy in the documents they process, they simply were making a sociological observation.

In the private letters patent, the term "noble" was used more narrowly and self-consciously in reference to close family members. Guy of Châteauvillan identified himself as "the son of the noble baron Simon," and Jean of Joinville called his wife's father a "noble baron."²⁰⁸ For Garnier, lord of Marigny, his brother Dreux, lord of Traînel, was a noble, and for Isabelle of Porcien, widow of Nicholas V of Rumigny, her husband was a noble.²⁰⁹ Hugh IV of Broys, in a letter of arbitration, even announced himself as a noble.²¹⁰ Jean of Joinville, who was hypersensitive about social status, displayed the depth of his feelings at the High Court, where he was accused of failing to do justice in a case of violence committed in the village of Joinville. He challenged the right of the bailiff of Chaumont to intrude within his jurisdiction: "I am a noble castellan," he declared, "and I obtained my castellany and other lands in the highest nobility from the count of Champagne."²¹¹ Jean's outburst against the intrusion of royal agents was a cry against a new social order that had formed during his own lifetime. One year earlier (1287), in another case involving violence between two knights, the king's procurator had declared in the High Court that royal officials, rather than the lord of the knights, had jurisdiction in the case because the officials were proficient in determining the facts regarding "all the nobles of Champagne and their noble properties."²¹² Joinville clung to a traditional, restrictive, and exclusive understanding of nobility in the face of the procurator's more inclusive, expansive sense of the term. That larger sense of noble, meaning "fiefholder," was noted a century earlier in the 1180s, when Erard, count of Brienne, had allowed "anyone of the nobles" to donate land from their allods (but not fiefs) to Montier-en-Der; Geoffroy III of Joinville granted the same privilege to the "noble men" who held fiefs from him.²¹³ That usage became more explicit in the thirteenth century, with knights being identified as "nobles" and their fiefs as "the fiefs of nobles."²¹⁴ What those examples suggest, however, is not so much a "fusion" of two social categories or two sets of families into a single nobility, as it is often conceived by modern historians, but rather an extension of the term "noble" to include all fiefholders, whether or not they belonged to the prominent old (noble) families.

We do not have any case from the High Court regarding a person's nobil-

ity, but the court did leave its prescriptive understanding of how lay society under its jurisdiction was organized. The court recognized three social classes: dependent men (*home de pot  *), franchised townsmen (*bourgeois*), and nobles (*noble hom*, *gentilhomme*), and it assumed an inherent association between personal and tenurial status, specifically that only a noble or gentleman could hold a fief.²¹⁵ Jean of Joinville may have been an extreme example of an old noble overly sensitive to class, with an almost visceral disdain of the upwardly mobile—indeed, one might say, upwardly noble—as in his well-known depiction of Artaud of Nogent-l’Artaud as an upstart castle lord of dubious character.²¹⁶ Jean even brought suit against the heiress of his fiefholder, claiming that he (Jean) need not accept the homage of her nonnoble husband for her fief unless the man gave up his own inheritance. And if the man failed to do homage for his wife’s fief, their children would acquire the father’s lower status and her fief would revert to Jean, the lord of the fief. The High Court agreed: that was the custom in Champagne.²¹⁷

The explicit linkage of noble status with fiefholding and homage emerged in the thirteenth century as a reaction to the acquisition of fiefs by those lacking a knightly or lordly background. Although the counts had long granted fiefs to their loyal sergeants and nonnoble officials, chancery scribes did make note whenever a nonnoble man held a fief. “He was a sergeant,” wrote a scribe in the earliest roll of fiefs in reference to the mayor of Neuilly; “he was the son of a sergeant,” wrote another scribe in 1250, “and therefore did not do homage.”²¹⁸ The counts were troubled by the alienation of fiefs, not by nonnoble fiefholders, and it is noteworthy that Thibaut V’s amortizations of 1269–70 made no mention of personal status. The opposite was true in the royal ordinances of amortization of 1275 and 1291, which assessed transfer taxes according to whether property passed to noble or to nonnoble persons (*ignobiles*).²¹⁹ The kings were not interested in limiting the transfer of properties across the noble-non-noble divide, only in taxing the transfers. But in doing so, they legitimized a new definition of nobility as a class defined by tenure as well as by birth; fiefholding became a mark of nobleness.

The High Court concurred in that view: it was the custom in Champagne for castellans and barons to give fiefs to gentlemen “in return for their service,” it declared.²²⁰ Of course, that referred to an imagined past having little to do with the complex processes by which fiefs were created and circulated in the previous two centuries. It is not coincidental that the first royal letters of nobility from 1290 awarded noble standing so that individuals might obtain certain privileges associated with it, specifically the right to be knighted and to acquire fiefs without tax.²²¹ By that time, the old concept of the nobility, as a small elite of the wealthiest castle lords who shared in governance with their prince, had long been displaced by a broader conception of the nobility as a large, highly stratified group of fiefholders sub-

jected to the officials, policies, and court of the count (then king). It was that very lack of clarity as to who was a noble that led to protracted court cases in the fourteenth century to determine nobleness.²²²

The League of 1314

Although the count-kings increasingly absented themselves from the county after 1234, they retained Troyes as their principal (and symbolic) residence, with the chancery compound continuing to serve as the administrative center of the county and where they occasionally presided over the High Court and received homages from their most prominent barons. But the marriage of Jeanne and Philip in 1284 severed that tenuous but long-standing symbiotic relationship between the counts and their barons. Philip also ended the count's ties with his traditional overlords. In the spring of 1285 he notified the prelates of Langres, Reims, and Sens that when he ascended to the throne, the homage owed them by the count would "disappear."²²³ Thereafter, a nonresident count-king in Paris appointed local officials to implement royal policies and to collect taxes (such as the amortization tax of 1291) for use outside Champagne.

The hand of Philip IV weighed heavily on Champagne for thirty years, until his blatant abuse of the war subsidy evoked a unique protest. In November 1314 the most prominent lords of Champagne, perhaps one hundred fifty in all, formed a league to petition the king. "We, the nobles and the commoners of Champagne," they declared, make known that the king "has levied tallages, subsidies, and unreasonable exactions, has debased the coinage, and has afflicted and impoverished us without bringing honor or profit to him or his kingdom . . . those exactions . . . jeopardize our honor, our privileges, and our liberties and those of our descendants." The "nobles of Champagne" did more than protest; they reached out to the nobles of neighboring provinces, encouraging regional leagues against the king. Forty-six notable Champenois affixed their seals to petitions on behalf of themselves and the nobles and commoners of Auxerre and Tonnerre, Vermandois and the Beauvaisis, Burgundy, and Forez.²²⁴ The nobles of Champagne played "a pivotal and galvanic role" in creating a system of regional alliances against the king, alliances that ultimately forced his successor to abide by the old principle that a war subsidy could not be levied in the absence of war.²²⁵

It was a singular manifestation. Descendants of the oldest families had taken it upon themselves to represent both the regional aristocracy and the entire principality to a nonresident prince.²²⁶ No longer could the barons look to a count like Hugh, who claimed to act "with the advice of my barons," or Henry I, who announced his decisions "in my court, in the presence of my barons."²²⁷ Indeed, a baronage, in the sense of the great regional lords who shared in governance with the count, no longer existed

in Champagne. After 1285 the county had become a virtual colony under a foreign ruler with whom only a handful of prominent local families had any personal contact. But the outburst of 1314 quickly faded. Within a decade the chancery's entire archive, in essence, the documentary basis of the principality created by Henry I, was transferred to Paris.²²⁸ No longer did the identity of Champagne rest with the dynasty of princes who had forged the region into a distinct polity and its aristocracy into a provincial nobility. The identity of Champagne, crafted by and embodied in a dynasty of counts and countesses, henceforth resided in the customs of Champagne and with its landed aristocracy.

Chapter 3

The Circulation of Fiefs

Neither the rise of the comital principality nor the evolution of the regional aristocracy in Champagne can be understood without reference to a deeply ingrained “culture of the fief.”¹ The sheer volume of records pertaining to fiefs that passed through the chancery is quite remarkable. The six castellany-by-castellany surveys of the count’s fiefholders between 1178 and 1275 represent the most sustained inquiry of its kind within any principality in medieval France. Thousands of letters drafted by the chancery dealt in some fashion with fiefs, and just as many incoming letters patent from the barons were processed and archived: declarations of homage, receipts for fief-rents, notices and promises regarding the disposition of fiefs, recognitions of tenure and castle renderability, and copies of marriage contracts and dower assignments involving fiefs. From the 1220s the chancery also registered new homages as they were done by the count’s fiefholders. That the chancery recopied its entire collection of records dealing with fiefs and homages in 1230, when faced with the loss of its archive, suggests how vital they were deemed to the principality.

The count’s treasury and judiciary also dealt with fiefs. Certainly by the early 1200s, and probably much earlier, the treasury tracked the fief-rents disbursed annually from the count’s revenues, primarily at the fairs of Bar-sur-Aube, Troyes, and Provins. The bailiffs acted as judges in the first instance of disputes relating to fiefs, and the High Court declared the underlying principles governing fiefholding, especially regarding the inheritance and transfer of fiefs, in decisions registered from 1270 but applicable since at least the time of Thibaut III. To that substantial collection of official records must be added an uncountable number of instruments produced by episcopal chanceries, monastic scriptoria, and household clerics for the private transactions between laymen, and between laymen and religious, that furnish the bulk of the monastic archives. It is no wonder that the early historians of medieval institutions who wrote entire treatises on fiefs, particularly Louis Chantereau-LeFebvre (1662) and Nicolas Brussel (1727), privileged the materials from Champagne.²

Just what was a fief, and why were fiefs so pervasive in Champagne? At its most basic level, a fief (*feodum*, *casamentum*) designated property, revenue,

or rights held in restrictive tenure.³ A fief could not be alienated, encumbered, or otherwise diminished without the consent of the person from whom it was held. As heritable property, a fief ordinarily passed to the fiefholder's children or, on payment of an estate tax (*rachat*), to the next closest relatives. But it could not be transferred beyond the confines of the family without the lord's approval: that was the critical distinction between a fief and an allod (*allodium*), property that was readily disposed with the consent only of the proprietor's immediate family. It is important to remember, however, that "fief" and "allod" were symbolic categories rather than actual properties.⁴ Moreover, a property's status was mutable, with allods becoming fiefs and fiefs reverting to allodial status through several processes.⁵ That mutability was what animated a market in fiefs from the mid-twelfth century in which the counts, barons, and knights actively participated. Fiefs were routinely created, augmented, mortgaged, bought, and sold. They were abridged, divided, and reconstituted. They were converted to annuities, and their *mouvance* was readily transferred. It was precisely because a fief was such a malleable device, serving multiple purposes, that it figures so prominently in the county's records. As the early historians of medieval France realized, the infeudation of domain land to knights and the alienation of fiefs to monasteries represented only part of a complex and dynamic system of fief tenure.⁶

The Creation of Fiefs

INFEUDATION

Most fiefs in the twelfth century were created by infeudation: a proprietor would grant or infeudate (*feodare*) some of his property or designate revenue to be held in tenure as a fief. The fief was said to move (*movere*) or descend (*descendere*) from the grantor, whose consent (*laudatio*) or license (*licentia*) was required for its transfer or diminution. Although fiefholding was widespread in Champagne by 1100, the creation of fiefs is difficult to detect before the 1170s because the archives of religious institutions, which furnish most of the references to fiefs before that time, are concerned primarily with their alienation rather than creation. Of course, the monks were quick to note when the barons established fiefs on expropriated monastic property.⁷ Even Henry I was accused of having "distributed [the church of] Lagny's revenues as fiefs for his knights."⁸ But only incidentally do the monastic records mention the creation of fiefs on lay lands. The earliest example is from circa 1090, when Count Odo of Troyes infeudated (*feodaverat*) half of his mill at Wassy to a certain Boso.⁹ Indirect evidence suggests that Hugh and Thibaut II continued to create fiefs on their lands.¹⁰ Only with Henry I's fief rolls, however, do we see the extent of comital infeudations to knights.¹¹ Each of his immediate successors—Marie,

Henry II, and Thibaut III—granted (*feodavit*) new fiefs, according to Geoffrey of Villehardouin, who as marshal was in a position to know.¹² In 1190 about 14 percent of all comital fiefs that changed hands during the previous decade under Marie and Henry II were new fiefs.¹³ What remains unknown is whether the rate of fief creation by the counts fluctuated in the twelfth century, and to what extent the barons were infeudating their own lands.

Henry I's new fiefs were distinctly modest, typically producing about 3*l*-7*l* annually and intended primarily to support castleguard.¹⁴ Some consisted of real property; others were assigned as fief-rents, that is, annual revenue rather than the property or source of the revenue itself. Henry also granted revenues "in augmentation" (*in augmento, in crescentia*) of existing fiefs, mostly as rewards for loyal service, as favors for relatives and friends, and as inducements for political alliances. Thibaut III, Blanche, and Thibaut IV continued to fund fiefs for those same purposes, but they increasingly granted fief-rents and augmented existing fiefs to advance their new castle policies, especially to secure the liege homage of the younger sons of castle lords and the conversion of allodial castles and fortresses to comital fiefs.¹⁵ The new fief-rents were worth 20*l*-30*l* revenue, about an average knight's fief at the time and significantly more than the earlier grants to knights for garrison duty.¹⁶ In 1250 the treasury disbursed about 5,300*l* annually in fief-rents, equivalent to 200 fiefs worth an average 26*l* revenue.¹⁷

If the counts awarded more valuable fiefs after 1200, they granted fewer of them. By 1250 only about 3.4 percent of the count's fiefs were recent creations (compared to 14 percent in 1190). The reduction in new grants coincided with Thibaut IV's failure to regrant confiscated and reverting fiefs at the very time (1230s-1240s) he was actively repurchasing fiefs from his fiefholders (see below). Although his successors created some new fiefs, many if not most of those were quickly sold for cash and thus did not appreciably increase the number of comital fiefs in circulation. For all practical purposes, the counts had ceased granting new fiefs after 1230. Whether the barons continued to infeudate their own lands in the thirteenth century, offsetting the lack of new comital fiefs, is not entirely clear. Since allodial properties could be infeudated without the count's or any other lord's consent, those new fiefs often passed without notice in the comital and monastic records.¹⁸ We would not know that half of Odo II of Grancey's allodial village of Saint-Loup was infeudated to his knights, if Odo had not revealed that fact when he sold the village in 1219.¹⁹ When barons like Guichard of Passavant and knights like Guy of Cernay sold their allodial villages, they often included the *mouvance* of the fiefs in those villages.²⁰ In fact, most allodial villages in Champagne, as in the Paris region, were partly infeudated to local knights by the mid-thirteenth century.²¹ While it is impossible to determine the date of those infeudations in the absence of explicit let-

ters of conveyance, the rarity of explicit comital infeudations after the 1220s suggests that the infeudation of domain land was largely a twelfth-century phenomenon in Champagne.²²

ALLODIAL CONVERSIONS

The second way to create a fief, and an important one in Champagne, was by allodial conversion: the proprietor of an allod, usually land, subjected its disposition to someone else's consent; in essence, he converted his own property to a fief held from another person (later known as a *fief de reprise*).²³ Since allodial property, being free of extrafamilial constraint, was transferred with the consent of only the immediate family, it was important for recipients and purchasers of property to know whether they had clear title to it.²⁴ Anselm III, lord of Trânel, certified that he held the woods of Coudray "like an allod, that is, free from all taxes, obligations, and lordship."²⁵ The knight Gautier of Argentolle asserted that "he held [his property] from no man and owed no service, for it was his allod."²⁶ Property "not held from any lord" was deemed ipso facto allodial.²⁷ Of course, an unscrupulous fiefholder might alienate a fief under the pretense that it was an allod, as Dreux of Trânel discovered sixteen years later.²⁸ And occasionally an inquest or arbitration was required to determine whether property was an allod or a fief; even Countess Blanche was forced to admit that she owed homage to the bishop of Langres for Chaumont castle after an inquest had determined that she held it in fief, not as an allod as she claimed.²⁹

Allodial conversions occurred since the mid-twelfth century in Champagne and in eastern France generally.³⁰ Henry I offered cash payments and fief-rents for knights to place (*ponere*) or take back (*recipere*) their allods as fiefs. Raoul of Glennes received 25*l.* to convert half of his possessions to a fief, and knights in the frontier castellany of Wassy, where there were few comital fiefs before Henry's time, received comparable sums to convert their allods to fiefs and perform castleguard there.³¹ Henry also required his fiefholders to replace alienated fiefs with their own allodial property: Raoul of Combault, for one, had to "place in fief" 50*l.* worth of allodial property to restore the fief he had alienated.³² Similar conversions of unfortified allodial properties, ranging from small plots to entire villages, continued through the thirteenth century.³³

The conversion of castle lordships, at least those that remained allodial until the late twelfth century, occurred more abruptly within the space of a generation between 1198 and 1222, after Thibaut III and Blanche insisted that all fortifications within the county be held directly from them in liege homage.³⁴ Since most castles and fortified residences predated Thibaut's castle policy, he and Blanche had to negotiate each conversion.³⁵ As the civil war (1216–18) became imminent, lords of allodial castles found it politically

expedient and financially advantageous to convert their residences to fiefs. After hostilities ended, even the duke of Lorraine, the most powerful of the defeated barons, was forced to convert his castle and castellany of Neufchâteau to a comital fief.³⁶ With the conversion of Chaumont-Porcien in 1221, virtually all important fortifications, both existing ones and the entirely new fortified sites built through Blanche's subventions, had become direct comital fiefs.³⁷ It was the one irreversible consequence of the civil war. It allowed Thibaut IV to proclaim at the start of his rule that "the custom in Champagne is that all fortifications, no matter what kind, must be held from the count of Champagne."³⁸ His treaty with his cousin Alix, queen of Cyprus (1234), embodied that new requirement: in return for a large cash settlement and a substantial life rent assigned on open land (*in terra plana*), she promised "not to have or build a fortification on that land that I hold and will hold as an allod (*in allodio*) according to the customs governing other allods of Champagne and Brie."³⁹ In effect, allodial property within the county had been demilitarized. Thereafter, anyone desiring to construct a fortified residence had to hold it as a comital fief. In 1250 about 12 percent of all the count's fiefs contained a fortified residence, a relatively high percentage—one of every eight fiefs—suggesting that the demand for new lordly residences evident from the late decades of the twelfth century remained strong through the thirteenth century. Apparently permission was readily granted. Squire Erard of Dinteville, testifying before the High Court in 1285, claimed that many of his neighbors had constructed fortified residences on their allods after doing homage to the count, and thus he was fully within his right to do the same.⁴⁰

A more compelling reason for allodial conversion was financial exigency. Thibaut IV was sympathetic to those needs and funded a number of substantial conversions. He paid Jean of Sarnay 200*l.* to convert his modest allodial village to a comital fief, and 1,200*l.* (three times the median value of a fief with a fortified residence) to the brothers and co-lords Eustace and Hugh of Conflans to convert two allodial villages.⁴¹ But most of the allods converted for financial reasons became monastic rather than comital fiefs. The monks of Saint-Urbain, for example, paid three knightly co-lords of Fronville 100*l.* each for converting their allodial village and holding it from the abbot "in fief and homage."⁴² Even wealthy monasteries like Clairvaux, which earlier had accepted as gifts only allods or fiefs that became allods at the time of reception, used their substantial liquid assets to purchase allodial conversions. Clairvaux's transaction with the knight Philip of Chalette-sur-Voire, who joined the Fourth Crusade, was typical in that it established a lien over property hitherto free of extrafamilial encumbrances. Approaching the monks, Philip offered to convert his wife's inheritance, one-twenty-fourth of the village of Cunfin. After he and his wife, Agnes of Cunfin, formally divested themselves of the property, they received it back as a fief whose future disposition required the abbot's

license (1202). Thirteen years later, when their only son Garnier refused to do homage to the abbot for his inheritance, the abbot retrieved the letter describing the conversion, to which Garnier had consented at the time; Garnier was forced to accept the fact that his inheritance had become a monastic fief.⁴³ The knight Milo of Beurey had a similar experience after refusing to do homage to the abbot of Mores for his father's property. In the court of Erard II of Chacenay, the abbot produced a letter sealed by the marshal Geoffrey of Villehardouin, Odo of Vendeuivre, and the dean of Vendeuivre confirming that Milo's father had converted his property to a fief (1216). Milo did homage to the abbot. But two years later, on the eve of the Fifth Crusade, he sold his fief to the monks.⁴⁴ Garnier of Cunfin's monastic fief lasted longer, twenty-seven years (1202–29), before his daughter sold it to Clairvaux. Whether they lasted two years or two decades, monastic fiefs created through allodial conversion usually reverted to allodial status, but as ecclesiastical rather than as lay allods.

Allodial conversions created useful symbiotic relationships between needy allodial proprietors, who obtained ready cash while retaining their ancestral properties as fiefs, and asset-rich monasteries, which established preemptive claims to properties they might later acquire outright.⁴⁵ For knightly families, allodial conversion offered the opportunity to sell a property twice, first by making it a fief, then by mortgaging or selling the fief to the lord. For religious houses, allodial conversion was an effective means of easing property into the monastic patrimony.

The Market in Fiefs

Beyond infeudation and allodial conversion, there existed a commercial market in fiefs since at least 1150, and perhaps since the 1130s, in which fiefs were bought, sold, mortgaged, and annuitized. Whether and how the expanding trade fairs in the count's towns lubricated that market remains an open question. What is clear is that fiefs served as fungible assets within a system of exchange as complex as the one governing inheritance within the family.

SALES

Since the early twelfth century the counts and barons freely licensed monasteries "to acquire" (*adquirere*) the fiefs held from them. Whether that permission included the fiefholder's right to sell (*vendere*) as well as to donate (*dare*) is not always clear, since most of the early transfers were structured as donations for spiritual benefits, a form of gift exchange.⁴⁶ Yet there is good evidence for the selling of fiefs in commercial transactions before the Second Crusade. Milo II, count of Bar-sur-Seine, acknowledged as much in lecturing the monks of Molesme, sometime between 1100 and

1125, that fiefs held from him “may not be given or sold without my consent.”⁴⁷ Milo I of Nogent-sur-Seine not only consented to his knight’s sale of a fief in 1138, he and his wife Margaret confirmed it in Thibaut II’s court and obtained the count’s sealed confirmation of the sale (*venditio*) for the purchasers, monks of the priory in Nogent.⁴⁸ A decade later, when Hugh III of Broys confirmed what the monks of Oyes had acquired from his fiefs “by purchase and gift up to this time, and what they are able to acquire henceforth,” the sale of fiefs to monastic institutions appears entirely commonplace.⁴⁹

The sale of fiefs becomes more transparent after 1150, as Henry I and his barons routinely granted monastic communities open-ended licenses to acquire fiefs “by gift or purchase.”⁵⁰ In a few cases the scribes noted the reason for those sales; the knight Renier of Meix-Thiercelin, for example, sold his fief (two mills) to finance a trip to the Holy Land (1161).⁵¹ But the market in fiefs also encompassed transactions between laymen.⁵² Henry I assumed that to be the case when he gave the brothers Guy and Pierre of Poincy 100*l.* “for purchasing a fief,” presumably from a current fiefholder.⁵³ Roger Coterel and Thomas of Fismes purchased their fiefs directly from the heirs of the previous tenants.⁵⁴ Jean of Verdelot said that he bought his fief from a leper, who had acquired it from the provost of Champlost, so that one of his sons would have it on coming of age.⁵⁵ The fief that Odard of Aulnay, the marshal, purchased for one of his sons had belonged to Manasses of Favresse, who sold it to Countess Blanche who in turn sold it to Odard.⁵⁶ The two sons of Stephen of Torcenay, both knights, paid the daughter of a knight 100*l.* for her fief, which they presumably shared.⁵⁷

Another force driving the buying and selling of fiefs was the need to consolidate financial assets. Marriage contracts stipulated that cash dowries were to be invested in income-producing property, understood to mean at a place near the couple’s residence. William of Villemoyenne and his wife Lora, whose modest dowry was distant from their household, sold the fief in order to reinvest the proceeds closer to home; the purchaser, the knight Aubert of Le Plessis, soon resold it for a handsome profit.⁵⁸ Jean of Villehardouin, brother of the marshal, and his wife Celine purchased fiefs consisting of tithe revenues in neighboring villages, in effect, investing in income-producing fiefs near their home.⁵⁹ The future Henry III, having to invest his wife’s considerable dowry of 23,000*l.*, purchased the castle and castellany of Beaufort for 7,000*l.*, not as a residence, but as an investment property.⁶⁰

Fiefs were purchased for other uses as well, including benefactions. Thibaut II purchased a fief in order to donate it to the Cistercians at Preuilly.⁶¹ Hugh I of Romilly paid 60*l.* for Hugh of Minay’s fief, then donated it to Sellières; Guy of Joinville, lord of Saily, purchased a fief from the knight Huon of Fronville as a gift for Saint-Urbain.⁶² Countess Blanche purchased

a number of fiefs from laymen, including a fief-rent to endow a Mass for Queen Adele, a 10*l.* fief-rent (purchased from a knight) as a dowry for Auda, her lady-in-waiting, and various properties to endow Argensolles, the convent she founded for her retirement.⁶³ These and many other examples suggest an extensive commerce in fiefs among laypersons quite independent of benefactions to religious institutions. Matching sellers and buyers was not always easy, however. Clarembaud V of Chappes was still shopping for a buyer when the count of Brienne authorized him ("I gave this sealed letter to Clarembaud himself") to sell his fief "to the monks of Larrivour or to other laymen (*vel aliis gentibus*), if he is able to."⁶⁴ The young knight Renaud II of Briel, unable to sell his fief before departing for Greece, appointed his brother-in-law, Pierre of Bourmont, as procurator to sell it in his absence.⁶⁵ Pierre found a buyer in the monks of Saint-Pierre-aux-Monts of Châlons, then obtained the requisite letters of consent from Renaud's immediate lord (the castellan of Vitry) and overlord (Guy III of Dampierre). Pierre handed the monks seven sealed letters authorizing, confirming, or consenting to the sale of Renaud's fief.⁶⁶

If we have underestimated the extent of the market in fiefs, it is because the extant records often fail to identify properties as fiefs. That resulted in part from the practice of drawing up the instruments of sale separately from the letters of lordly consent. Ermensend of Vallery's sale of her inheritance to the nuns of Avenay is illustrative. Of the six instruments relating to the sale, four fail to mention the fact that the property was a fief: the convent's promissory note, Ermensend's divestiture of her inheritance, her husband's receipt of payment, and the archbishop of Reims's investiture of Avenay. Without the chance survival of letters of consent from Ermensend's husband Giles and her brother Jean, a knight, we would not know that Giles held her property as a fief from Jean.⁶⁷ Even documents with explicit consent clauses often fail to state whether consent included lordly as well as familial consent. Gérard of Marnay, who sold an arable to the Paraclete, promised to obtain the consent "by all whose consent is necessary," without identifying the property as a fief, a fact that the countess revealed in her separate letter of consent.⁶⁸ If the sellers of fiefs often failed to obtain lordly consent for the disposition of what they regarded as heritable property, ecclesiastical institutions were equally duplicitous in underreporting their acquisitions of fiefs, as became evident during the inquest of 1249–51.

MORTGAGES AND ANNUITIES

To mortgage (*invadiare, impignare*) a fief was to place it in security for a debt while retaining title to the property.⁶⁹ The High Court declared that a fief could be mortgaged as long as the fiefholder continued to render the service and notified his lord personally in this manner: "Lord, I have sold

the revenues of the fief I hold from you for three years." The lord was required to consent, said the court.⁷⁰ That "custom" seems to have been of recent vintage, however, designed to regularize the disparate terms and methods of redemption that had developed since fiefs were first mortgaged in the mid-twelfth century. Although fiefs were mortgaged to a wide range of laymen, including the counts, barons, townsmen, Jews, and foreign merchants, most were mortgaged to religious institutions, whose liquid assets provided an almost inexhaustible source of credit, as is well known.⁷¹

The mortgaging of fiefs was well established by 1165, when Jean of Possesse licensed the Templars to acquire from his fiefs "by purchase, in mortgage, or in alms."⁷² If the confiscations of Henry I and Marie are indicative, knights by that time were freely mortgaging their fiefs even without license.⁷³ Some of the best documented mortgages were for crusade expenses. Henry of Chennegy, for example, collateralized his property at Fontaines for a 200*l.* loan from the Templars in Troyes, who would collect the fief's revenues during the two years he expected to be abroad on the Fifth Crusade (he estimated the annual revenue at 100*l.*).⁷⁴ That was the preferred form of redemption in Champagne, through the fief's own revenues (known by legal historians as *vif-gage*). Isabelle of Montigny, wife of Henry the Burgundian, made a similar arrangement, applying her fief's revenue during four years to the repayment of her 200*l.* debt.⁷⁵ Hugh of Antigny authorized the count to hold his fief-rent and collect its revenues until his debt was repaid.⁷⁶ In the thirteenth century the barons often sealed letters announcing the terms of mortgages already contracted with third parties, permitting the lord of the fief to seize other properties in the event of nonredemption. Gautier of Arzillières, for example, authorized the count to seize his property in the event he failed to repay 260*l.* to a Sienese merchant.⁷⁷

How many mortgaged fiefs were redeemed is difficult to determine. Of the castles known to have been mortgaged to the count—Vendeuvre (1120s), Possesse (1160s), Brienne (1202), Chaumont (1190, 1202), and Beaufort (1210)—all but Chaumont were redeemed.⁷⁸ Jean of Choiseul later mortgaged two castles on attaining his majority, his own at Choiseul and his wife's at Aigremont (1246), but soon redeemed both from the bishop of Langres from whom they moved.⁷⁹ The redemption of ordinary fiefs is more difficult to detect, since the instruments of mortgage ordinarily were returned and destroyed on redemption. But the open-ended redemption clauses in a few extant mortgage contracts suggest that the parties regarded those transactions as *de facto* sales, with redemption being unlikely. That was especially true of fief-rents, which as unsecured revenues were regarded as discretionary income. Archambaud I of Sully's mortgage of his 120*l.* fief-rent to his cousin Henry I (1158), is an early example; the 550*l.* debt was still outstanding forty years later when Archambaud's son and grandson formally quitclaimed their right of redemption.⁸⁰ The monks

of Montier-en-Der foreclosed André of Châtillon's mortgage fifteen years after he failed to redeem it, proclaiming it a sale even while allowing André's heirs to redeem the property at any time.⁸¹ In a few instances the debtor subsequently executed a formal contract of sale for his mortgaged fief: the knight Gérard Moutons of Venizy, for example, first mortgaged his wife's fief to her lord, Saint-Remi of Reims, then sold it to the monks.⁸² For the knight Milo of Autricourt, that process took nine years: he first sold part of his property at Grancey-sur-Ourcq, then simultaneously converted the rest to a fief and mortgaged it, and finally quitclaimed the heavily mortgaged property.⁸³ As in Burgundy, the mortgaging of fiefs frequently preceded their definitive alienation, a sign of the increasing indebtedness, or at least illiquidity, of some fiefholding families.⁸⁴

Unless a fief slipped silently into the hands of a creditor by failure of redemption, title to mortgaged property remained with the original proprietor. The conversion of a fief to a life annuity, by contrast, constituted a definitive transfer at the time of the contract. The chief attraction of an annuity was its stable income for the annuitant and often his widow. As with the sale or mortgage of a fief, the lord's consent was necessary to annuitize a fief. Guy II of Châtillon, for example, licensed Helvide and her brother Gérard, co-lords of Baslieux-sous-Châtillon, to annuitize their entire fief (*feudum totum*), described as their inherited lands and revenues, in return for a 16*l.* lifetime rent from the monks of Igny.⁸⁵ The knight Gérard of Mar-nay received a lifetime rent of three *modii* of grain from the Paraclete, reduced by half at his or his wife's death, for annuitizing his arable and revenues in Courgenay.⁸⁶ A fixed lifetime income was particularly appealing to a crusader like Erlebaud of Vaubercey, a middling knight proprietor with at least two fiefs, who left a wife and young children at home.⁸⁷ In order to raise cash for the Fourth Crusade but fearing that he might not return, Erlebaud and his wife annuitized some of their land to Larrivour for a grain rent for her and their son, and prudently obtained a sealed chirograph from the bishop of Troyes as proof of the transaction.⁸⁸ Annuitized fiefs, like mortgaged fiefs, contributed to the steady seepage of fiefs from the store of those available for recirculation.

THE TRANSFER OF *MOUVANCE*

Whenever the lord of a fief changed, the fiefholder had to do homage and "retake" (*reaccipere, reprandre*) his fief from the new lord, but just how the act of homage (*hominium, homagium*) was performed is not clear, since neither the counts nor their barons routinely recorded when they themselves did homage or when they received homage from their fiefholders. The fief rolls of Henry I (1178) and Henry II (1190) confirm the ubiquity and variety of homages (liege, simple, and contingent) being done at that time by

knights and castle lords alike, for both new and inherited fiefs, but they are silent about the transfer of *mouvance*, or the lordship, of fiefs.

When Henry I acquired the *mouvance* of nine eastern borderland castles from the emperor of Germany (1162) and four northern castles from the archbishop of Reims (1178), he did so without the consent of the castle lords who thereby became his direct fiefholders.⁸⁹ For fiefholders within those castle lordships, there were few consequences, since they continued to answer to the same lords. Even when a castle lord transferred the *mouvance* of his castle, as Pierre of Courtenay did with wife's castle of Mailly (ca. 1184), fiefholders experienced few changes.⁹⁰ But when a castle lord transferred the *mouvance* of the fiefs themselves to another lord, there could be significant repercussions for the fiefholders.⁹¹ When the counts acquired Chaumont, purchased Nogent-sur-Seine and Bar-sur-Seine, and confiscated Nogent, the fiefholders within those lordships, willing or not, became direct comital fiefholders. The counts continued to purchase the *mouvance* of small blocks of fiefs through the thirteenth century as a way of increasing the number of their direct fiefholders without having to infeudate domain lands and revenues. Thibaut IV purchased the *mouvance* of four fiefs from the knight Simon of Humbauville and his wife, who accompanied the four fiefholders and their wives to Troyes, where they promised to do homage to the count or his proxy.⁹² Prince Henry purchased the *mouvance* of five fiefs from the lord of Venizy and later, as Henry III, ten "fiefs of nobles" from the knight Gautier of Saint-Florentin.⁹³ Often the lord formally notified his fiefholders of the impending sale or transfer of *mouvance*. Marie of Thourotte informed the "fiefholders and knights" of her dower castle that since she had exchanged it for other properties, they should henceforth render their homages and obligations to her brother-in-law, their new lord.⁹⁴

Religious houses, too, acquired the *mouvance* of fiefs. In a few cases, powerful lords like Odo of Vendevre, Clarembaud V of Chappes, and Erard of Brienne surrendered the lordship of their knights' fiefs as penalty for their own misbehavior.⁹⁵ But monasteries usually purchased the *mouvance* of fiefs, just as they purchased the allodial conversion of fiefs. Odo II of Grancey, for example, who sold his village of Saint-Loup with the *mouvance* of the attached fiefs to the Cistercians at Auberive, instructed his fiefholders (*feodales*) to do homage to the abbot, their new lord.⁹⁶ In that same year, when Simon of Châteauvillain sold his village of Dancevoir to the nearby Cistercian house of Longuay, he directed his *milites feodales* to "retake" their fiefs from the abbot.⁹⁷ Several did so immediately, citing Simon's directive: the knight Simon of Lignol and the widow Havide of Vendevre both promised to give the abbot the same "fidelity and service" they had given Simon.⁹⁸ But within a few years Simon sold his fief and Havide annuitized, then sold hers.⁹⁹ Perhaps they were driven by financial needs, but the timing of their liquidations suggests rather difficulties with their new

religious lord or an attempt by the monks to clear the village of knights. Ermengard of Chaussepierre, widow of the knight Thomas of Buxières, encountered a similar situation after her lord, Clarembaud V of Chappes, sold the *mouvance* of her inherited property with its residence that she and her husband had held in fief for many years. Clarembaud acted just before his recent death, she said, and without her knowledge. Shortly after learning about it, she mortgaged the fief to the Templars, her new lord, claiming financial necessity, and two years later her heirs sold the mortgaged fief.¹⁰⁰ A hereditary family fief had become a Templar allod. Thus the sale of a fief's *mouvance*, to the financial benefit of the fief's lord, could lead to a second sale, of the fief itself to the new lord. An alienation subsequent to the transfer of *mouvance* had the same effect as an allodial conversion in removing fiefs from circulation, and both processes operated beyond the purview of the count and his chancery officials.

REVERSIONS AND CONFISCATIONS

A fief was expected to recirculate as a fief, not to be reabsorbed into the lord's domain. If confiscated for some infraction, it would be restored to the fiefholder's family, and in the absence of an heir, it was to be reassigned. In fact, very few comital fiefs in the late twelfth century (2 percent) slipped out of circulation through reversion to the count's domain or through alienation to ecclesiastics.¹⁰¹ Countess Marie and Henry II reassigned most (75 percent) of the fiefs reverting to them in the 1180s, as did Blanche and Thibaut IV even through the difficult years of the civil war.¹⁰² Heirs of disloyal vassals were able to recover confiscated properties on coming of age or after swearing fidelity and doing homage. Blanche allowed the children of Giles of Saint-Jean to regain his confiscated fief of Maffrécourt after she had publicly humiliated him for his disloyalty, and she let Guy of Til-Châtel's son recover his father's 30*l.* money-fief after he converted an allod worth 40*l.t.* to a comital fief.¹⁰³ Thibaut IV even compensated the heirs of Nogent castle, which he confiscated for their father's disloyalty.¹⁰⁴ It was still the expectation at the end of the century that fiefs would recirculate; indeed, it was the custom of Champagne, declared the High Court, that property once held in fief should have a tenant.¹⁰⁵ The failure to do homage usually resulted in only a temporary confiscation.¹⁰⁶

The unlicensed alienation of fiefs was another matter. In the twelfth century, a lord's consent usually accommodated alienations to religious houses. But the massive alienation of fiefs for the Third and Fourth Crusades made the counts and barons more attentive. Thibaut IV was particularly sensitive to the silent alienations made during his minority, although he generally acceded to them after asserting his rights through an initial confiscation. His treatment of the Paraclete was typical. After his chancery discovered that the knight Milo of Montigny had given his fief (a tax col-

lected from the bakers of Provins) without license to the nuns as his granddaughter's entry gift, Thibaut had the fief seized. On appeal by the nuns, however, he released the fief.¹⁰⁷ The count accommodated his knights as well. Thibaut of Méry was allowed fifteen months in which to restore the full value of the 40*l.t.* fief he had alienated without license, at the risk having his other fief confiscated; he met the deadline by buying property from another knight and four years later, during the inquest, he reported the full value of his fief.¹⁰⁸ But Simon IV of Clefmont, a prominent baron who sold a fief to the lord of Châteauvillain, and Bartholomew of Polisy, a knight who sold his fief to Molesme, both without license, saw their fiefs confiscated and reassigned.¹⁰⁹ Outright confiscations like those, however, were rare before 1250. That was why the confiscations following the inquest of 1249–51 evoked surprise and anger. Thibaut IV had changed the rules of the game; no longer could religious institutions willfully ignore lordly consent by acquiring fiefs in the expectation of an eventual accommodation.¹¹⁰

REPURCHASES

One alternative for a needy fiefholder was to sell his fief to the lord of the fief (*dominus feodi*). Such lordly repurchases have been likened to the lineal reversion of family property, in which the closest relatives enjoyed a pre-emptory right to purchase property being sold.¹¹¹ Whether that right existed in a formal sense is not clear, for lords were expected to regrant fiefs, not reacquire them. But the prospect of needy fiefholders surreptitiously alienating or otherwise encumbering fiefs must have prompted some lords to purchase the fiefs themselves. The counts and other secular and religious lords in the thirteenth century bought back large numbers of fiefs held from them. Countess Blanche's purchase of the village of Gillancourt from the heirs of Jocelin of Avallon (1210), only a decade after Thibaut III had granted it in fief to their father, is a well-known example.¹¹² Blanche put the fiefs she repurchased to several uses: some she regranted to loyal servants; others she donated to the religious houses she founded (the Hôtel-Dieu of Barre and Argensolles); and a few (like the village and bridge of Dormans) she regranted to local knights.¹¹³

The large-scale repurchasing of comital fiefs began in the late 1230s under Thibaut IV.¹¹⁴ Most of the transactions were handled by the canons of Saint-Quiriac of Provins who maintained the count's financial accounts. Barons and knights alike sold their inherited fiefs to the count. Renard of Grancey sold the 20*l.* fief-rent he collected at the fair of Bar-sur-Aube.¹¹⁵ Simon of Clefmont sold his mother's fief.¹¹⁶ Henry of Villeneuve-aux-Riches-Hommes sold his great-grandmother's village of Pâlis, which had passed twice as dowry, once as collateral inheritance, and had served as a dower until Henry inherited it.¹¹⁷ The count's repurchases continued

through the late 1240s, until his clerics shifted their attention to the inquest on fiefs. Following a twenty-year hiatus, the active repurchase of fiefs resumed under Henry III (1271–74), who acquired about sixty fiefs, many of them fief-rents granted by his predecessors. Altogether Henry III repurchased about 13,000*l.* worth of fiefs, about the annual revenue of a substantial barony (1,300*l.*) and more than twice the count's annual expenditure for fief-rents.¹¹⁸ Even very recent recipients of fiefs sold them back to the count: Dreux II of Marigny, for one, preferred 1,000*l.* cash in hand to the 100*l.* fief-rent he received only one year earlier.¹¹⁹

That was the last time the counts intervened to preempt the alienation of comital fiefs. Countess Margaret and Thibaut V already had developed the broad lines of a policy combining the selective licensing of alienations with amortization, that is, the taxing of alienations. The countywide amortizations in 1269, the first systematic application of amortization in Champagne, supplanted the earlier *ad hoc* measures and anticipated the royal ordinances of 1275 and 1291.¹²⁰ Taxation superseded prohibitions and buy-backs. Although religious institutions continued to repurchase their fiefs, as they had since the beginning of the century, those fiefs generally were of small properties.¹²¹ The age of repurchases ended with the death of Henry III.

Amortizations

Since the early twelfth century the counts and their barons had proved generous benefactors to the church, donating their own possessions and consenting to the transfer of fiefs held by their knights. The amount of property transferred must have been substantial, fueled as it was by the extraordinary expansion of religious communities in Champagne: old Benedictine monasteries and their priories; newer reformed houses, primarily the Cistercians; the military orders, chiefly the Templars; and chapters of canons.¹²² Henry I and his barons, in the spirit of their ancestors, continued to approve the unlimited acquisition of fiefs by religious communities, and by the time of Henry's death (1181) vast landed and financial resources had passed into religious hands. Henry's widow and successors were more circumspect in their benefactions, no longer granting the open-ended authorizations that had been the hallmark of lordly generosity. Henry II imposed the first formal limitation in 1191, prohibiting the Templars from acquiring "the lordship of any city or castle in my land."¹²³ The barons, too, began to restrict alienations by their own fiefholders. Simon of Joinville and his wife Ermengard ratified Boulancourt's past acquisitions but not future ones.¹²⁴ Renard II of Dampierre, castellan of Vitry, restricted the monks of Cheminon to acquiring his fiefs within the boundaries of the castellany of Vitry, which he delineated for them.¹²⁵ Simon IV of Clefmont prohibited the monks of Mores from acquiring fiefs or other property from

the knights, townsmen, or peasants within his wife Hermesend's castellany of Vendevre, whether "by purchase, donation, or mortgage, or any other means" except by permission.¹²⁶ The monks of Signy gave another sign of shifting attitudes in the late twelfth century regarding the transfer of fiefs to religious institutions. As penalty for Geoffroy of Château-Porcien's depredations, they sought not the customary fine but rather what was becoming an increasingly rare privilege, the right to acquire property within Geoffroy's lands and fiefs.¹²⁷

Countess Blanche observed a discreet silence regarding alienations to religious institutions, dependent as she was on strong papal and monastic support during her troubled regency.¹²⁸ But with Thibaut IV, the counts began to scrutinize ecclesiastical acquisitions as a matter of public policy, as they attempted to restrict, regulate, and tax the transfer of fiefs to religious houses.¹²⁹ The chancery reorganization of 1222–24 apparently included a review of alienations made during Thibaut's minority, for a number of recipient institutions were compelled to negotiate settlements in return for the count's consent. "Having been knighted and being in my majority," said Thibaut in letters to Igny, Cheminon, Trois-Fontaines, Montier-la-Celle, and Hautefontaine, he confirmed the fiefs and rents they had acquired during his minority, as well the fiefs acquired from his fiefholders.¹³⁰ It is not clear whether the chancery conducted a formal inquest on fiefs in 1222–24, but it did begin to register new fiefholders in its book of homages in those same years.¹³¹

Among the fiefs that Thibaut confiscated in 1224 for being alienated without license was Hagan of Ervy's 10*l.* fief-rent, which offers a rare case in which the entire life cycle of a fief can be tracked, from its creation through its abridgment to its final alienation forty years later. Henry I had granted Hagan the fief, perhaps in the 1170s, to be collected from taxes paid by the merchants of Ypres at the fairs in Troyes. Hagan drew that income for the next thirty years until 1204 or 1205, when he donated 2*l.* of the revenue to the chapter of Saint-Etienne for his anniversary Mass. Seven years later, in 1212, he sold the remaining 8*l.* revenue to the same chapter for 70*l.* cash because, he said, "my sons wished to go to Constantinople and lacked the means to pay for their journey."¹³² Like most fiefholders, Hagan had other revenues, but this fief, granted initially to support a knight, effectively disappeared into Saint-Etienne's endowment. Thibaut confiscated the fief after it was identified as an unlicensed alienation, but he then allowed it. While Saint-Etienne was purchasing property and revenues in Troyes, the monks of Cheminon were acquiring landed fiefs without license during Thibaut's minority, so many in fact that they paid him 300*l.* to settle the matter.¹³³ That is the earliest reference to what later was called amortization (*amortisatas*), the approval granted, usually after a fine or tax, for the transfer of fiefs into a dead hand (*manus mortua*), incapable of rendering the attached service.¹³⁴

If Thibaut IV confiscated a number of unlicensed alienations, he also ratified many on an individual basis, perhaps wishing less to harass religious institutions over their past transgressions than to restrain future alienations by introducing an element of uncertainty.¹³⁵ In one important respect, however, his ratifications differed from those of his predecessors: he confirmed past acquisitions without authorizing future ones. Not even communities like Clairvaux, to whom he was especially solicitous, received the traditional open-ended authorization for future acquisitions.¹³⁶ He made one exception, for his mother Blanche who was amassing an endowment for Argensolles, the Cistercian convent she founded in 1222: she was allowed to “buy and acquire tithes wherever she wishes within any of my fiefs in order to augment the revenues of the monastery.”¹³⁷

Changing the practices and expectations of religious communities proved a difficult task because they retained the sealed documents of earlier counts and lords granting the unrestricted right to acquire fiefs. Thibaut fought a major legal battle with the Templars, who resisted his attempt to annul Henry II’s privilege of 1191 allowing their acquisition of fiefs “by alms, purchase, or any other means,” except for the lordship of towns and castles.¹³⁸ The Templars instead began to accumulate vast tracts of woodlands, apparently without license, which Thibaut confiscated. They appealed to the pope, who ordered his legate to arbitrate a settlement with Queen Blanche of Castile: the count was awarded 10,000*l.*, in effect a fine for amortizing the Templars’ recent acquisitions.¹³⁹ But they continued to acquire property in the 1230s, and in 1241 another dispute reached Louis IX; again their past acquisitions were confirmed, but for the first time the Templars were formally prohibited from acquiring fiefs without the count’s consent (*gr̄e*).¹⁴⁰ Yet they persisted, as the inquest of 1249–51 revealed, and even took advantage of young Thibaut V’s well-known spiritual proclivities to confirm their purchases.¹⁴¹ When violence erupted following the Templars’ closure of a recently acquired forest, Countess Margaret moved to discipline the order, imposing the severest restrictions ever: an outright prohibition on all acquisitions of comital fiefs, rear-fiefs, and rents. Any property acquired, whether by purchase or alms, had to be regranted within one year and one day to someone of appropriate status, that is, a barony to a baron and a knight’s fief to a knight.¹⁴² That the Templars agreed to forgo all future acquisitions in return for Margaret’s confirmation of past ones attests to the scale of their purchases in the three decades after Thibaut IV’s accession.

The barons encountered similar difficulties in halting the unbridled alienation of their fiefs. When confronted with the letters their ancestors had sealed permitting unrestricted acquisitions by local religious communities, most barons simply acquiesced in reconfirmations. Anseric II of Chacenay (d. 1137), one of the founders of Mores, gave the monks the standard license to acquire freely from his fiefs; his son Jacques I renewed

it in 1152, his grandson Erard I did the same in 1182, as did his great-grandson Erard II in 1205.¹⁴³ It would have been very difficult not to confirm what had become expected privileges, risking a family's relationship with a local religious institution. Hugh IV of Broys discovered that in 1226, when he tried to discontinue his family's traditional license to Oyes for the unrestricted future acquisition of fiefs. The monks retrieved his grandfather's sealed letter of 1148. "Having carefully examined the letter," Hugh reported, he renewed and confirmed the abbey's right to acquire "from my entire domain, from my fiefs, and from the fiefs of my men."¹⁴⁴ The scribe recopied almost verbatim the language of his grandfather's letter. Thirteen years later in 1239, when setting out on crusade with Thibaut IV, Hugh reconfirmed all the letters his ancestors had given to Oyes.¹⁴⁵ The generosity of that twelfth-century phrase, "whatever they can acquire from my fiefs," had unintended consequences far into the thirteenth century. It was tangible proof of the power of written records long appreciated by the monks.

Thibaut IV's amortizations in 1222/24, perhaps an expedient during his early days of financial need, represent the first outright tax on alienations in the county. Yet he did not regard amortization as a means of taxation. He expended huge sums in the 1230s and 1240s to repurchase fiefs from his needy fiefholders. Even Pope Innocent IV recognized the seriousness of the situation by prohibiting a number of monasteries from accepting fiefs.¹⁴⁶ Yet unlicensed alienations continued, and by 1247 talk of a general inquest on fiefs may well have caused some disquiet. Jean of Chappes, apparently alerted to the impending inquest by the canons of Saint-Etienne, sought the count's consent to his sale six years earlier, when both he and the canons had tried to conceal it from the count.¹⁴⁷ The monks of Preully also prudently obtained the count's amortization in 1247, just as the inquest was being planned.¹⁴⁸ But no one anticipated the scale of confiscations following the inquest. The dynamic of alienation suddenly changed. No longer could religious institutions accumulate property at will, even surreptitiously, in the expectation of a later *pro forma* ratification. At the same time, Thibaut experimented with new ways to slow the rate of alienation: by levying a 20 percent tax (the fifth penny) on the seller, and by forcing religious houses to regrant within one year and one day the fiefs they had purchased or received in alms.¹⁴⁹ Thibaut's dramatic confrontation ended without clear resolution at his death (July 1253), but it marked a fundamental reversal of comital-monastic relations, which had been characterized by exceptional generosity on the part of the counts since the time of Count Hugh.

Countess Margaret's conciliatory policy authorizing limited acquisitions calmed the waters, and Thibaut V continued her practice of licensing acquisitions on an *ad hoc* basis.¹⁵⁰ But the unlicensed alienation of fiefs continued.¹⁵¹ Unable to restrain the flow of fiefs, the count decided to

exploit it. In 1269 he imposed the first general amortization tax in Champagne in order to finance his crusade with Louis IX. It applied to all property transferred from fiefholders to townsmen and religious houses. The chapter of Saint-Quiriace, which handled the collection, sent out commissioners to identify the alienated properties, assess their values, and determine the tax.¹⁵² The commissioners took sworn testimony in each castellany in order to identify the fiefs and rear-fiefs alienated during the previous forty years (since 1229) and drew up two rolls for each castellany: one for the acquisitions made by townsmen (*borjois*), the other for the acquisitions by religious institutions (*églises*).¹⁵³ One townsman, Thomas of Méry-sur-Seine, refused to pay. His father had purchased the residential tower of Vaudrémont in the new quarter of Bar-sur-Aube “more than forty years ago,” he said, and he produced two letters patent dated April and June 1227 that served as bills of sale. The commissioners apparently excused him but copied the letters in their roll.¹⁵⁴ The chancery then drafted standardized letters of amortization by which the count confirmed acquisitions made “from my fiefs, rear-fiefs, rents, and allods or domain or from my men.”¹⁵⁵ At least fifteen institutions are known to have paid for amortizations in 1270.¹⁵⁶ The taxes were assessed and collected on a negotiated basis, as they had been since the 1220s. At the same time, the count authorized certain monasteries to acquire fiefs in the future. He licensed Argensolles, his grandmother Blanche’s foundation, to acquire property yielding 100*l.* annually, but not more than half of any fief.¹⁵⁷ He allowed Val-des-Vignes to acquire fiefs and rear-fiefs worth 20*l.* annually in each of the next five years and exempted the monks from doing the requisite homage.¹⁵⁸ Henry III continued the policy of licensing religious houses to acquire prescribed amounts of revenue. The cathedral chapter in Troyes, for example, was allowed to acquire fiefs, rear-fiefs, and allods producing up to 300*l.* annual revenue, but excluding any “whole fief.”¹⁵⁹

Thibaut V’s countywide amortizations were the first tax on alienations assessed solely to raise revenue.¹⁶⁰ What made that possible, on relatively short notice, was the expertise the count’s officials had acquired in tracking fiefs since the 1240s. The amortizations of 1269–70 in turn anticipated, and may have served as a model for, both the format and tax rates of the royal amortizations under Philip III (1275) and Philip IV (1291).¹⁶¹ Philip III’s ordinance of 1275 established the principles, tax rates, and administrative machinery for collecting the amortization tax on a uniform basis throughout the realm, but since it did not apply in Champagne, the first royal amortization tax came in 1291, after the county was firmly in the royal hand.¹⁶² Philip IV had taken an active interest in amortizations after his marriage to Jeanne.¹⁶³ In 1286 he ordered the bailiffs of Champagne to investigate all ecclesiastical acquisitions and to recognize the old ones and the properly licensed ones, but to tax the others through negotiated settlements, subject to his approval.¹⁶⁴ Five years later, he based his ordinance

on amortization (1291) on his father's of 1275: it taxed all property, fiefs as well as allods, that had passed without license to religious institutions and to nonnobles (*persone ignobilis*) at rates twice what his father had imposed.¹⁶⁵ Vigorously enforced in Champagne, it yielded substantial sums, proving that the alienation of fiefs had continued unabated through the thirteenth century. Some sense of the amount collected can be gleaned from the chance survival of the account for Cepperello da Prato, the royal tax collector for the *bailliage* of Troyes, who reported in 1294–95 that he took about 8,000*l.* in amortization taxes from sixty-nine religious and seventy laypersons.¹⁶⁶ Unlike the counts, the king was not interested in stemming the flow of fiefs from lay hands. For Philip IV, amortization was the occasion for levying a transfer tax on the unstoppable flow of fiefs to religious and nonnobles, those who by definition were not capable of rendering service for fiefs. Ultimately, the royal ordinances on amortization were part of a new royal tax policy, one that effectively usurped the traditional right of lords to license the alienation of fiefs held from them: taxation was becoming a royal prerogative.¹⁶⁷

A rich language of fiefholding saturates the written records from Champagne in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Those records reflect both the omnipresence of fiefs and the existence of an active market in fiefs through the two centuries. New fiefs were created by infeudation and by allodial conversion, and old ones were augmented with new revenues. Once created, fiefs were heritable and transferable with seemingly perfunctory lordly consent through bequest, mortgage, annuitization, and outright sale. The commercialization of fiefs increased dramatically after the mid-twelfth century, aided in part by the valuation of fiefs—even landed fiefs—in terms of annual revenue that made it possible to determine the monetary value of a dowry, an inheritance, or property granted in fief or sold or mortgaged. The counts, barons, knights and squires, monks and canons, all participated in the fief market, for diverse purposes.

With the Third and Fourth Crusades, the nature of the fief market changed. The massive alienation of fiefs, followed by a reduction in the granting of new comital fiefs, substantially reduced the number of comital fiefs in circulation. At the same time, all attempts to restrict the transfer of fiefs to the church failed because of the unrelenting financial pressures, especially the lack of liquidity, that drove the market in fiefs. As the benefactions in fiefs dried up, wealthy monasteries entered the market by purchasing the *mouvance* of fiefs and by funding allodial conversions, mortgages, and annuitizations of fiefs. The problem was not unique to Champagne. Philip III and Philip IV addressed their amortization ordinances to the entire realm. But they, unlike the counts, did not attempt to intervene in that market, only to tax the unrelenting flow of fiefs to nonnobles.

Chapter 4

The Aristocratic Family

Any analysis of the aristocratic family in medieval France must contend with the powerful model of family organization and behavior developed by Georges Duby, whose influence still pervades all recent work on the subject. In a series of probing essays in the 1960s and 1970s, Duby argued that a new form of familial organization emerged in the years around 1000, coincident with the general restructuring of the political and social order that he had tracked in the Mâconnais.¹ The construction of castles, he proposed, induced aristocratic families to form lineages (which he construed as patrilineages), for in order to preserve their castle lordships intact, they began to restrict marriage and inheritance to their eldest sons. Daughters were married off (mostly downward) or placed in convents, while younger sons were expelled from the paternal residence and forced to seek their fortunes elsewhere, often in bands of violence-prone “youth.”² Only in the last decades of the twelfth century, according to this model, were younger sons allowed to marry and inherit, a concession that caused widespread fragmentation of patrimonies in the thirteenth century. Thus for Duby, the aristocratic family underwent two fundamental transformations. Around the turn of the millennium, coincident with a “feudal revolution,” it became essentially linear, what we might strictly call a primogenital patrilineage. Two centuries later, coincident with the resurgence of monarchy in France after 1180, strict primogeniture was abandoned in the interests of younger sons and daughters, whose inheritances fragmented the great aristocratic estates in the thirteenth century.³

Duby’s linking of familial organization with political and societal changes, all within prescribed regional and chronological parameters, offered an elegant general theory of the organization and evolution of the aristocratic family. It has achieved such currency that it appears in some form in every recent synthesis on medieval society and the family in France, and it is routinely invoked by literary historians to ground the imaginative literary works of the twelfth century.⁴ So powerful and seductive was the model that its problematic methodology and evidence long eluded scrutiny.⁵ Anthropologists were the first to challenge the depiction of the European family as other than a bilateral kindred.⁶ Doubts also have been raised as to whether the aristocratic family underwent any fundamental reorgani-

zation in the millennial years.⁷ In fact, the only regional studies to address the issue of a late twelfth-century reorganization of the family have concluded the contrary, that no such restructuring occurred at that time.⁸

The rich evidence from Champagne in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries yields a radically different picture of aristocratic familial organization and inheritance practices from the one depicted by Duby.⁹ Obviously an eldest son often succeeded to his father's lordship, but not every eldest son did so. Younger sons married and inherited long before 1200. Daughters were married with honor to their peers, and as wives and widows they assumed central roles in their affinal families. In short, both the organization of aristocratic families and the ways in which they distributed property were far more complex and contingent than patrilineage with strict primogeniture would have allowed in practice.

Primogeniture, Patrilineage, Patrimony

The force of the patrilineal model of the family lies in the idiosyncratic glossing of highly resonant terms—primogeniture, lineage, patrimony—in the apparent absence of medieval designations for what we would term the nuclear or conjugal family.¹⁰ Most notable has been the inference of a system of primogeniture (the firstborn son takes the entire inheritance) from the term *primogenitus*, despite the fact that in medieval usage the “first born” referred simply to the oldest surviving son, without reference to specific inheritance practices. Count Thibaut II, for example, identified his son Henry as *primogenitus*, not to designate Henry as sole heir to all his lands or even to his own inheritance of Blois-Chartres and Meaux, but to accord him the precedence of an eldest son who had come of age but not yet succeeded.¹¹ Henry in fact took his uncle Hugh's title (count of Troyes) rather than his father's (count of Blois), and made Hugh's lands and capital in southern Champagne the center of his principality. More than a century later Philip III used *primogenitus* in the same sense in the marriage contract he negotiated with Countess Blanche of Artois: her daughter Jeanne would marry “one of my two oldest (*primogenitis*) sons” and receive a dower depending on which son she ultimately married.¹² Three years later, after the death of Philip's eldest son (1276), his second son Philip (IV) became the *primogenitus* and subsequently married Jeanne (1284).¹³ The promotion of a younger son to eldest son on his brother's death occurred far more frequently than either medieval or modern genealogies admit. And more significantly, in regions like Champagne where partible inheritance was the custom, inheritance was not restricted to the firstborn or eldest surviving son.¹⁴

Of course the oldest son (or daughter in lieu of a son) enjoyed certain privileges and responsibilities known in the late thirteenth-century vernacular as “the right of the eldest” (*droit d'aînesse*). That right varied widely by

region, but it usually included the paternal office, title, and primary residence.¹⁵ In Champagne the comital ordinances enacted with the assent of the leading barons in 1212 and 1224 reconciled that preferential right of the eldest child with the rights of his siblings. So fundamental was the principle of partible inheritance that the compiler of the customs of Champagne (ca. 1290) prefaced his collection with a translation of Thibaut IV's ordinance prescribing "how much the firstborn son ought to take [as inheritance] relative to his brothers."¹⁶ By that advantage, the eldest inherited the family's castle or fortified residence, or took the larger, stronger, or more commodious residence, if there were several.¹⁷ Blanche's ordinance of 1212 enacted the same principle in the absence of sons: the eldest daughter (*primogenita*) had her choice of residence, leaving her sisters to choose among the remaining residences by age rank.¹⁸ Under both ordinances, all other property was to be divided equally among the siblings without advantage to the eldest.

It is not known what prompted Blanche to convene her barons in 1212, but Thibaut ascribed his ordinance of 1224 to a suit brought to his court regarding the division of a castle among male heirs.¹⁹ In accepting the validity of past divisions (*particiones*), Thibaut implied that his ordinance, like his mother's, was aimed at halting the practice of dividing castles and residences among siblings. The two ordinances thus recognized both the count's need to preserve the integrity of significant military structures and the traditional right of all siblings to an equitable share of the parental properties. The ordinances did not introduce partibility; rather they reconciled existing partible practices with the new castle policies of the counts.

Neither ordinance treated the issue of *mouvance*, that is, from whom did siblings hold their inheritances? In the twelfth century most younger sons held their inheritances from older brothers without homage (what legal historians call *frèrage*), leaving the eldest to do homage to the lord for the entire fief.²⁰ In effect, younger sons—and *their* sons—were shielded from the count, since their lands moved from the eldest brother. An urgent goal of state-building princes was to make younger sons directly accountable for their fortifications and properties. In 1209 the king and several of his major barons agreed to impose liege homage on all the tenants of divided fiefs, requiring each brother to do homage directly to the lord of the fief for his share of the inheritance.²¹ But Countess Blanche was not a signatory to that document, and the royal ordinance did not run in Champagne. If the comital ordinances of 1212 and 1224 failed to treat the question, it was precisely because younger sons in Champagne enjoyed a long-standing presumptive right, later reaffirmed by the High Court, of choosing their lords, and they continued to prefer that custom.²²

The eldest son often identified himself as *primogenitus* in his capacity as head of the family after his father's death, primarily as guarantor of his siblings' transactions; in fact, Thibaut IV and his officials insisted that only

eldest brothers could warrant the tenures of younger brothers, under penalty of confiscation of fief.²³ But the right of the eldest was only preferential, not exclusionary. The firstborn did not necessarily inherit his father's property, and he lacked any advantage whatsoever in collateral successions, which were divided equally among all siblings.²⁴ Thus when Guy IV of Châtillon confirmed an act by his younger brother Hugh, lord of Châtillon (their father's ancestral property), he announced his standing as eldest son together with his title, count of Saint-Pol (his mother's inheritance) to make clear his position within the Châtillon line.²⁵ The notion of primogeniture as represented in Duby's model—the eldest son inheriting the entire paternal patrimony to the exclusion of his siblings—did not exist in Champagne in either the twelfth or thirteenth century. Nor, as Lemesle notes, is there any evidence elsewhere in France that a system of succession by eldest sons was devised *in order to* preserve lordships intact.²⁶

Lineage (*linea*, *lineagium*, *lignage*) has loomed so large in all recent analyses of medieval families that it has come to be regarded as the core institution of the aristocratic family after 1000. It is indeed curious that social and literary historians have easily accepted the conflation of the medieval term with its modern anthropological homonym to represent medieval descent conceived narrowly as agnatic or patri-lineage. Such an approach has been categorically rejected by anthropologists themselves, who point out that medieval lineages encompassed all blood relatives, maternal as well as paternal.²⁷ That more conventional understanding of lineage as kinship, including all consanguines, accords far better with medieval usage. It is Beaumanoir's sense of kinship (*lignage*), involving not only rights to property but also spheres of prohibited marriage, that is, rights and prohibitions pertaining to all children, including daughters and younger sons.²⁸

It is remarkable how infrequent the term "lineage" appears in the twelfth-century sources from Champagne. It is entirely absent from the charters, notices, and letters patent in the monastic archives. It is not mentioned in the chancery registers of fiefs and homages. And it rarely appears in the narrative records. Guy of Bazoches, for example, canon at Châlons and one of the best connected courtiers of the time, wrote two praise letters to Henry the Liberal that might well have occasioned a celebration of the count's lineage. But in the first letter Guy lauds the count's character rather than his bloodline, and in the second he establishes a detailed genealogical tree proving Henry's descent from the kings of France and England (through daughters as well as sons) without reference to "lineage."²⁹ Chrétien de Troyes, writing about the same time, uses *lignage* fourteen times in his Arthurian romances: ten in reference to the quality or reputation of a lineage, and three in a general sense of being identified by one's lineage.³⁰ Only once does *lignage* clearly refer to descent—*Cligès* begins as a story of "a young man in Greece who belonged to the lineage of King Arthur"—but even there, lineage carries a general sense of kinship

rather than patrilineal descent.³¹ Gislebert of Mons, the well-informed chancellor of the count of Hainaut (1178/80–95), wrote extensively about the familial relationships and marriages of the powerful northern French princes, but not once did he speak of lineage; referring to Henry II, whom he no doubt knew, Gislebert cites only the count's "most distinguished family" (*maxima parentela*).³²

Lineage remained an uncommon term in the thirteenth century, despite the increasing attention to social background and noble status. The chancery made no reference to a fiefholder's lineage either in its internal registers or in the count's outgoing letters patent. Nor does any extant judgment of the High Court deal with lineage. Of the baronial letters received by the chancery, only one mentions *lignage*, of a man's kinship running through his mother.³³ The chronicler Aubry of Trois-Fontaines, who was intensely interested in the descent of aristocratic families and who furnishes a number of genealogies, uses *linea* only twice in his "Chronicon," each time referring to descent through both parents to a common ancestor.³⁴ That is how the term was understood by the three "noble men" who had taken the habit at Preuilly—Guy Gasteblé of Traînel, Simon of Courpalay, and Pierre of Bauvin—in their testimony (1213) about the familial relationship (*parentela*) existing between Erard of Brienne and Philippa. They described the family line (*parentelae linea*, *linea consanguinitatis*) through which the couple descended from the royal brothers Louis VI and Florus but which also ran through Isabelle of Nangis and Countess Marie, thus confirming a consanguinity too close to permit a legitimate marriage between Erard and Philippa.³⁵ Two decades later, Thibaut IV used the term *lignage* in one of his earliest vernacular grants (1232): any of his men residing in his castle town of Laferté-sur-Aube could bequeath property to "the closest heir of his lineage," that is, to his kin or blood relative.³⁶ In no case could lineage be construed as patrilineage.

Beaumanoir's *Coutumes* of the Beauvaisis (1282), the most comprehensive compilation of customary legal principles in thirteenth-century France, offers an extensive treatment of lineage. It was a kin-based network of relationships comprising parents and siblings of both sexes, as well as nieces and nephews, but not half- and step-relatives.³⁷ Using the template of consanguinity, Beaumanoir analyzes four "degrees" of lineage, the first being "my father or mother" and the second "my son or daughter."³⁸ In chapter 19, "On the Degrees of Lineage (*lignage*)," he gives four reasons for knowing one's lineage: to avoid marrying too closely (*trop prochain degré de lignage*), to be of help in a private war, to be able to claim a collateral inheritance from one's relatives, and to be able to redeem the property of relatives.³⁹ For Beaumanoir, lineage was neither an aristocratic institution nor limited to sons. He describes what anthropologists recognize as the characteristic feature of European families: cognatic, bilateral kinship in which descent is reckoned through both maternal and paternal lines.⁴⁰

Beaumanoir is in accord with a wide range of medieval writers for whom consanguines included blood relatives on both sides, since cognatic filiation flowed through both parents.⁴¹ Confusion about these fundamental points has resulted from the unfortunate use of “agnatic” to describe patrilineal descent.⁴² Medieval writers did not, in fact, recognize the ancient Roman distinction between agnatic and cognatic descent; they used instead terms like *cognatio*, *consanguinitas*, and *parentela* to designate close blood relatives without specifying the relationship.⁴³ *Cognatio*, in sum, “referred to the whole range of kin on both sides, one’s ego-oriented or personal kin, that is, the range of kin traced through father and mother.”⁴⁴ By placing patrilineage at the center of the medieval family, modern historians have distorted the medieval meaning of *lignage* and, indeed, the very nature of the aristocratic family.⁴⁵

The concept of lineage has been misrepresented in a second sense as well, in being confounded with an office, title, or castle lordship that becomes, by extension, the “patrimony.”⁴⁶ The term “patrimony” (*patrimonium*) itself has been a source of confusion. Modern historians who take it to mean a family’s entire landed possessions conventionally depict it in terms of a stable castle lordship that passed essentially intact through eldest sons from one generation to the next. Medieval usage, however, does not sustain such a representation, which by definition excludes women from inheriting fiefs and offices, which they obviously did. Moreover, the term *patrimonium*, while infrequent in Champagne, refers to a child’s inheritance, not to the parental estate. Women spoke of their patrimonies, inheritances (*hereditas*), and what they obtained from their parents (*de capito*), that is, their own share—not the entirety—of the parental inheritance. Helia of Villemaur, widow of the former marshal of Champagne, made a deathbed bequest “from her own patrimony,” wrote a chancery scribe.⁴⁷ Elizabeth, heiress of the viscounty of Mareuil-sur-Ay, said she donated “land that I possess from my patrimony.”⁴⁸ Beatrice of Burgundy memorialized her brother Robert, bishop of Langres, by giving two churches “from her patrimony” to Molesme, and Leceline, wife of the viscount of Bar-sur-Seine, gave the monks half of a village that she possessed “by hereditary right from her parents.”⁴⁹ The marriage contract for Alix of Grandpré and Jean of Joinville required them to renounce all future claims to her inheritance “from her father as much as from her mother.”⁵⁰ In Champagne, at least, patrimony meant neither an intact lordship nor a paternal inheritance, nor was it reserved for an eldest son.

Even a brief review of medieval nomenclature suggests that misrepresentations of basic terms like *primogenitus*, *linea*, and *patrimonium* have muddled our view of the aristocratic family. Primogeniture referred only to the advantage, not the exclusionary rights, of the eldest surviving child; lineage included all direct blood relatives, women as well as men; and all children received an inheritance of some kind. Stranger still than the misuse of

terms is the virtual absence of women from the model of the aristocratic lineage: effectively they have been written out of the aristocratic family.⁵¹ In sum, the patrilineal model of the family fails utterly to explain the nature and customs of aristocratic families. Indeed, the “elementary form” of the aristocratic family resided not in patrilineage but in the residential unit formed by the married couple.

The Conjugal Family

The nuclear or conjugal family, despite the supposed lack of a medieval term for it, constituted the elementary form of the aristocratic family long before the twelfth century, and it passed through the millennial divide without fundamental change.⁵² Certainly by the twelfth century the conjugal family was the norm.⁵³ The crystallization of the canon law and theology of marriage at that time validated the married couple as a union of consenting partners with shared responsibilities.⁵⁴ Girls of twelve and boys of fourteen were allowed to contract marriages from the moment they gave their “present consent,” and from the age of seven they could promise “future consent” to a marriage to be consummated at a later time, presumably after twelve and fourteen. Uncoerced consent became the touchstone of a legitimate marriage. Although the meaning of consent, which might range from willing acceptance to reluctant acquiescence, is difficult to gauge in a society of arranged marriages, expressions of affection in the transactional documents (“my dearest husband/wife”), if they are not simply rhetorical flourishes, suggest that at least some marriages produced satisfying, even loving, relationships.⁵⁵ Jean of Joinville revealed more than a conventional sentiment when he endowed eternally burning candles at the tomb of “my dear companion Alix,” his wife of twenty-seven years.⁵⁶ So did Clarembaud I of Chappes, who dedicated his benefaction for the chapel in his castle in memory of his ancestors, “but mostly for the soul of my wife Ermengard and my dearest son Hugh.”⁵⁷ Guichard IV of Beaujeu expressed the same sentiments in his testament, by placing the lordship (*dominium*) of all his lands in the custody of Sybil of Hainaut, “my dearest wife and friend.”⁵⁸

Canon law applied the same rules to men and women regarding their eligibility to marry, their consent to marriage, and their marital responsibilities. A couple was prohibited from contracting a legitimate marriage if related within the seventh degree (reckoned through both the maternal and paternal lines), a restriction so severe that the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) reduced it to the fourth degree, that is, to a common great-great-grandparent.⁵⁹ It is important to note that consanguinity was calculated through ego’s biological relationship—by kinship, not by patrilineal descent—and made no distinction between men and women.⁶⁰ Likewise the liturgy of marriage, which saw a rapid extension from the early twelfth century, celebrated the couple as a union of two individuals in a ceremony

performed by a priest in or at a church. The priest would inquire about the couple's consent, witness the dowering of the bride, bless the wedding rings, then declare the couple married.⁶¹ Just how the codification of canon law, theology, and the liturgy of marriage affected aristocratic marriages, and familial practices more broadly, remains an open question, since the key material marker of a valid marriage, the dower, already was in place. What is clear, though, is that canon lawyers, theologians, and liturgists, not to mention lyric poets and writers of romance, understood the centrality of the conjugal couple and the affective dimensions of marriage.⁶²

COMMUNITY PROPERTY

Beyond the requirements of canon law, marriage was founded on the conjugal community that established a wife's right to share her husband's material possessions. The evidence from northern and eastern France is unambiguous: marriage made a wife her husband's partner whose consent was required for the disposition of his properties; she acted in his stead during his absence and after his death; she exercised exclusive rights over their minor children; and she enjoyed life use of their conjugal residence with an income appropriate to her social standing. That right was formalized by the husband's granting his wife a dower in the presence of witnesses before or at marriage, an act reinforced by the spread of the marriage liturgy in the twelfth century. Although the dower strictly pertained to property she would hold after her husband's death, it effectively encumbered his possessions during marriage, that is, until she took her dower.

The earliest written marriage contracts and dower letters from northern and eastern France, from the 1150s, link the three rights a wife acquired at marriage: lifetime use of the conjugal residence, her dower lands, and half of the couple's acquisitions made during the marriage, what legal historians call community or joint property. In one of the earliest extant dower letters (1153), Louis VII's brother Robert I of Dreux dowered his new wife, Agnes of Baudement, with his "principal fortress of Dreux, its entire castellany, and half of the land he might acquire."⁶³ Contemporary dower letters from the region around Laon likewise recognize community property as an integral part of the marriage contract.⁶⁴ It is clear now that the institution of community property, with husband and wife sharing equally in all acquisitions made during marriage, was fully developed by the eleventh century and that surviving marriage contracts and dower letters from the twelfth century describe a long-established practice.⁶⁵ The earliest extant dower letter from Champagne (1176), in which the knight Stephen of Pringy gave his wife Comitissa his residence, half of his current possessions, and "one-half of all that I am able to acquire," speaks to the centrality of community property to marriage.⁶⁶ A wealthy father like Manasses IV, count of Rethel, might dower his future daughter-in-law with property from

his son's eventual inheritance, but only a husband could promise his wife a share of their community property; in this case young Hugh of Rethel granted his future wife half of all he "might acquire after he married her."⁶⁷ In those same years, Countess Marie upheld a widow's right to one-half of her community property in addition to her dower, even after remarriage. The case involved a widow whose brother-in-law claimed to be the closest heir of her first husband in the absence of children. The countess reaffirmed the widow's right to one-half of the property acquired while married to her first husband, as well as one-half of his other property as dower.⁶⁸ King Philip II showed that he, too, was familiar with that custom when he confirmed Alix of Châtillon's dower assigned by William IV of Garlande: "He gave his wife as dower his house at Livrey with all its possessions, half of his land, half of the acquisitions he acquired by whatever manner, and half of the things that fell to him by whatever manner."⁶⁹

By the early thirteenth century, community property was understood to be included in the dower, and thereafter it is rarely mentioned separately in either marriage contracts or dower letters. The dower effectively comprised the wife's residence and half of her husband's present and future property, no matter how acquired. By her dower right, observed Beaumanoir, a woman obtained one-half of all the property her husband acquired while married, whether it came from his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, or more distant relative.⁷⁰ As a practical matter, however, property acquired during marriage continued to be accounted for separately when widows took their dowers. Helisent of Joigny, who sold her properties to Thibaut IV after the deaths of her husband and only son on the Fifth Crusade, distinguished her dower lands from the acquisitions (*conquestus*) made during marriage.⁷¹ Margaret, widow of the knight Hugh of Villegruis, sued for her property rights in the court of the dean of Provins, describing them as her "inheritance, dower, and purchases."⁷² Countess Margaret's marriage contract failed to mention community property, but as widow she took, in addition to her dower, a 1,000*l.* rent in lieu of the acquisitions (*conquests*) that she and Thibaut IV had made during their twenty-one-year marriage.⁷³ That token amount represented far less than half of Thibaut IV's substantial acquisitions, which Margaret tacitly resigned to her son, but it surpassed the incomes of all but a handful of baronial families.

Determining the amount of community property could be a contentious matter, especially in cases of remarriage. Ade of Avesnes, second wife of Henry III, count of Grandpré (1170–1211), complained to Countess Blanche in 1211 that her stepson, Henry IV of Grandpré (1212–29), had deprived her of the acquisitions made while married to his father; he, in response, accused her of "adding to her dower what was not in her dower."⁷⁴ It was to obviate such a conflict that Louis IX inserted a clause in the marriage contract he negotiated for his niece, Blanche of Artois, to

Henry of Champagne: her cash dowry was not be comingled with other joint property acquired during her marriage; it was to remain entirely hers, “notwithstanding the custom, such as it is, by which a husband and wife ought to share the acquisitions made during marriage.”⁷⁵

FAMILIAL CONSENT

As a result of the conjugal community established by the dower and joint property, the disposition of familial properties required the consent of the wife and, by extension, the children. Pervasive references to the wife’s approval (*laudatio*) through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries reflect the strength of that right in Champagne, where recipients of property sought clear title to their acquisitions.⁷⁶ Anseric II of Chacenay explained to the monks of Molesme that he was confirming his gift of the village of Poligny with his wife’s consent “at Chacenay in my home” because earlier, when he promised it, “I was in Troyes in my tower, in the absence of my wife.”⁷⁷ Either Anseric or the monks recognized the need for his wife’s consent before witnesses in order to preclude any future misunderstanding. Similarly Bartholomew of Vignory, who appeared at Clairvaux to make amends for troubling the monks over his ancestors’ gifts, returned home to obtain his wife’s consent in the presence of local witnesses; then, he said, “I had this document drawn up at Vignory in my presence and had my seal affixed to it.”⁷⁸ A decade later Bartholomew confirmed the resolution of a dispute between his knight, Bertrand of Provenchères, and a local priory, with the explicit consent of his wife and in her presence.⁷⁹ The seneschal Geoffroy III of Joinville reacted in like manner when asked by the abbot of La Chapelle-aux-Planches to confirm by his seal what his father had given to the monks long ago. Geoffroy’s letter, one of the earliest self-sealed baronial letters from the region (1157), included prominently the consent of his wife, Felicity of Brienne, and their son Geoffroy and daughter Gertrude, even though the abbot had not requested their consent.⁸⁰ By the late twelfth century, some scribes were drafting letters patent in which consenting wives appear as virtual co-actors with their husbands, as in “I, Erard, lord of Chacenay, make known that, with the approval of my wife Mathilda, I gave and conceded.”⁸¹ That prominence of a wife’s consent may well have reflected the ability of aristocratic women by that time to seal instruments in their own names, in effect, to validate acts independently of their husbands.

The monastic foundation documents and episcopal pancartes listing monastic benefactions offer vivid evidence of entire families acting together in consenting to property transactions. The long lists of Clairvaux’s benefactors, from the foundational years through the last decade of the twelfth century, are filled with the names of wives, children, and siblings in small familial groupings.⁸² Prominent castle-holding families like the Châtillon

and Baudement appeared in the company of Bernard of Clairvaux and several other abbots at the foundation of Igny.⁸³ The multicastle lord Simon I of Broys, his wife Felicity of Brienne, sons Hugh and Simon, and daughter Emeline gave land for the foundation of Andecy, the convent established by nuns from July.⁸⁴ The abbey of Mores was founded by Anseric II of Chacenay, his wife Hubeline, their son Jacques with his wife Agnes of Brienne, and their daughter Petronilla with her husband Guy of Bar-sur-Seine, not to mention the other couples with their children.⁸⁵ Founding a new monastic community was envisioned, and duly commemorated, as a family affair.⁸⁶

The absence of a wife's consent to a property transaction occasionally elicited an explanation, since it could risk future claims. The monks of Mores noted that the knight Gautier of Argentolle did not provide a wife's consent to his sale of allodial property because he was "still a squire and not yet responsible for a wife."⁸⁷ When the wife of knight Poitevin of Guignicourt found it difficult to come to Reims with her young children to give consent at the episcopal court, the archbishop sent a cleric to her with instructions on how she was to swear the oath of consent.⁸⁸ Simon II of Broys brought suit against Clairvaux for having acquired property within Neufchâteau without his and his wife's consent, and for building a house there without consulting them.⁸⁹ Even more dramatic was Helvide of Dampierre's rebuke to her husband, Jean I of Montmirail—a multicastle lord, close companion of the king, and one of the most powerful barons of the time—who sought her consent for the sale of a forest worth 7,000*l.* to finance his expedition against the Albigensians. She simply refused, and there is no evidence that the sale ever occurred.⁹⁰ Anecdotes about a wife's consent are too numerous and diverse to be dismissed as necessarily coerced or pro forma statements.

Children were expected to consent to their parents' transactions on reaching the "age of consenting" (*ad etatem laudandi*), an age never defined and apparently not fixed.⁹¹ Henry of Perrecin, a little boy (*parvulus*) when his mother died and his father sold off the entire family holdings, consented to that alienation "after he had become an adult and took the cross."⁹² The seneschal Geoffroy III of Joinville's son did not consent to his father's donation, said the monks of La Crête, "because at that time he was neither of age nor had the understanding to be able to approve and concede."⁹³ When Agnes and her husband William, knight of Passy, sold her dowry, they swore to obtain the consent of her brothers and sister "when they attain the age of discretion."⁹⁴ But just who determined when a child was of age to consent? Parents like Alix of Bricon did. Her two oldest sons and daughter consented to her gift to Longuay, but since her youngest son "had not yet obtained the age of consent," Alix herself "consented to it for him," a right she assumed because the property was her dowry.⁹⁵ Alix stretched the limits of consent to meet the needs of the moment.

In the absence of children, consent was obtained from the next closest

heirs. Milo I, the widowed lord of Nogent-sur-Seine, brought four nephews to the Paraclete to approve his sale of property for the Second Crusade because his young married daughter was still without children.⁹⁶ The knight Nevel of Ramerupt obtained the approval of his brother, the latter's sons and daughters, and other close relatives in addition to his wife, who was still childless.⁹⁷ Hervé of Maligny had his son's fiancée give her consent, whereas Renaud II of Choiseul, still childless in the eighteenth year of his marriage, obtained the consent of his married sisters.⁹⁸ Anselm III of Traînel did the same; married but without children, he sought his sister Marie's approval for a gift to the Paraclete, "although she was outside the family," a reference to the custom by which a married daughter who had taken her dowry in lieu of inheritance forfeited all claim to familial property and thus the right to consent to its disposition.⁹⁹

The fact that the familial *laudatio* continued without diminution through the thirteenth century in Champagne, as in the Paris region, testifies to the prime role of the conjugal unit—parents and children—and of the next closest relatives with proprietary rights—siblings, nephews/nieces, and future spouses.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, the instances in which wives failed to consent attest to its role in legitimate property transactions. Helvide of Dampierre, cited above, was so displeased by her husband Jean of Montmirail's substantial charitable benefactions as he assumed an increasingly pious life that she vetoed Jean's acts that might jeopardize her future dower. The Templars paid dearly for the gift they received in the Holy Land from the knight Robert of Sablonnières, because neither Robert's wife, who later remarried, nor his daughter had consented to it.¹⁰¹ Whether or not we can speak of a wife's consent as a "legal" necessity for the transfer of property in a society of unwritten law, the fact that prudent acquirers did seek it signals the force of her right, conferred by marriage, to share her husband's property during marriage as well as after his death.

LORDSHIP WITHIN MARRIAGE

If a man's inherited property and future acquisitions were encumbered by his wife's dower and community rights, her dowry and inheritance ordinarily came under his control during marriage. Consequently, some married women appear in the property records only as consenters to the disposition of their own inheritances.¹⁰² Others while married are rarely even mentioned in the extant documents. The castle heiress Elizabeth of Nogent-sur-Seine, for example, appears only once during her quarter-century marriage (1146–71).¹⁰³ Her neighbor, Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine, left no trace at all during an equally long marriage (ca. 1159–85) to the count's butler, Anselm II of Traînel. Alix, heiress of Chacenay castle, likewise is entirely absent in the extant documents while married. She had a seal, which she used as a widow, but only during one year until she remar-

ried; then her second husband, like her first, acted as lord of Chacenay in her stead.¹⁰⁴ Yet if these women remain invisible while married, at least in the extant records, others appear as proprietors and lords during marriage, acting both independently and jointly with their husbands.

Joint Acts

In 1144, when Heloise, abbess of the Paraclete, and Norpald, abbot of Vauluisant, met to resolve their dispute in the newly founded priory for nuns in the castle at Traînel, they were joined by Lord Anselm I of Traînel, his wife Lady Helisent, his sister Lady Comitissa, his son Garnier, the priory's chaplain, and the local priest.¹⁰⁵ Whether Helisent and her sister-in-law actively participated in the discussion at Traînel is not known, but their presence suggests that the entire Traînel family—husband, wife, sister, and son—acted together to facilitate good relations between two prominent, neighboring monasteries with whom the family had close ties. That was not an isolated event. A few years earlier, Milo I of Nogent-sur-Seine and his wife Margaret appeared together at the count's court to consent to a knight's sale of a fief.¹⁰⁶ In those same years, married couples with their children sponsored new monastic foundations, as noted above. But the full extent of aristocratic women exercising lordship becomes apparent only after the Second Crusade, with the proliferation of personal seals.

Among the well-known couples who acted jointly were Agnes, heiress of Baudement castle and widow of Milo III of Bar-sur-Seine, and her second husband, Robert I of Dreux, himself a widower. Agnes and Robert had a long and close marriage (1152–88) in which they co-authored (“I, Robert, count of Braine, and Countess Agnes, my wife, make note that”) and jointly sealed (“we have affixed our seals”) letters patent.¹⁰⁷ Agathe, heiress of Pierrefonds, and Conon, count of Soissons, did the same during their eighteen-year marriage (1164–82). Together they donated, confirmed gifts by their fiefholders, endowed chaplaincies in their castle, and quit a monastery for having acquired fiefs without license.¹⁰⁸ Helvide of Dampierre and Jean of Montmirail were another couple who acted together in both familial and lordly matters during their twenty-five-year marriage (1185–1210). Of eleven known joint transactions, Jean and Helvide made gifts (*donavimus*), confirmed the gifts of their ancestors (*laudamus et concedimus*), confirmed the transactions of their fiefholders (*laudavimus et approbavimus*), and founded a *hôtel-Dieu* in Montmirail for social services to the poor (*fundavimus*). On at least five of those occasions, they both affixed their seals (*sigillis nostris*) to the document.¹⁰⁹ In their last joint act before Jean took the religious habit, they designated Countess Blanche as guarantor of their 1,300*l.* debt to the nearby monks of Longpont, stipulating that it be repaid before their heirs could inherit.¹¹⁰ After Jean entered Longpont, Helvide continued to use her seal, inscribed “seal of Helvide, lady of Montmirail,”

in effect continuing to exercise her lordship for another fifteen years (1210–25) during Jean's absence at Longpont and after his death, just as she had while married.¹¹¹

The seneschal Jean of Joinville and his second wife, Alix of Reynel (whom he later remembered as "my dear companion Alix"), were a prominent couple with a close relationship who frequently acted together during their twenty-seven-year marriage (1261–88).¹¹² Alix was sure to seal any letter regarding her inheritance or dowry at Reynel and Cirey, and in one instance was quoted as saying that she added her seal to Jean's to give it greater authority (since it was her property): "I, the above said Alix, from whom these things moved and move, also have affixed my seal for greater security."¹¹³ Jeanne, heiress of Vignory castle, did the same, adding her seal "for greater security" to the document by which her husband, Stephen of Chalon, did homage to Thibaut V for her castle.¹¹⁴ Perhaps the most dramatic case of joint sealing came after Erard of Ramerupt lost the war he had waged on behalf of his wife Philippa. In a series of letters patent, Erard and Philippa, jointly and separately, resigned all their claims to Champagne. In separate letters, they agreed to a truce until Thibaut IV attained his majority.¹¹⁵ Then they jointly sealed receipts for the 3,000*l.* they were paid for the truce.¹¹⁶ And finally they sealed separate letters renouncing all claim to the county.¹¹⁷ At Thibaut IV's accession in May 1222, Philippa sealed two additional letters with her small seal, confirming the previous ones she had sealed with her large seal; she did so, she said, because she had customarily—and still—used her small seal for private transactions and wished to allay any doubt about the validity of her large seal.¹¹⁸

Some women who did not ordinarily act or seal with their husbands did in fact possess personal seals, which they used at critical junctures in their lives, such as a husband's departure on an overseas journey that might well mark the end of a marriage. Gautier I of Vignory, preparing for the Fourth Crusade, had his wife Isabelle affix her seal to several benefactions as added assurance, should he not return.¹¹⁹ Helisent of Joigny acted as lord of Bar-sur-Seine in the absence of her husband on the Fourth Crusade, and later, when Milo IV and their only son Gautier were about to depart on the Fifth Crusade, she joined with them in authoring and sealing confirmations for Mores.¹²⁰ It was precisely a husband's extended absence that often brings to light his wife's exercise of lordship over his properties and fiefholders. Alvide of Vignory, for example, acting as *domina* of Vignory in the absence of her husband Bartholomew and two eldest sons on the Third Crusade, confirmed the act of two knights in her castle; witnesses included three local knights and the abbot of Septfontaines, who drew up a letter in attestation for her to seal.¹²¹ Agnes of Bar-sur-Seine said that her husband, Philip of Plancy, before leaving on crusade had asked her to found an anniversary Mass for his mother, which she did in his absence and sealed a letter in attestation.¹²² Giles of Plancy made a similar request of his wife Hodiard

before leaving on the Third Crusade: he had troubled the men of Montiéramey, he said, and asked that she not to disturb either them or the monks. But the lady of Plancy did not comply. Summoned by papal commissioners, but failing to appear before them, she was found to be “deficient in all respects.”¹²³

The women who responded to the inquest of 1250 by giving sworn testimony about their husbands’ fiefs and fiefholders were fully apprised of those matters. Pierre of Pontmoulin’s wife described his property (their house and an entire village), gave its value (25*l.t.*), and named his four fiefholders with the values of their fiefs; not only was she informed, she—rather than her husband’s brother, who was one of the rear-fiefholders—represented Pierre.¹²⁴ The wife of Hugh IV, lord of Lafauche, described the fiefs and named the sixteen fiefholders of her husband who was overseas.¹²⁵ The wives of the knights Itier II of La Brosse, Jean Lombard, and Jean of Flaix described their husbands’ fiefs but were uncertain about the castle-guard.¹²⁶ The inquest testimony is particularly relevant here in confirming that wives, not other male relatives, invariably spoke for their absent husbands in matters regarding property. Only unmarried men appointed others to represent them. The seneschal Geoffroy V of Joinville named his younger brother Simon to act in his stead before leaving on the Fourth Crusade; Renaud II of Briel appointed his brother-in-law *loco suo* before departing for the Morea in 1222; and Erard III of Chacenay designated a local knight as *conservator terre* before leaving on crusade in 1249.¹²⁷ In no case did a married man designate someone other than his wife to govern his land or to be guardian of their children in his absence.

A husband’s religious conversion had the same effect as a long absence in making his wife lord of his property. Helvide of Dampierre is a well-known example. Having shared her husband’s lordship during their twenty-five-year marriage, she remained an active lord for fifteen years after his profession as a monk, sealing her own grants and notifications and confirming the acts of her fiefholders. But as the official *vita* drawn up for Jean of Montmirail’s canonization tells it, Helvide was more than unhappy at being abandoned with four underaged children. On one occasion when Jean, passing through Montmirail on business for his monastery, sought to spend the night in his former castle, she refused him entry: she was indisposed, she said through her servant, and would neither meet nor talk with him.¹²⁸ The lady had supplanted her husband as lord of his own castle.

THE WIDOW’S LORDSHIP

Women who survived their husbands acquired powerful new roles as widows, at least until they remarried. A widow took her dowry and her dower lands, including ordinarily the conjugal residence. She exercised lordship over her husband’s nondotal lands just as he had exercised lordship over

her dowry during marriage, and she became sole guardian for their minor children. She held court and sealed letters of arbitration, confirmation, and consent in her own name. And she could remarry at will. In sum, a widow represented fully her own, her husband's, and her children's interests without intrusion by either his lord or his male relatives. By all accounts, widows had been exercising lordship over their husbands' lands even before they acquired personal seals. Helia of Villemaur, for instance, *domina* of her husband's castle town of Villemaur after his death, oversaw transactions in her court despite the fact that neither she nor her husband ever had a seal; in one case the beneficiaries, the monks of Vauluisant, took a document recording her decision to the prelates of Troyes and Sens for sealing.¹²⁹ Agnes of Brienne, who likewise lacked a seal during her long widowhood (1158–91), appeared in 1165 in her capacity as lord of Chacenay with four prominent neighboring lords to witness a transaction of local importance.¹³⁰ Ermengard of Le Plessis, another widow who exercised lordship but lacked a seal, had her lord, the castellan of Vitry, seal her benefaction for monks of Cheminon.¹³¹ Elizabeth of Pougy, widow of the constable Odo (1152–69), confirmed a knight's gift with her husband's seal, "which is mine," she said.¹³²

A personal seal did facilitate matters, and from the 1160s a generation of well-born women who acquired personal seals, both wives and widows, began to validate the same kinds of transactions their husbands had been sealing since the mid-twelfth century.¹³³ Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine was typical of that generation. Married in the 1150s to the butler Anselm II of Traînel, she was lady of Traînel for more than twenty-five years when widowed in 1184. Remarried in 1189 but divorced in 1196, she returned to her original dower lands at Traînel; only then, in her late fifties, did she use her personal seal. We know about it because two neighboring monasteries long patronized by the Traînel, Vauluisant and the Paraclete, asked her to arbitrate a bitter dispute that had eluded resolution by papal delegates. Hermesend took sureties from both parties, conducted an inquest, listened to the advice of local men, and decided for the nuns. She then sealed a document recording her decision for the Paraclete. It is the earliest example of a woman's arbitration in the county.¹³⁴ Nine years later, in 1205, Hermesend deposited a sealed letter patent with the chancery attesting to her homage for the fortified residence of Villeneuve-aux-Riches-Hommes, presumably her dower residence; it survives as the earliest sealed letter from a woman in the chancery archive.¹³⁵

Hermesend's daughter-in-law, Ida of Traînel, went one step further in 1213, by vouching for young Thibaut IV's loyalty to Philip II. The king had just reached an agreement with Countess Blanche guaranteeing Thibaut's succession to the county and required ten named barons of Champagne (including the "lord of Traînel") to swear oaths to the agreement and to seal attesting letters.¹³⁶ Since the sole heir of Traînel, Anselm IV, was still

a minor, his widowed mother Ida acted in his stead. Ida was by then an experienced ruler, having jointly sealed with her husband since the early days of their marriage, before they had children.¹³⁷ At Blanche's court at Provins in December 1213, Ida and William I, count of Joigny, sealed identical letters drawn up by chancery scribes attesting to their oaths.¹³⁸ Her sealed letter on behalf of young Thibaut, just as binding as her husband's would have been, joined the letters of the other barons in the chancery archive. By that time it was a routine practice for widows and married women in the absence of their husbands to seal letters regarding not only their own properties, dowries, and dowers, but even the properties of their husbands and minor children.

Widows appeared at the chancery in Troyes to present their dower letters and do homage for their fiefs from the 1220s.¹³⁹ During the inquest of 1250, as already noted, wives of absent husbands interacted with the count's officials in a perfectly unremarkable manner, giving sworn statements about their fiefs and rear-fiefholders. Most of the women were widows reporting their dowers. Isabelle of Le Buisson said that her dower consisted of a fortified residence and half of all that her husband Itier had held, worth about 100*l.* annually.¹⁴⁰ Alix, widow of Anselm IV of Possesse, said she held in dower the castle and castellany of Possesse and its twenty-two rear-fiefholders.¹⁴¹ Several women unable to appear in person sent sealed letters in the vernacular to the count's officials. Sybil of Traînel, widowed for a decade, explained in a cover letter with her declaration that she had been summoned by the crier of Nogent to appear at Provins to name her fiefs but, being ill, she instead was sending a letter naming her thirteen fiefholders.¹⁴² Agnes of Dampierre-le-Château, widowed for six years, sent a declaration with her bailiff, who described in detail the fief she held in dower and custody for her children (the castle and town of Dampierre) and her thirty-two fiefholders.¹⁴³ These widows themselves, not their male relatives, swore their declarations or sent agents to declare on their behalf.

The Custody of Minors

An unmarried widow, said the High Court, should retain wardship over her underaged children and do homage to the lord of their properties for her custody. The eldest son passed out of wardship and did homage for his inheritance at fifteen, in effect assuming the right of the eldest vis-à-vis his siblings, while the eldest daughter, in the absence of a brother, assumed that role at eleven.¹⁴⁴ There is no evidence that a husband's relatives, siblings, lords, or the count inhibited a widow's exercise of wardship over her children. Well-born widows tended to rule alone, without the participation of the heirs before succession. Beatrice of Auxonne (at Joinville), Alix of Dreux (at Choiseul), and Beatrice of Joigny (at Joigny) are extreme examples of widows who prevented their sons from succeeding at the customary

age of fifteen in order to rule alone until the heirs attained twenty-one, the same age at which the counts succeeded.¹⁴⁵ When widows of castle lords did appear with their sons, it was usually after succession but before the heir's marriage, suggesting a continuing informal condominium between widow and son while she remained in her dower castle. Geoffroy V of Joinville, for example, was seneschal and in his majority but still unmarried in 1190 when he acted with his mother in founding an anniversary Mass; she remained in her conjugal residence with the title *domina* of Joinville in the absence of Geoffroy's wife, who would have held that title.¹⁴⁶ Jean II of Montmirail co-authored and jointly sealed letters with his mother, Helvide of Dampierre, after coming of age and assuming some of his father's properties, but before marrying.¹⁴⁷ Helvide, an experienced and powerful widow who had shared her husband's lordship for at least a decade during marriage, no doubt was reluctant to abandon her responsibilities before her son acquired a wife.

The countesses, too, enjoyed a secure sense of entitlement regarding the comital office, remaining regents until their heirs attained twenty-one, the age of comital majority. In each case, though, the regent countess retired at her son's succession, even if he was unmarried (as Henry II was in 1187) or divorced (as Thibaut IV was in 1222). Only once did a countess rule for a count in his majority, in 1190 when Marie returned as regent for Henry II who was overseas; had he been married, his wife would have ruled in his stead (as Marie did for Henry I in 1179–80). The countesses did not usually remain in their comital residence or share lordship with their sons after succession, unlike other aristocratic women, who might retain their conjugal residences after their sons succeeded and even share an unmarried son's lordship.

Historians of the medieval family have passed too quickly over a large body of records that leave little doubt about the centrality of the conjugal unit within aristocratic families in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Whether it is the striking presence of wives and children in the long lists of benefactor families in Clairvaux's pancartes, or the ubiquitous consent clauses in the instruments of property transactions, or the joint sealing of letters patent by married couples, or the customs regarding community property and the lifetime half-dower, or the widow's unrestricted custody of her children and her husband's property in his absence—all these point to a highly developed model of the nuclear family based on the couple, their children, and their siblings. Also overlooked is the extension in the lexical range of the old term *familia*, which came to include the nuclear residential unit.¹⁴⁸ An overwhelming mass of evidence stands against any attempt to cast the medieval family in simplistic formulations of primogeniture, patrilineage, and patrimony. As will be seen, the marriage contracts and dower letters (Chapter 5) and the partible divisions of inheritances among siblings

(Chapter 6) provide ample illustrations of the fundamental processes operating within conjugal families. The complex interplay of familial custom and comital policies, of contingency and individual choice, resulted in extremely diverse life courses for women and men (Chapter 7), and entirely unpredictable fates for lineages (Chapter 8).

Chapter 5

The Marriage Contract

In Champagne aristocratic marriages ordinarily were arranged by the families themselves, without constraint or oversight by the count or barons.¹ First marriages were negotiated by the parents or close relatives of the couple; remarriages usually were contracted by the principals themselves. On the rare occasion that the counts did intervene in the marriage projects of their barons, it was to prevent potentially serious political or military consequences of those alliances, much like the kings who from Philip II began to intrude in the marriage plans of the counts themselves.² In 1201 Philip II required the newly widowed Blanche to obtain his license before remarrying as the price of his protection during her regency, and in 1231 Louis IX prohibited Thibaut IV's marriage to Yoland of Brittany in order to thwart a potentially threatening political alliance.³ Three years later Thibaut IV himself obtained a sealed letter from Jean of Joinville, then fourteen, promising not to marry the count of Bar-le-Duc's daughter without Thibaut's license, obviously to prevent an alliance between the Joinville and Bar-le-Duc families that could have created a powerful principality on the eastern frontier.⁴ A generation later Thibaut V, childless and about to undertake a crusade with the king, obtained his brother Henry's promise not to marry without his license; especially do not to marry beyond the kingdom, advised the count, for "there are enough suitable women" within France.⁵ Except for those politically sensitive cases, marriage within baronial and knightly families appears to have been a private matter, unfettered by lordship.

The formation of a new conjugal unit created new rights over the property contributed by the families of the couple in the expectation that it would devolve to the children or revert to their closest relatives. That property consisted of the bride's dowry (representing her inheritance), the groom's own inheritance, and the couple's community property, that is, any property acquired during the marriage by whatever means.⁶ Marriage also conferred contingent rights on the wife in the likely event that she would outlive her husband, most importantly a lifetime dower consisting of the conjugal residence and up to half of her husband's own property, custody of her underaged children and their inheritances, and the free-

dom to remarry at will. Women enjoyed those rights without formal limitation by lords or male relatives.

The written marriage contracts that survive from the second half of the twelfth century are essentially letters of intent subject to future contingencies (such as the couple's consent) and thus were difficult to enforce if one of the parties reneged. Gislebert of Mons reports that Countess Marie had to coerce Baldwin V of Hainaut to carry out the marriage he had contracted between his only son and her daughter. Philip II (Marie's half brother) summoned Baldwin to Sens where she and her brothers-in-law (the archbishop of Reims, the counts of Blois and Sancerre, and the duke of Burgundy) so threatened the procrastinating Baldwin that the marriage soon took place.⁷ Baldwin originally had contracted the marriage with Henry I and Marie for their infant daughter Marie; he renewed the contract in 1179, broke it, then revised it in 1181, and finally executed its terms in 1185, fifteen years after his initial agreement.⁸ The butler of Champagne, Anselm II of Traînel, was less fortunate. After marrying the daughter of Geoffroy of Donzy (ca. 1153), he left the bride with her father, perhaps in deference to her young age. But her father soon arranged a more advantageous marriage with Stephen, count of Sancerre, who consummated the union without scruple. Jilted, dishonored, and deprived of the dowry, Anselm appealed to Henry I, who had suggested the marriage. Only after Henry and Louis VII besieged the castle where the wedding was being celebrated did Geoffroy of Donzy give Anselm the promised dowry. But the matter did not end there. Geoffroy's grandson later brought suit on the grounds that the dowry (without marriage) represented an unjust alienation from his inheritance; his claim was settled in 1217, six decades after Anselm of Traînel's aborted marriage.⁹ It was to preclude such patent breaches of oral agreements that the contracting parties resorted to increasingly prescriptive written contracts.

Marriage contracts contain three primary clauses. First they name the contracting parties, with provision for substitution (a brother or sister) in the event of a death before marriage. Second, they describe the wife's dowry, the terms of its payment, and the conditions for its restitution. And third, they specify the dower settled by the husband on his wife. Among the very wealthy, marriage contracts might also contain additional clauses specifying gratuities and penalties for nonperformance. Perhaps what rankled Anselm of Traînel most about his aborted marriage cited above was his failure to receive the promised dowry after giving his future father-in-law a 500*l.* cash gratuity, some of it borrowed from his brother. Thirteenth-century contracts were enhanced by even more lavish payments. Archambaud VII of Bourbon, the constable, sought to expedite his eldest son's marriage to Yoland of Châtillon by giving her guardian uncle Hugh V of Châtillon, butler of Champagne, 5,000*l.* in cash and a personal loan of 5,000*l.*¹⁰ Margaret of Dampierre gave her future son-in-law, the count

of Rethel, a fief worth 200*l.* annually to secure her daughter's marriage, although she shrewdly inserted a restitution clause in case the marriage failed to occur.¹¹ Thibaut IV and Odo II, count of Burgundy, negotiated a severe penalty clause—forfeiture of the *mouvance* of five castles—in the event that their children, Blanche of Champagne and Odo III of Burgundy, failed to marry as agreed.¹² When young Odo III later disavowed the contract, the lord of Vignory, who served as one of his pledges, fulfilled his oath by transferring the *mouvance* of Vignory castle to Thibaut IV, the injured party.¹³ For his own third marriage, to Margaret of Bourbon, Thibaut negotiated an unusual penalty: her father Archambaud, the count's constable, would place himself in confinement in Provins if he failed to pay her dowry, while Thibaut accepted a similar forced residence in Sens (outside the county) if he failed to return the dowry in the event of divorce. Archambaud made a timely payment of the dowry and the couple did not divorce.¹⁴

The Dowry

Well-born women ordinarily brought dowries to their marriages.¹⁵ Although some modern historians regard the medieval dowry as a device for disposing of daughters at the least possible cost, the evidence from Champagne suggests rather that providing a dowry was deemed a serious responsibility of parents, siblings, and guardians, and that its size reflected a family's own self-esteem. A woman ought to receive a dowry "from her father or mother or her brothers in such a way that she not be disparaged and that it be appropriate to her parentage and nobility," declared the royal court in 1212.¹⁶ A Burgundian noble, Guichard IV of Beaujeu, put it more forcefully in his testament (1216) by placing his eldest daughter Agnes in the custody of Louis of France who, said Guichard, "should provide her [a dowry] and marry her because she is his relative [cousin]."¹⁷ Whether Louis actually arranged her marriage is not known, but five years later Agnes of Beaujeu became the second wife of Thibaut IV and countess of Champagne.

In the strictest sense a woman's dowry (*maritagium*, *marriage*) represented an early and definitive distribution of her inheritance, "cash given in marriage and assigned on inheritance," as the High Court put it.¹⁸ As the material contribution by the wife's family to the new couple, the dowry was intended to pass to her children, their grandchildren. In some instances a mother's dowry became her daughter's dowry. Eustachia of Roucy, who inherited her mother Elizabeth's viscounty of Mareuil-sur-Ay, gave it as dowry to her own daughter, also named Elizabeth.¹⁹ Emeline of Broyes intended to give her dowry, an entire village, to her daughter by her first husband, but her second husband, Erard II of Chacenay, sold it without her knowledge to the Templars, precipitating a crisis in their marriage.²⁰

Although these and other indirect references suggest a kind of “woman’s property” that passed from mother to daughter, biological and financial exigencies ultimately forced the recirculation of those properties; in no case did property descend only through women beyond a granddaughter. Elizabeth of Traînel’s dowry, the lordship of Pâlis, was typical in that it passed to her daughter, granddaughter, then great-grandson.²¹ What prevented the formation of distinctive women’s properties was geographical mobility, which frequently resulted in the sale or exchange of landed dowries distant from the new households.

DOWRY VALUES

As tools of alliance formation, dowries were negotiated according to the wealth and ambitions of the contracting families. The constable Archambaud VII of Bourbon gave the largest known dowry (36,000*l.*) for his daughter Margaret’s marriage to Thibaut IV, clearly an advantageous match for a lord of Bourbon.²² Like most fathers who paid large dowries, Archambaud arranged a schedule of payments, in his case over the course of two years, and prudently obtained a receipt for full payment.²³ Within Champagne the wealthiest families provided dowries in the range of 5,000*l.*–6,000*l.*, yielding about 500*l.*–600*l.* annually, about twenty times the revenue of an average fief (26*l.*) in the mid-thirteenth century.²⁴ Margaret of Dampierre gave a 6,000*l.* dowry, payable in five annual installments, for her daughter Jeanne’s marriage to Hugh III, count of Rethel; Hugh’s brother and successor, Manasses, gave his own daughter Felicity 5,000*l.* in marriage to the son of Jean III of Thourotte, vice-regent of Champagne.²⁵ Gaucher III of Châtillon was able to give his sister Alix a dowry of 8,000*l.* by selling the lordship of Pierrefonds, which he had just acquired by collateral inheritance.²⁶ Thibaut IV provided his three-year old daughter Blanche a dowry of 5,000*l.* revenue and 3000 marks of silver for her projected marriage to the son of Odo II, count of Burgundy.²⁷ That was about what Marie of Garlande, widowed countess of Grandpré, gave her daughter Alix in marriage to Jean of Joinville, son of the seneschal Simon of Joinville.²⁸

Dowries of 5,000*l.*–6,000*l.* were well beyond the capacities of noncastellan and knightly families. The brothers of Buzancy, a minor baronial family, seem to have stretched their resources in order to provide their sister Margaret a 500*l.* dowry in marriage to the third son of the much wealthier and more prominent Simon II of Broys.²⁹ For a knight’s daughter, the standard dowry of about 200*l.* was slightly less than the value of an average fief (260*l.*) in the mid-thirteenth century.³⁰ But even that must have been beyond the means of some families. The knight Jocelin of Lignol, for example, could give his daughter Emeline, one of six daughters, only a 100*l.* dowry (a 10*l.* annual income), the very minimum acceptable for a proper

knightly dowry.³¹ That was exactly what Countess Blanche gave her lady-in-waiting, Auda, for her marriage to a local knight, Thibaut of Rosières.³²

It is not clear whether parents preferred to give their daughters dowries in land instead of cash, which had to be raised from current revenues. In some cases it was possible to exchange a landed dowry distant from the couple's residence for property closer to the new household: Jean of Til-Châtel and Gautier of Arzillières, who married each other's sister, exchanged their wives' landed dowries for precisely that reason.³³ In most cases, though, a cash dowry was more useful both to the parents, who could avoid selling their properties, and to the couple, who could invest the cash in income-producing property near their residence. Marriage contracts in fact often required the cash dowry to be invested in property, to which the wife retained title (as her inheritance). Since the appraisal of fiefs by annual revenue was well known in Champagne by the 1170s, it was natural for dowries to be valued in terms of revenue, even when assigned on real property. A formal appraisal (*prisée*) of the dowry verified its value and facilitated compensatory exchanges. Jean the Younger of Thourotte, for example, agreed with his wife's father, Manasses of Rethel, that her 500*l.* dowry would be assigned by two knights acting as appraisers (*priseurs*) of the revenues. The appraisal was a critical issue here because Jean's own sister Marie (widow of Manasses's older brother Jean, count of Rethel) held half of the proposed dowry as her dower, and so Jean and his bride accepted a temporary 320*l.* rent elsewhere as dowry until Marie vacated the property.³⁴ Renaud of Broyes-Commercy, on the other hand, failed to invest his wife Margaret of Buzancy's 500*l.* dowry in property, claiming that he could not find "suitable" land. Her brothers, fearing that Renaud had simply taken the money, forced him to assign an equivalent amount on his *own* property as Margaret's dowry, thus establishing title to a tangible asset that would revert to them (as inheritance) if Margaret died childless.³⁵ Gautier V of Brienne precluded any misuse of his sister Agnes's 5,000*l.* dowry by placing it in a coffer at Montier-la-Celle monastery until it could be invested in land; the groom received one of the two keys required to open the coffer, but Gautier kept the second key.³⁶

DISPOSITION OF THE DOWRY

When dowries were assigned on fiefs, as was increasingly the case in the twelfth century, husbands undertook the requisite homage and service in their wives' names. The earliest recorded example in Champagne is Helias, lord of Montmirail, who swore fidelity to the abbess of Faremoutiers for his wife's dowry sometime before 1144.³⁷ Chancery scribes in the 1170s assumed that a woman's inheritance or dowry would be held by her husband, and they noted in the rolls of fiefs whenever a man held a fief "on behalf of his wife" (*ex parte uxoris*).³⁸ As Jean of Vallery explained, he

became liegeman for his wife's property and would hold it until his son was capable of doing homage for it.³⁹ Nevertheless, a woman's dowry—whether it was described as being *in capite*, *de jure hereditario*, or *de patrimonio suo proprio*—ultimately was her inheritance and could be disposed of only with her and her children's consent. Monasteries acquiring dowry fiefs were especially careful to obtain the proper approvals, for the lord of the fief as well as the heirs had a stake in the property. In some cases a wife took an oath with her husband affirming good title, as did Isabelle of Vallery, wife of the knight Pierre of Castello, when the couple resigned her dowry to Larri-vour.⁴⁰ When the knight Gerard Moutons of Venizy and his wife sold her fief, they and their daughter and son-in-law swore an oath in the hands of the bishop of Sens to guarantee the sale.⁴¹ Guy of Chappes, lord of Jully-sur-Sarce obtained not only his wife Petronilla's consent to alienate her substantial inheritance, but also the consent of her mother and sister, suggesting that the mother's property had been reserved for the two sisters.⁴² Agnes of Donzy, just after her marriage, sealed a letter confirming her husband Guy IV of Châtillon's donation to Bonevalle because, she said, the property was from her inheritance.⁴³

In a number of cases married women acted independently in disposing of their dowries/inheritances. Agnes of Mallay, for example, acted alone in donating her inherited land to Clairvaux; her husband, the knight Gérard of Chervey, and children only witnessed and consented.⁴⁴ Cecilia of Ponthion's unnamed husband, three sons, and her lord consented to, but did not otherwise participate in, the alienation of her inherited fief-rent.⁴⁵ Agnes of Thorigny even exchanged her 200*l.* dowry for a 20*l.* rent from her father-in-law, in effect investing her dowry in a revenue-producing fief; she did that on her own, without even mentioning her new husband.⁴⁶ Oda of Melun exchanged her dowry for a rent assigned on her husband's lands, which became in effect her dowry, distinct from her dower assigned on his other lands.⁴⁷ Of course, some husbands surreptitiously alienated their wives' dotal property. In one well-known case, Erard II of Chacenay, who sold the village his wife was saving for her daughter by a first marriage, was forced by her mother and brother to compensate his stepdaughter with an equivalent dowry from his own lands.⁴⁸ Heloise of Chaumont used to advantage the fact that her husband and mother-in-law had alienated her inheritance without her permission; when the monks of Preuilly brought suit to recover her husband's unpaid debts, Heloise countered that they lacked good title, for she had "neither consented nor approved, or if she did, it was an unwilling and forced approval."⁴⁹

DOWRY RESTITUTION

According to the High Court, a wife recovered her dowry if her husband died childless. Conversely, if she died childless, her dowry reverted to her

parents or to her closest natal relatives.⁵⁰ Restitution clauses in a number of marriage contracts spelled out the details. Jeanne of Dampierre's marriage contract required the return of her original 6,000*l.* dowry or a comparable fief yielding 600*l.* revenue under two conditions: if she died childless, the dowry would revert to her widowed mother; but if her husband, Hugh III of Rethel, died childless, Jeanne herself would recover her dowry, which in fact she did four years later.⁵¹ Thibaut IV inserted a similar clause in the contract for his daughter Margaret's marriage to the duke of Lorraine: if the duke died without an heir, she—not her father—would recover her 12,000*l.* dowry.⁵² For his third marriage, to Margaret of Bourbon, Thibaut negotiated an unusual restitution clause: if she or her child died within the first nine years of marriage, only a prorated part of the dowry would be returned to her father, and after nine years, none of the dowry would be returned even if Margaret died childless. Only if Thibaut and Margaret divorced ("for any reason") would the entire dowry be returned.⁵³ Prince Henry of Champagne similarly promised to return his wife's dowry to her in the event their marriage was dissolved because, as the marriage contract put it, the dowry was "for Blanche herself and in her name."⁵⁴ The expectation was that a husband would return his wife's entire dowry, in effect, her inheritance, after her death without heirs.⁵⁵

The Dower

If church law required mutual consent for a legitimate marriage, and if the husband expected his wife to bring a dowry to the marriage, she and her family, for their part, needed comparable assurances that her husband would treat her as his legitimate wife. The dower (*donatio propter nuptias*, *dos*, *dotalicium*, *douaire*) assigned by the husband to his bride at the time of their marriage, in the presence of witnesses, established her new right to share in his material possessions, especially after his death.⁵⁶ The dower was linked to legitimate marriage long before the twelfth-century canonists formalized the canon law of marriage.⁵⁷ Under early Germanic law, the dower was defined as one-third of the property a couple acquired during marriage, but by the late ninth century it generally consisted of one-third of the husband's *own* property, a formula that persisted in Normandy and western France through the thirteenth century.⁵⁸ In most of northern and eastern France, including Champagne, it was the half-dower that took root: that is, a wife could expect the lifetime enjoyment of her conjugal residence and one-half of her husband's properties and revenues after his death.

The written dower letter (*libellum dotis*, *carta dotis*, *carta de dotalicio*) describing a wife's dower rights is known from the tenth-century in Burgundy.⁵⁹ In northern France, dowers are mentioned from the early decades of the twelfth century, and dower letters survive from the 1150s.⁶⁰ Thereafter the dower letter was recognized as a distinct type of sealed letter.⁶¹ The

earliest extant example in Champagne was drawn up in 1176 for the marriage of the well-to-do knight Stephen of Pringy and his bride Comitissa.⁶² The bishop of Châlons who performed the ceremony reminded Stephen and his guests, including his lord and several knights, that “a man leaves his father and mother to cling to his wife so that the two will become one in flesh, and what God has joined, no man may sunder.”⁶³ Stephen then repeated from the prepared text:

I, Stephen, with the approval and consent of my friends, receive you, my dearest Comitissa, as my wife. And with the advice of my friends, I give you in dower one-half of Pringy and its fortress. Should I ever leave that fortress to build another, I will give you the latter in dower. I also give you one-half of all that I possess elsewhere and one-half of all that I am able to acquire.

After the ceremony the bishop’s chancellor presented the document to the bride, who apparently deposited it at the episcopal chancery for safe-keeping.⁶⁴

Stephen gave what the High Court later called the “customary” dower of Champagne that obtained in the absence of a specified dower, that is, life use of the couple’s primary residence and half of the husband’s current and future possessions:

It is the custom in Champagne that, if a noble woman remains a widow and she does not have a defined dower (*douaire devis*), she will take in dower whichever residence she wishes from her husband’s property . . . as well as half of his property in dower, which she may take by customary right (*par droit commun*).⁶⁵

The half-dower was so widespread in Champagne that some marriage contracts simply required a dower “according to the custom of Champagne.”⁶⁶ The jurist Beaumanoir claimed in the 1280s that Philip II had decreed the half-dower in 1214 as the “general custom” of France, ostensibly to replace the traditional negotiated dower.⁶⁷ Before Philip’s ordinance, according to Beaumanoir, women took in dower only what had been negotiated for them before the marriage, and it was customary for the priest to instruct the husband to say to his wife: “I give you the dower agreed to by my family and yours.”⁶⁸ The king had become familiar with the half-dower through his confirmations and suits brought to his court and may well have intended to extend it to the entire realm.⁶⁹ But that was to formalize a practice already widespread in Champagne, northern and eastern France, and Flanders. Chrétien de Troyes referred to it in his first Arthurian romance, *Erec and Enide* (1170s), when the count of Lomors promised Enide, apparently just widowed, half of all his lands in dower if she would marry him.⁷⁰ The importance of the king’s act, as Beaumanoir explained, was that it guaranteed dowers to women who did not receive them at marriage. In that respect, Philip was continuing his grandfather Louis VI’s policy of protecting women’s dower rights.⁷¹

Stephen of Pringy's dower letter reflected an old tradition by which episcopal chanceries drew up letters linking the dower to the marriage ceremony.⁷² But as dower lands increasingly were assigned on fiefs, an action requiring the consent of the lord of the fief, it became common for lay lords to seal dower letters. Robert I of Dreux was among the earliest barons to provide his wife, Agnes of Baudement, a strictly secular dower letter (1153); sealed by his brother, Louis VII, it described her dower as the entire castellany of Dreux with its "principal fortress" and half of Robert's future acquisitions.⁷³ Artaud, treasurer of Champagne, solicited a similar confirmation in 1171, when he dowered his wife Hodierne with the castle he had recently constructed at Nogent-sur-Marne: he presented her two identical dower letters, one sealed by Henry I, the other by Countess Marie.⁷⁴ Thereafter, husbands frequently asked their lords to seal letters describing the dower fiefs they had assigned to their wives. Countess Blanche vouched for the dower that the knight Thibaut of Isle granted his wife Adeline, while Thibaut IV guaranteed the dower that the knight William of Bernon had assigned to his wife Lucy.⁷⁵ Renard II, lord of Choiseul, instead presented his wife to his lord, the bishop of Langres, to be received as liege woman for her dower, then gave her his own sealed letter in attestation:

I, Renard, lord of Choiseul . . . gave in dower to my wife Alix [of Dreux], lady of Salins, the castle of Choiseul and half of my lands wherever they are. . . . The venerable father Hugh, bishop of Langres, from whose fief that castle is held, at my request accepted Alix as a liege woman for that castle and all the things pertaining to the bishop's fief.⁷⁶

Given the consequences of a long-lived dowager, whose children might see half of their inheritances held in trust for many years, some barons, like the counts, assigned their wives "defined" or negotiated dowers worth less than half of their assets and excluding their main castles, which remained unencumbered and therefore free to pass immediately to an heir.⁷⁷ Thibaut III dowered Blanche of Navarre with seven castellanies (about one-third of his revenues) but not the main comital residences of Troyes and Provins.⁷⁸ The count of Rethel dowered his daughter-in-law with a single castle so that his chief castle of Rethel could pass unrestricted to her future son.⁷⁹ When Hugh III of Broyes assigned a dower for his second wife, Elizabeth of Dreux, he explicitly excluded his castle of Broyes (which his eldest son by his first wife already held) but allowed Elizabeth's own son to inherit her dower.⁸⁰ William III, count of Joigny, likewise dowered his second wife with only one castle so that Joigny could pass directly to his eldest son.⁸¹ According to Beaumanoir, Philip II's ordinance of 1214 excluded "baronies" from the half-dower provision in order to preserve castle lordships intact and to facilitate successions; nevertheless, the barons had to assign compensatory dowers.⁸² In effect, the king was enacting practices already

well established in Champagne, where a dower of some kind, customary or defined, was deemed essential for a legitimate marriage.

DISPOSITION OF THE DOWER

Although a husband might retain effective control of dower-designated property during his lifetime—it was, after all, his inheritance—the dower nevertheless established his wife's latent right to that property, making her consent necessary for its disposition. Indeed, recent studies on the medieval dower stress its constitutive rather than its promissory nature: the dower established a wife's right over her husband's property from the moment it was assigned.⁸³ Margaret of Dampierre even stipulated in the marriage contract for her daughter that the marriage would occur only after the dower was assigned.⁸⁴ Such an understanding explains why defined dower lands were protected from arbitrary disposition by husbands and why, in the case of unspecified half-dowers, a wife's consent was required for the disposition of her husband's property. Countess Mathilda, for example, not only consented to Thibaut II's reform of the fairs of Provins in 1137, since Provins was in her dower, she even affixed her own seal to his letter.⁸⁵ Countess Marie, too, indicated her consent to the alienation of her dower revenues by adding her seal to Henry I's letter.⁸⁶ Disregarding such firmly implanted dower rights could cause major familial and political entanglements, as the brothers of Jean, count of Rethel, discovered after his death when they divided his lands without observing his widow's dower rights.⁸⁷

So great was the force of the dower custom that purchasers of property were well advised to obtain a wife's consent to her husband's property transactions if they wished to obtain clear title. When Guy, count of Bar-sur-Seine, helped to found the new Cistercian house of Mores on his wife Petronilla's dower land, the monks made certain to obtain her consent.⁸⁸ The Hospitallers no doubt were pleased with Clarembaud IV of Chappes' deathbed bequest of 100s. from his viscomital revenues at Troyes, but they obtained his wife's consent to it because, they explained, that revenue belonged to her by right of dower.⁸⁹ In the thirteenth century, purchasers of dower lands often inserted clauses by which wives promised never to reclaim the property "either by dower or by any other reason."⁹⁰ Isabelle, countess of Grandpré, promised exactly that when her husband sold his castle at Saint-Jean-sur-Tourbe to Thibaut IV.⁹¹

A husband was expected to replace whatever he alienated from his wife's dower with or without her approval. Jean I of Montmirail notified Thibaut III that, since he had sold his wife's dower (to liquidate his tournament debts), he assigned his wife a new dower on a comital fief; he and his eldest son promised never to rescind the new dower and to obtain confirming letters from the prelates of Reims and Soissons.⁹² Nevertheless, some dowers were quietly alienated before widows could take possession. Even Thi-

baut III infeudated property he had assigned to Blanche in dower; she later paid 800*l.* to recover it.⁹³ The inquest of 1250 alerted Isabelle of Le Plessis to the fact that her husband had given her dower without her knowledge to the Cistercians at Cheminon; she reclaimed it.⁹⁴ The monks either were oblivious to her dower rights or were playing a sharp game of acquiring dower lands in anticipation of her eventual consent.⁹⁵

Unlike a dowry, in which a woman's natal family retained a residual interest, a dower was established entirely from a husband's property, and thus it was prudent for wives to obtain sealed letters describing their dower rights, which might lie dormant for many years. In some instances a woman must have kept her dower letter at home, available for presentation to her lord when she took possession as a widow or to the purchaser of the property in the event she sold it.⁹⁶ In other cases, dower letters were deposited with local religious houses for safekeeping. As noted above, Comitissa of Pringy left her letter in the episcopal chancery of Châlons, while Elizabeth of Dreux deposited hers at Clairvaux. Thibaut IV placed his daughter Blanche's dower letter for safekeeping at Preuilly, along with the papal bull of dispensation for her marriage to Jean of Brittany.⁹⁷

RAMIFICATIONS OF THE DOWER

In Champagne, dowers are known to have been assigned on fiefs from the 1180s, shortly after dower fiefs appeared in the region around Laon.⁹⁸ From 1190, chancery scribes routinely recorded the names of women who held their husbands' fiefs "in dower" (*in dotalitio*).⁹⁹ For the chancery, that was not a small point. Whereas a husband ordinarily did the homage and service for his wife's inheritance or dowry fief, a widow herself assumed sole responsibility for her dower: she did homage for it, she saw that the service was rendered, and she received the homages of her fiefholders.

Homage

Whether women did homage for their fiefs before the mid-twelfth century is not entirely clear. But they certainly did in the 1180s, when women in Flanders and Hainaut too were doing homage.¹⁰⁰ Chancery scribes who updated Henry I's rolls of fiefs identified the widows who had done homage for their husbands' fiefs: Alix of Brouthières, for example, "did homage (*homagium*) for the fief of Charmes."¹⁰¹ A decade later, the bishop of Langres confirmed that Faceria, widow of Nocher of Simonouvre, did homage (*hominium*) to the Cistercian abbot of Mores for her husband's fief, as if it were an ordinary occurrence.¹⁰² Countess Blanche herself did liege homage (*homagium ligium*) to the king for her dower within days of Thibaut III's death in May 1201, the first countess ever to do homage.¹⁰³ Thereafter, it was not unusual for women to do homage for their dowers even while

married. Ermengard of Montclair and her husband, the seneschal Simon of Joinville, asked Blanche to accept her as a liege woman (*feminam ligiam*) for the castle and lands (half of his properties) that Simon recently had assigned her in dower.¹⁰⁴ Renard II of Choiseul, as noted above, asked the bishop of Langres to receive his wife, Alix of Dreux, as a liege woman for her dower of the castle of Choiseul.¹⁰⁵ Henry V, count of Grandpré, wrote directly to Thibaut IV asking that he accept his wife Isabelle as a liege woman (*feme lige*) for her dower consisting of the castle of Grandpré and its entire castellany.¹⁰⁶ In each case, a wife's homage to her husband's lord established her immediate tenurial right to the dower promised at marriage.

Most women, however, did homage as widows, when they assumed their dower lands and the custody of their children's inheritances. Prominent women preferred to do homage in person, in what occasionally must have been highly staged performances, like Blanche's homage to Philip II at Sens in the last days of her pregnancy. Isabelle of Sancerre, third wife of Gautier II of Vignory, made a point in 1262 of going to Troyes, where in the presence of the bishops of Auxerre and Troyes and the count's high officials, she did liege homage to Thibaut V for her dower: the castle and town of Vignory and half of its castellany with its attached fiefs.¹⁰⁷ Widows of knights, like the knights themselves, apparently did homage to one of the count's officials at the chancery in Troyes, where they declared their dower fiefs in the 1220s and 1230s and had their names inscribed in the book of homages. Margaret, widow of the marshal Erard of Villy, did liege homage for both her dower lands and her own inheritance; Isabelle of Tours-sur-Marne did homage for her dower and the inheritances of her underaged sons.¹⁰⁸ The widow of Ponce of Mont-Saint-Jean presented her dower letter and "did liege homage for her dower as described in the letter of Ponce which established it."¹⁰⁹ Through the rest of the thirteenth century, women—representing about one-fifth of the count's fiefholders—routinely did homage for the fiefs they held by inheritance and by dower.¹¹⁰

Women also received homage from the fiefholders on their dower lands. Hugh III of Broys explicitly ordered his fiefholders to do homage directly to his widow: knights within her dower lands, he said, were "to receive those fiefs from her and henceforth be her men."¹¹¹ Marie of Garlande, the widowed countess of Grandpré, notified the "fiefholders, knights, men, and communities" of her dower castellany that she had resigned her dower lands to her brother-in-law; she asked them to give their future homages to him, indirectly confirming that they previously had done homage to her.¹¹² Likewise Isabelle of Vignory, when doing homage for her dower—she described it as the castle, town, half the castellany of Vignory, and her right over the attached fiefs—implied that she expected homages from her fiefholders.¹¹³

Dowagers

The dower could have profound consequences within the family. Notations in the rolls of fiefs indicate that many widows, especially those with minor children, remained in their conjugal residences.¹¹⁴ That was a widow's right, declared the High Court, to choose "the house she wishes from her husband's possessions."¹¹⁵ Beaumanoir spoke of the widow's right to take "the principal residence, even if it is a fortress."¹¹⁶ Marriage contracts, too, mentioned that right. Comitissa of Pringy was promised the new fortified residence that her husband hoped to build, and both Beatrice of Nanteuil-la-Fosse and Euda of Melun were promised their husbands' "best residence."¹¹⁷ In a few cases a prescribed dower identified the dower residence, usually a castle or fortified house, as other than a husband's main castle. Geoffroy of Le Plessis, for example, allowed his wife Helidend "the house she likes best" except for Le Plessis itself.¹¹⁸ The seneschal Simon of Joinville, who initially dowered his wife Ermengard with the customary dower, that is, half of all his lands and his castle of Joinville, later was troubled by the possibility that his death on the Fifth Crusade might jeopardize his nine-year-old son Geoffroy's succession to Joinville; in a postnuptial agreement, Ermengard agreed to surrender Joinville to their son when he reached fifteen years of age, if he wished it at that time, and to take instead Simon's secondary castle at Vaucouleurs as her dower residence.¹¹⁹

Even more critical than the widow's residence was her lifetime use of the dower lands she held in trust for their children. Hugh III of Broys allowed his wife Elizabeth of Dreux a lifetime dower as long as she remained in the secular world.¹²⁰ Odo of Chanoy, in doing homage for his mother's dower lands at Chanoy, explicitly recognized her right to them "for as long as she lives."¹²¹ King Philip II guaranteed Countess Blanche's lifetime right to her dower lands assigned at marriage, as did Thibaut IV when he first did homage to the king for his inheritance.¹²² Although Blanche would enjoy her dower of seven castellanies, worth about one-third of the count's gross revenue, for only seven years (1222–29), her right to a lifetime dower remained unabridged. Of course heirs were acutely aware of the financial implications of an extended widowhood, and for those in need of cash, a long-lived dowager could have serious repercussions. Jean of Joinville's plaint must have been familiar: he mortgaged his lands to raise cash for the crusade with Louis IX, he later recalled, because his mother Beatrice was still alive (and occupying half of his inheritance).¹²³ Simon V of Clefmont was another young noble temporarily dispossessed by a dowager mother. Instead of inheriting one-eighth of the castellany of Clefmont after his father's death, Simon received only half of that while his mother held the rest in dower. One-sixteenth of a castellany, as the Templars saw it, put Simon at the level of an ordinary fiefholder.¹²⁴ Knights like Pierre of Mainil faced the same dilemma: on selling his fief (an entire village) to the count,

Pierre carefully excluded his mother's dower from the sale because, he acknowledged, title to that could pass only after her death.¹²⁵ Even an heirless like Margaret, daughter of the knight Fromond le Borgne, could not sell her paternal inheritance because her father had reassigned her mother's dower to his new wife.¹²⁶ Perhaps the greatest inconvenience was that a young heir might not be able to dower his own wife with his primary residence before his mother died. Hugh II of Rethel, for example, had to assign his bride a provisional dower (the castle of Mézières) until his mother vacated her dower residence (the castle of Beaufort).¹²⁷ William IV of Garlande was another young noble who gave his wife a provisional dower until his mother relinquished her dower "in whatever way."¹²⁸

Not unmindful of the complications posed by their dowers, some widows, especially those with other resources, resigned their dowers to simplify their children's lives. Isabelle of Vignory, shortly before her husband Gautier I died, accepted property in lieu of her dower so that their son could dower his own wife with Vignory castle.¹²⁹ Margaret of Dampierre resigned her dower lands in Champagne to her sons shortly after succeeding her sister as countess of Flanders (1244).¹³⁰ Widows of knights, too, resigned dowers to their children.¹³¹ Domitella, wife of Odo of Touquin, renounced her entire dower (a mill) because her son Eustace, a knight, already had given or sold it to Cheminon abbey; she used her husband's seal to validate her letter of resignation.¹³² But a widow like Helisent of Joigny, who lost her husband and only son on the Fifth Crusade, might sell her entire dower (*totum dotalicium meum*), in this case half of the castellany of Bar-sur-Seine. Helisent, then in her late fifties and not intending to remarry, may well have liquidated her assets in order to enter a convent.¹³³

A lifetime dower meant that a widow often retained her dower after remarriage. Margaret, widow of Robert of Sablonnières, discovered after remarriage that Robert, while overseas on the Third Crusade, had promised all his properties to the Templars without exempting her dower rights. Margaret and Robert's sister, his only heir, brought suit against the Templars, Margaret for her lifetime dower and Robert's sister for her collateral inheritance. They won their case, and the Templars paid their claims.¹³⁴ In a few cases a remarried widow treated her first husband's dower as a kind of dowry, that is, as her own property brought to the second marriage, with her new husband doing homage for it and giving consent for its disposition.¹³⁵ Bouchard of Fleurigny, for example, reported for his wife's dower residence at Saint-Pregts, where his stepson held the fortress, and Focard of Arcy did liege homage for his wife's first dower.¹³⁶ The first dower in fact could prove a valuable asset in a second marriage, and some remarried women held those dowers for many years. Alix of Venizy held hers for twenty-one years after the death of her first husband, André II of Ramerupt, and sixteen years after she married the count of Joigny; when she did sell it, she did so with the consent of her son and her second husband.¹³⁷ It

is entirely understandable that a great personage like Thibaut II, count of Bar-le-Duc, would insist that his wife Jeanne of Dampierre, widow of Hugh III of Rethel, be assigned the dower promised in her first marriage (the castle of Clermont-en-Argonne and a 500*l.* rent) that made her one of the wealthiest women of the time.¹³⁸

Not unexpectedly, dower rights occasionally opened breaches between the dowager and her heirs. Jacques I of Chacenay accused his widowed mother Hubeline of failing to obtain his consent in alienating a tithel belonging to him by hereditary right. The case received a highly public airing at the court of the bishop of Troyes, with Thibaut II and Bernard of Clairvaux serving as mediators in the presence of the bishop of Langres, the abbots of Montier-la-Celle, Saint-Loup of Troyes, and Larrivour, and several barons.¹³⁹ Fulk II of Choiseul went even further in 1178, ravaging his mother Havide's lands when, after twenty years of widowhood, she gave property from her dower without his consent to Belfays abbey as her entry gift.¹⁴⁰ In a few cases a dowager herself brought suit against the heirs for violating *her* dower rights. Alix of Verzy, for one, complained to Thibaut IV that her son had sold her dower to another lord; the count ordered the purchaser to pay Alix 60*l.* annual revenue for as long as she remained in the secular world and directed the dean and chapter of Saint-Etienne to retain a copy of his judgment so that it "be faithfully observed."¹⁴¹ Yoland of Braine-Dreux sought relief in Blanche's court after her four sons challenged her dower rights. Blanche ordered all four sons to seal a letter confirming their mother's lifetime dower, with a copy of their letter forwarded to the countess.¹⁴² Blanche's court also heard Ade of Avesnes, the widowed countess of Grandpré, accuse her stepson, Henry IV of Grandpré, of having cheated her out of the community property acquired while married to his father, but the outcome of that case is unknown.¹⁴³

Divorce

Divorce within aristocratic families has yet to receive the same scrutiny accorded to royal divorces, notably those of Philip I, Louis VII, and Philip II. Although a considerable body of evidence suggests that divorce was not thought to be an exceptional event, we still know little about its frequency and the reasons for it.¹⁴⁴ It has been claimed, and widely repeated, that men sought to divorce their wives primarily in order to secure a male heir or the inheritance of an heiress. Certainly there are such cases. Yet that explanation fails to account for the men who remained for many years in childless marriages, and for women who sought divorces for entirely different reasons. When examined closely, most divorces appear to have resulted from personal ambitions or incompatibilities, what we euphemistically call "irreconcilable differences," rather than from dynastic needs.

Jean II, count of Roucy (1212–51), is a good example of a powerful

baron who divorced two wives ostensibly for the lack of a son. Jean had ruled twenty-three years and was in his mid-fifties when his third wife produced a son. What is curious, though, is that Jean stayed married to his first wife, Elizabeth of Braine, for eighteen years before seeking a divorce.¹⁴⁵ Another Jean, count of Rethel (1243–51), also seems to have considered divorcing his wife, Marie of Thourotte, for lack of an heir. But he so angered her father, Jean II of Thourotte, that the latter used his office as vice-regent of Champagne to seize her dower castle of Beaufort, disrupting Jean's plan to cast off his wife. Jean did not obtain a divorce, despite papal intervention, and died childless like the older, childless brother he succeeded.¹⁴⁶ Much more cynical was Thibaut of Briey, the younger brother of the count of Bar-le-Duc. Widowed at twenty-nine with an infant daughter, he married Hermesend of Traînel, a widow in her mid-forties (1189), then succeeded his older brother as count of Bar-le-Duc (1190–1214). Six years later, and after three more children by Hermesend (including his heir to Bar-le-Duc), Thibaut divorced her in order to marry the very young heiress of Luxembourg, who presented a unique opportunity to join their two neighboring principalities.¹⁴⁷

In most instances of divorce, personal incompatibility led to the belated discovery of consanguineous ties, which served as a convenient expedient.¹⁴⁸ Count Thibaut IV was nineteen when he married Gertrude of Dagsburg, the sixteen-year-old widow of the duke of Lorraine, in a marriage arranged by his mother to mark her own triumph in the war over the Champagne succession. Within a year (1221), and before there could be any question of Gertrude's fertility, Thibaut obtained a divorce on the grounds of consanguinity, clearly a sign of some deep personal incompatibility.¹⁴⁹ Erard II of Chacenay, on the other hand, contemplated divorce after almost thirty years of marriage to Emeline of Broyes (they had five children), perhaps because he had been caught selling his stepdaughter's inheritance. "If the issue of divorce between me and my wife Emeline is brought up by me or anyone else," he said in settling his unauthorized sale, "and if the divorce does take place, I will return the entire sum [his stepdaughter's inheritance] within two years of the divorce." Erard also guaranteed his wife's dower "if the divorce between me and her does not take place."¹⁵⁰ Ultimately, they did not divorce. About the same time Thibaut IV, in contracting his third marriage, promised to return Margaret of Bourbon's dowry if they divorced "for any reason."¹⁵¹ In these last two cases the possibility of divorce was mentioned without reference to consanguinity, and it was open to either party. In neither case was the existence of heirs at issue.

In a few well-known cases it was the wife who initiated divorce proceedings. One of the more interesting suits involved Marie of Garlande, widow of Henry IV, count of Grandpré (1212–29). Left with three children in her early thirties, Marie contracted a double marriage with the seneschal

Simon of Joinville: she herself would marry Simon's eldest son Geoffroy, then about twenty-one, while her infant daughter Alix would marry Simon's five-year-old son Jean by his second wife.¹⁵² After Marie and Geoffroy were married in August 1230, she did homage to Thibaut IV for her provisional dower.¹⁵³ Within months, however, Marie realized that she had made a mistake. For reasons never explained, she obtained a divorce from the archbishop of Reims, apparently against her husband's wishes. The seneschal Simon, recently remarried to a divorced woman with two children, seems to have been sympathetic to Marie; he vouched for his son's acceptance of the divorce and promised that Geoffroy would appear in person before the ecclesiastical judges or send someone in his place with a sealed letter accepting the final divorce decree (*diffinitam sententiam divorci*).¹⁵⁴ There must have been considerable differences between Marie of Garlande, a mature woman with children and thirteen years experience as countess of Grandpré, and the much younger, never-married Geoffroy of Joinville. In any event, Geoffroy died soon after the divorce and Marie remarried, had three more children, and was widowed again after thirteen years of marriage.¹⁵⁵

In another unusual case the reason for divorce was too public to conceal. Mathilda, heiress of Bourbon (1171–1218), claimed that her husband of twelve years, Gaucher of Vienne, maltreated her on returning from the Third Crusade and threw her into prison after quarreling with her. She escaped, committed unnamed violent acts for which she incurred excommunication, and fled to her grandmother's homeland in Champagne, where she filed for divorce. The case reached the pope, who ordered the bishop of Troyes and abbot of Montiers-en-Argonne to investigate her claim that she was too closely related to Gaucher for a legitimate marriage. An inquest convinced the prelates, who also noted in the pope's instruction that Gaucher was currently separated from his wife and had ravaged *her* lands. They pronounced a divorce on the grounds of "consanguinity in the fourth and fifth degree" and lifted Mathilda's excommunication after she publicly renounced her marriage to Gaucher.¹⁵⁶ Within months she married Guy II of Dampierre, marshal of Champagne.¹⁵⁷ A quick remarriage after a divorce also suited Alix of Courtenay, another wealthy heiress. Since Alix and her husband of seven years, William I, count of Joigny (1177–1221), already had a son, there must have been another compelling reason for him to divorce the heiress of Courtenay and niece of Philip II. Alix and William both remarried, but she did so almost immediately, to Ademar, count of Angoulême. The rapidity of those remarriages suggests that the divorce had more to do with affairs of the heart than with property and progeny.¹⁵⁸

Although we are rarely told the real reason for divorce, the fact that some marriages already had produced heirs and others were too recent for infertility to be an issue suggests that personal differences rather than any

dynastic imperative drove dissatisfied spouses to seek divorce. In fact, divorce and its attendant consequences were readily accepted, provided that the wife's dowry was returned to her or her family, as stipulated in the marriage contracts and as required by canon law.¹⁵⁹ Marriage contracts do not mention the return of the dower because divorce effectively canceled a wife's claim to her husband's property assigned "by reason of marriage." Indeed, a divorced woman might well see her dower reassigned, as happened to Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine, whose dower castle of Briey was reassigned to Thibaut I of Bar-le-Duc's new wife, Ermesinde of Luxembourg.¹⁶⁰ There is no evidence in Champagne for anyone going as far as Philip II, who in negotiating his daughter Marie's marriage to Arthur, count of Brittany, forced the prospective groom to swear that "never during his lifetime would he put her away, for any reason."¹⁶¹

The marriage contracts and dower letters stored in family coffers have long since disappeared, but the documents surviving in other depositories offer a highly consistent view of aristocratic marriage. From the earliest appearance of written contracts in the middle decades of the twelfth century, the wife's dowry and her lifetime dower, whether the customary half-dower or the defined dower, occupied a central and unchanging role in establishing the material basis of marriage. Rooted in custom and reaffirmed by the High Court, the dower established a wife's latent right over her husband's property from the moment of marriage; it made her consent necessary for its disposition during marriage, and it provided her, as widow, lifetime use of her conjugal residence and up to half of her husband's lands. The consequences of the dower were far reaching, both in terms of tenure (homage, testimony at inquests, relations with fiefholders) and within the family (extent and disposition of the dower, delayed successions). A lifetime dower was just that: a widow retained her dower, even after remarriage, until she chose to relinquish it to the heirs or, under some circumstances, to sell it. Only divorce separated a woman from both her husband and her dower, in some instances by her choice as much as by his.

Chapter 6

Inheritance and Succession

The normative model of the aristocratic family viewed through the prism of patrilineage-primogeniture-patrimony rests upon a number of untenable assumptions about succession and inheritance in medieval France, notably that firstborn sons invariably succeeded to paternal inheritances, patrimonies were indivisible, and lineages failed in the absence of sons.¹ Under those assumptions, aristocratic families (and their genealogical trees) appear as essentially stable linear entities in which eldest sons succeeded fathers until the male lines ended in biological failure, at which point “new men” entered to fill the depleted ranks of the old families.² Younger sons, it is claimed, were dispossessed and, failing a religious calling, condemned to live by their wits, often in the retinues of great lords, while seeking the hand of an heiress or appointment to high office. The stability of the eldest son’s lineage and patrimony, in short, contrasts with the unsettled lives of his younger brothers, the disorderly “youth” of aristocratic society.

The evidence from Champagne, as from the rest of northern and eastern France, yields a starkly different picture of family stability and continuity because the fundamental principle of inheritance in fact rested on some form of partibility, not primogeniture. A well-established calculus of precedence identified the closest succeeding relatives: sons were advantaged over daughters, daughters over siblings, and siblings over every other collateral relative (nephew/niece or cousin).³ In other words, a daughter or sister was not displaced by a more distant male relative; and since women could transmit property, titles, and offices, the absence of a male heir did not necessarily mark the end of lineal descent. Moreover, succession was regarded as definitive at the time it occurred. A daughter taking a dowry at marriage in essence took an early distribution of her inheritance, forfeiting any further claim to her parents’ property. In like manner, a younger brother succeeding an older one constituted a fraternal (sibling) succession, not a delayed father-son succession, and thus was liable to the constraints of collateral succession, including the payment of a transfer tax (relief). These conventions, by recognizing the contingencies inherent in every succession, assured the orderly descent of property within the closest confines of the conjugal family.

Partible Inheritance

The fundamental principle undergirding the devolution of property in the bilateral, cognatic family was partible inheritance: all legitimate children received a share of their parents' property.⁴ Specific practices varied widely in northern and eastern France, but none in principle excluded younger sons and daughters from inheriting.⁵ As Thibaut I, count of Bar-le-Duc put it, if he should die before his pregnant wife delivered, she and her two sons bore the responsibility to provide for that child, be it "male or female."⁶ Certainly the eldest son was privileged, and what came to be called "the right of the eldest" (*droit d'aînesse*) included a presumptive claim to the family's most important castle or fortified residence. But that right was only preferential, not exclusionary.⁷ Partibility assured each child an inheritance of some type, especially in Champagne and Burgundy, which ranked among the most equitable regions in medieval France.⁸

Partibility could take three forms. The first, sibling co-lordship, is well attested throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁹ Hulduin and Roscelin of Vendeuvre are an early example of brothers who shared their father's castle in the 1120s (see below), while Anselm II and Garnier of Traînel remained co-lords of the ancestral Traînel castle lordship for three decades (1151–84).¹⁰ The brothers Haimo and Pierre of Briel shared one of the largest collections of allodial properties without a castle in the middle decades of the twelfth century.¹¹ Even a village like Baslieux-sous-Châtillon was held jointly by Helvide and her brother Gérard in fief from Guy II of Châtillon.¹² Co-lordships persisted into the mid-thirteenth century, when a number of siblings dissolved their associations by either converting their allods to fiefs or selling them outright. The brothers Josbert, Guy, and Jeremiah II of Verpillières, knights and co-lords, converted their ancestral allodial village to a monastic fief (1231), while Eustace and Hugh of Conflans created comital fiefs from their two shared allodial villages (1249).¹³ The brothers Erard IV of Chacenay and Jean IV of Arcis-sur-Aube, on the other hand, sold their jointly held allodial village (1282).¹⁴ By that time, sibling co-lordships were rare; most co-lordships involved a layperson sharing lordship with a monastic community over monastic land.¹⁵

Given the practical difficulties entailed by sibling co-lordship, aristocratic families generally preferred a second type of partibility, the equal division of properties among siblings. Vendeuvre is a classic example of a castle divided in equal parts among siblings over several generations. The brothers Hulduin and Roscelin, co-lords in the 1120s, divided the castle between their sons. We can track Hulduin's half-share, which was divided equally between his own sons, Laurent and Odo (each received one-fourth of the castle circa 1159). Laurent's one-quarter share passed to his son Hugh, while Odo's passed to his daughter Oda. Those two quarter-shares were divided again in the next generation, between Hugh's two daughters,

Hermesend and Elvide (each received one-eighth of the castle circa 1198), and between Oda's daughter Margaret and her second son Odo II (one-eighth each). Margaret later purchased her brother's share (1244) and her son, Jean of Durnay, purchased another one-eighth share from his cousin Elvide's son (1268), to gather three-eighths of the old lordship.¹⁶ But all attempts to reconstitute Vendeuve were unsuccessful. It remained a highly fragmented castle town and lordship, a monument to the principle of partibility.

The neighboring castle of Ramerupt offers another early example of a divided lordship, but with a different outcome. After Gautier II of Brienne and his sister Felicity divided Ramerupt, the two halves of the lordship evolved as distinct entities for a century (1126–1227) until being reunited briefly as a single lordship (1227–52), then redivided, this time in equal parts among four sisters.¹⁷ A similar fate befell Gondrecourt. Located in the heart of the Barrois beyond the old Marne River border of Champagne, Gondrecourt entered the comital *mouvance* with six other imperial castles in 1162. It soon fell to Emeline, an heiress whose two daughters, Hodiard and Hadvide, divided the castle (1177); their half-shares passed to younger sons, and by 1250 Gondrecourt was divided between two cousins.¹⁸ Vendeuve, Ramerupt, and Gondrecourt were precisely the kind of partible division prohibited by the comital ordinances of 1212 and 1224, at least for the direct heirs of castles (see below). Simplistic models of the aristocratic family based on patrilineal primogeniture cannot account for those twelfth-century divisions of castle lordships between siblings, especially between brothers and sisters.

The fragmentation of aristocratic properties, both large and small, by direct and collateral heirs, continued through the thirteenth century.¹⁹ The Templars, perhaps the supreme realists when it came to property, offer expert testimony on the persistence of divided lordships. Forced by Countess Margaret in 1255 to restrict their acquisition of fiefs, they agreed to regrant to someone of appropriate standing any fief they did acquire, that is, a fourteenth or larger part of a barony or castellany (*de baronie ou de chastelerie*) to a baron or castellan, and a fifteenth or smaller part of a barony or castellany to a gentleman.²⁰ The one-eighth shares of Vendeuve cited above would have been suitable for a baron, but any smaller fraction of an old castle lordship, according to the Templars in 1255, was suitable as a fief only for a *gentil home*, that is, an ordinary knight.

The third form of partibility, and the one most preferred throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was the allotment of comparably valued properties among the heirs. For multicastle lords like Hugh III of Broys, Hugh V of Châtillon, and Thibaut I of Bar-le-Duc, it was an easy matter to distribute their several castles among their sons.²¹ But for families with a single castle, fortification, or residence, the principle of partibility posed a dilemma: whether to divide the castle or to leave it to a single heir or heir-

ess, in effect disadvantaging the other children. The absence of uniform practices became acute at the very time that Thibaut III and Blanche were asserting new rights over all fortified structures within the county. In 1212 Blanche summoned fourteen barons to draft formal guidelines for successions to castles and fortifications, specifically in the absence of sons. The barons agreed to three principles. First, fortified structures were to remain intact. Second, the eldest sister, by right of the eldest, would take the family's castle or fortified residence, or the most important one if there were several; her sisters would choose among the remaining castles or fortified residences according to age rank. And third, all property and revenue beyond the fortified structures themselves, that is, their lordship, justice, and attached fiefs, would be divided equally among the sisters. That solution had the virtue of preserving the integrity of military structures within the context of partible inheritance. A draft document was presented to an assembly of thirty-four barons, who approved by affixing their seals to Blanche's formal ordinance (*stabilimentum*) announcing those principles.²²

Twelve years later, a case brought to Thibaut IV's court raised similar questions of equity among inheriting brothers. At his Christmas court in December 1224, Thibaut enacted an ordinance modeled on his mother's of 1212: the eldest son took a single castle, if the family had only one; or he could choose among the residences if there were several, but only after the entire inheritance had been appraised, so that each brother would receive an equal share of the total revenue. The count agreed to respect existing divisions of fortifications (like Vendevre, Ramerupt, and Gondrecourt), but he prohibited all future divisions.²³ The fundamental issue in both ordinances was the integrity of castles and fortified residences, not the principle of partibility; it was precisely the division of fortifications in the twelfth century that had jeopardized their military utility. The ordinances of 1212 and 1224 nicely balanced the needs of the count with the fundamental rights of the heirs.²⁴ The compiler of the customary (*coutumier*) of Champagne (ca. 1290) signaled the importance of those principles by placing a French translation of Thibaut's ordinance at the head of his collection of cases adjudicated by the High Court.²⁵

According to the ordinances of 1212 and 1224, the heirs—not the father—apportioned the family's resources among themselves after a formal appraisal of the property (*appreciati, estimata vel computata velentia*).²⁶ The actual allotments, however, depended on several factors not mentioned in the ordinances. In families with both sons and daughters, the daughters selected a residence only after all the sons had obtained one. Daughters also received only half as much in fiefs as their brothers and were excluded entirely from the collateral inheritance of fiefs except in the absence of a brother.²⁷ Whether the distributions were peaceful or contentious is not known, since the documented cases of sibling discord involve collateral successions, as with Joinville in 1215 and Chacenay in 1278.²⁸ In

one instance, when the three sons of Henry II of Bar-le-Duc (d. 1242) could not agree on the division of their father's properties, they asked their brother-in-law, Pierre of Dreux, lord of Fère-en-Tardenois, to devise an equitable allotment. Pierre had the property assessed by three Cistercian abbots (of Trois-Fontaines, Montiers-en-Argonne, and Hautefontaine), but eight years later the youngest brother requested a new assessment because he found his actual revenues to be less than what had been estimated at the time of the allocation.²⁹

In a few cases, a father preempted the heirs. Hugh V of Châtillon's testamentary allocation of his many lands among his four sons in order "to prevent discord" suggests he was acting to prevent a sibling rivalry.³⁰ The counts, too, forced the division of some fiefs long before heirs were ready to inherit, primarily to prevent the concentration of properties within powerful lineages. Gautier IV of Brienne, for example, when he did homage for his lands, promised that if he had two sons, one would inherit his county of Brienne intact while the other would inherit the rest of his properties.³¹ Robert of Fontette promised to divide his wife's inheritance, the lordship of Ville-sur-Arce with its fortified residence, into two fiefs if he had two sons.³² In circumventing the right of the heirs to divide their inheritance, preemptive partibility ultimately enforced the longstanding principle of equitable divisions of inheritances among the direct heirs.

Lineage Failure

Outright lineage failure in the sense of biological extinction was rare in Champagne.³³ Only one baronial family, the Nogent-sur-Seine, failed for lack of direct heirs. Milo I, lord of the castle and a prominent benefactor of the Cistercians at Vauluisant and of the nuns at the Paraclete, was a casualty of the Second Crusade. Nogent passed to his young daughter Elizabeth and her husband Gérard, who ruled in her name for twenty-five years (1147–71), then to their second son, Milo II (1171–86). By 1186, however, all three of Elizabeth's sons had predeceased her without heirs. In the absence of any close relative, she sold her castle lordship to Thibaut III and retired to the Paraclete (1190s).³⁴

Crusade deaths were indirectly responsible for ending two other baronial lineages in the early thirteenth century. Milo of Chaumont's death on the Fourth Crusade should have resulted in the collateral transfer of Chaumont castle and its lordship. But Milo had mortgaged the castle to Thibaut III and Blanche refused to release it, in effect thwarting its redemption by Milo's half brother Josbert.³⁵ In a similar case forty years earlier, Henry I had allowed a cousin to redeem the mortgaged castle of Possesse in the absence of direct heirs.³⁶ But Blanche was implementing Thibaut III's new policy of incorporating strategically located baronial castles into the comital domain whenever possible: the purchase of Nogent-sur-Seine and the

retention of Chaumont were the first fruits of that policy. Two decades later Thibaut IV acquired another strategically located castle and castellany after Milo IV, count of Bar-sur-Seine, one of the oldest and most powerful lineages in Champagne, died with his only son at Damietta on the Fifth Crusade (1219). Milo's widow initially retained her dower right to the castle and half of the castellany, while the rest of Bar-sur-Seine passed collaterally in equal shares, according to custom, to Milo's two sisters. But Thibaut IV soon purchased the widow's dower and all the collateral shares of the lordship in order to reconstitute Bar-sur-Seine as a comital castellany.³⁷ Neither the Bar-sur-Seine nor the Chaumont lines failed for lack of heirs. What had changed in the late twelfth century was comital policy. Whereas Henry I had allowed Possesse and its castellany to recirculate within the baronage, Thibaut III and his successors absorbed into the comital domain any strategically located castle lordship lacking direct heirs. Nogent-sur-Seine (1199), Chaumont (1204), and Bar-sur-Seine (1220s) enlarged and strengthened the count's domain at the same time they reduced the pool of old baronies available to the aristocracy.

The comital policy of acquiring castles was opportunistic, however, not intended to diminish the baronage. Even where the counts assumed complete control of castle towns that they long had shared with local lords, like Pont-sur-Seine and Villemaur, they did not cause the demise of genuine baronial lines.³⁸ The bitter war of succession (1216–18) resulted in a number of confiscations and forced exchanges of lordships, but not a single old baronial line was entirely dispossessed. In fact, Blanche's most redoubtable enemy, Erard of Brienne, lord of Ramerupt, was richly rewarded for his efforts. Nor is Thibaut IV known to have confiscated any castle during his thirty-year rule, with the dramatic exception of Nogent (1233). In that case, Thibaut acted after Renier II of Nogent supported the pretensions of Alix of Cyprus, who threatened to reprise the civil war that had racked Champagne during the count's minority. Thibaut captured Nogent and made it the center of a comital castellany, leaving Renier no choice but to sell the *mouvance* of fiefs attached to the castle, in effect, to surrender his baronial standing.³⁹ Renier's three sons made peace with the count, exchanging their rights at Nogent for properties and revenues elsewhere.⁴⁰ In sum, of the four failed baronial lordships (Nogent-sur-Seine, Chaumont, Bar-sur-Seine, and Nogent), only the first might be deemed to have resulted from biological failure.

None of the other castles or castellanies entering the comital domain in the thirteenth century resulted from or caused the extinction of a lineage. In 1211, for example, Blanche purchased Baudement castle, located at the juncture of the Aube and Seine rivers. She already held the town proper, which served as a crossing point for merchant caravans traveling to the county's trade fairs, and was developing its commercial potential (she had a new bridge built there in 1203).⁴¹ The heiress of Baudement castle, Eliza-

beth of Dreux, freely sold it because it had lost viability as a baronial lordship and her son Simon already had inherited a newer castle at Châteauvillain.⁴² The counts subsequently purchased a number of other castle lordships from their heirs, including Saint-Jean-sur-Tourbe (1248), Beaufort (1270), and Nogent-l'Artaud (1283), which consequently disappeared as baronial lineages despite the existence of descendants. The regular absorption of castle lordships into the comital, and later royal, domain did have one important consequence: it removed old baronies from recirculation within the aristocracy.

Succession

If lineages rarely failed outright, they seldom survived through firstborn sons. In fact, every baronial line in Champagne at one time or another passed through a younger son or daughter, or collaterally through a sibling or other close relative.⁴³ Even the Choiseul, the most successful example of father-to-eldest-son succession (their castle passed six times directly to the eldest son), once relied on a sister, Adeline, to succeed a childless brother (ca. 1102).⁴⁴ Within the comital family, the eldest son succeeded to the county in only four of seven successions between 1152 and 1284: on three occasions a brother (twice) or daughter (once) succeeded.⁴⁵ Even more astonishing is the fact that over the course of two centuries (1093–1284) only one count of Troyes—Henry I in 1152—succeeded his father directly. The comital dynasty did survive, but as with the baronial lineages, the straight lines of modern genealogical trees mask the precariousness of those successions.

Jack Goody has suggested that since about 20 percent of couples on average remain childless and another 20 percent produce only daughters, about 40 percent of families cannot conform to the model of father-to-eldest-son succession in the patriline.⁴⁶ An analysis of European royal dynasties between 1350 and 1450 confirms that observation: the oldest surviving legitimate son succeeded only 37 percent of the time.⁴⁷ For aristocratic families in Champagne in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the figure is somewhat higher if we include succession to either a father's or a mother's castle: an eldest son succeeded in about half of all castle transfers. Conversely, and significantly, almost as many parental castles passed to a younger son, daughter, or sibling.

ELDEST SONS

The term *primogenitus*, literally firstborn son, was freely used by contemporaries to mean both the firstborn and the eldest surviving son. Of 196 castle transfers tabulated here, 68 percent fall into that combined category of firstborn or eldest living son.⁴⁸ Yet such an inclusive meaning of *primogeni-*

tus obscures an important social reality, of younger sons *becoming* eldest sons in their late teens or early twenties after spending their formative years as younger sons. If successions by those younger sons, and by sons of second wives, are tabulated separately, authentically firstborn sons succeeded to parental castles and fortified residences only about half the time (54 percent), with a significantly higher percentage in the twelfth century (63 percent) compared to the thirteenth (42 percent). That difference can be ascribed to two factors. The first is statistical bias: the increased construction of new fortifications and fortified residences from the late twelfth century provided well-to-do families with multiple castles and residences that became available for younger sons and daughters, resulting in eldest sons succeeding to a smaller proportion of all available residences. The second factor is methodological: the circumstances of thirteenth-century successions are better known and more accurately calculated than those of the twelfth century. Pierre of Joigny, for example, who died within months of becoming count of Joigny (December 1221), was succeeded by his younger half brother William II. William's mother called him *primogenitus* (he was her firstborn son), but she was a second wife and William was the old count's second son; according to the rules of succession as understood at the time, William II succeeded his older half brother by fraternal succession.⁴⁹ A century earlier, with less secure documentary references, his succession might well have appeared to us as an eldest son's direct succession.

YOUNGER SONS

About 15 percent of inherited castles passed younger sons. In some cases, as noted above, the youthful death of an eldest son made a younger son his father's oldest surviving heir, in effect, *primogenitus* and successor.⁵⁰ The Vignory, one of the more prominent lineages in the Bassigny between Joinville and Chaumont, are a case in point. Robert of Vignory, an oldest son and a knight in his teens or early twenties, died at Molesme where he had been taken with a serious illness or injury. On his deathbed, according to a monastic scribe, Robert gave the monks a "wonderfully fine warhorse of great value; but when Robert's mother, Lady Beatrice, remarked that the monks could not handle such a horse without exposing themselves to great danger, her younger son Guy [V] asked her and the prior of Molesme for permission to purchase the horse, offering in exchange his own horse and a valuable vineyard, provided that his mother and father, Lord Guy [IV], approve."⁵¹ A decade later Guy V, by then the oldest surviving son, succeeded as lord of Vignory (ca. 1126–50). Thereafter the Vignory lineage passed primarily through younger sons: in four successive generations a second or third son continued the patriline after the death of an older brother. Guy V was succeeded by his second son, Bartholomew (ca. 1150–91), after the early death of his oldest son. Bartholomew outlived his own

eldest son, and after he and his second son perished on the Third Crusade, Vignory was inherited by his third son, Gautier I (1191–1229). Had either of Gautier I's older brothers survived to inherit Vignory, Gautier I would have taken his wife's inheritance to become instead lord of Laferté-sur-Amance. As it was, Vignory passed to his eldest son Gautier II (1229–62), the only eldest son in more than a century to inherit the paternal castle.⁵² Milo II of Nogent-sur-Seine was another distinguished younger son promoted to *primogenitus* at the death of an older brother: he was about eighteen when his older brother died. Jean II of Montmirail was in his teens at the death of his slightly older brother William; Simon IV of Clefmont, was about ten when his father and older half brother perished on the Third Crusade; and Simon of Joinville was about nineteen when his father and older brother died on the Fourth Crusade.⁵³ Each younger son, on becoming the eldest living son, inherited his father's chief castle lordship.

A younger son also might succeed to his father's castle if an older brother preferred his mother's more important lands. Fulk I of Choiseul is an early example (1140s) of an eldest son who took his mother's lordship (Choiseul) in lieu of his father's (Aigremont), which passed to his younger brother Renier.⁵⁴ William II of Dampierre (1218–33) likewise inherited his father's lands after his older brother Archambaud took their mother's inheritance of Bourbon.⁵⁵ The Dampierre lordship passed to William II's third son (Jean) after the oldest (William III) perished at a tournament and the second son (Guy II) took his mother's inheritance to become count of Flanders (1251–1305).⁵⁶ In each case the properties were distributed among surviving sons according to their value, as stipulated by the ordinances of 1212 and 1224, rather than according to their paternal or maternal origin. Hugh V of Châtillon's testament (1247) observes that principle: Hugh assigned the most valuable property, his wife's county of Blois, to his oldest son (Jean); the next most valuable property, his mother's county of Saint-Pol, to his second son (Guy); and his own but least valuable lands at Châtillon and Crécy to his third son (Gaucher IV). The fourth son (Hugh) was promised a 3,000*l.* rent to be assigned from the lands of the eldest (and richest) brother. Hugh *père* claimed that he made that distribution with the help of his relatives and wise men in order to prevent dissension among his sons, and he left nothing to chance: if the eldest son died, each surviving son would take instead the inheritance originally assigned to his next older brother. Hugh was sensitive to that last point, as he was himself a younger son who became count of Saint-Pol, his grandest possession, after the death of his older brother, Guy IV.⁵⁷

The custom of dividing inheritances into separate lordships, a practice codified by the ordinances of 1212 and 1224, tended to favor younger sons, who ordinarily might inherit maternal properties and continue maternal lineages. Guy of Vignory was typical in being a second son who inherited his mother lordship of Laferté-sur-Amance (1231–51), which he held in

fief from his older brother Gautier II of Vignory.⁵⁸ Guy continued to call himself “Guy of Vignory, lord of Laferté,” but his son became “Gautier of Laferté” and his successors, lacking any tie to Vignory, were known only as “of Laferté.”⁵⁹ In effect, Guy of Vignory became a link in his mother’s lineage, and his descendants were exclusively lords of Laferté. Sons of second marriages, like William I of Jully-sur-Sarce, also typically inherited maternal properties. As the only son of Petronilla of Chappes, the second wife of Guy (of Joinville) of Sailly, William inherited her lordship and continued her lineage, while his father’s properties were divided between two sons by a first wife.⁶⁰ In short, multiple avenues of succession to parental properties—by advancement to eldest son status, by succession to the paternal inheritance not chosen by an eldest son, or by succession to a mother’s inheritance—assured many, if not most, younger sons an inheritance of some kind. Failing that, a younger son might acquire a lordship through marriage.

HEIRESSES

A sole surviving daughter succeeded in about 8 percent of all castle transfers. As discussed above, Elizabeth of Nogent-sur-Seine was married when her father died on the Second Crusade, and thus her husband assumed her castle lordship. Petronilla of Bar-sur-Seine, who was still an infant at her father’s death, came under the guardianship of her paternal uncle Manasses, a cleric, who acted as lord of Bar-sur-Seine for seventeen years (1151–68) until she married Hugh of Le Puiset.⁶¹ Petronilla’s right to Bar-Sur-Seine was beyond doubt, for even an infant daughter took precedence over her father’s brothers; Manasses surrendered his charge when she came of age and rejoined the chapter of Langres, where he became dean and bishop (1179–93).⁶² Petronilla’s son, Milo IV (1189–1219), later inherited her lordship and title, in effect, succeeding his mother.⁶³

Among the other substantial lordships that passed through heiresses were Aigremont (twice), Baudement (twice), Beaufort, Chacenay, Laferté-sur-Amance, Plancy, Vignory, and Ville-sur-Arce.⁶⁴ Certainly the abundance of heiresses was a boon to the younger sons who took their wives’ properties and names. Simon of Bricon was typical in adopting his wife’s toponym, the Burgundian lordship of Rochefort, which far surpassed his own inheritance at Bricon.⁶⁵ His son Simon I of Rochefort, having inherited his mother’s lands and lordly toponym, married up, to a daughter of Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine, who had inherited his own mother’s substantial lordship. Two fortuitous marriages turned a knightly proprietor at Bricon into a lord of Rochefort, Bar-sur-Seine (in part), and Le Puiset, as well as viscount of Chartres. An eldest son might do the same, taking his wife’s name and property in preference to his own. Jean II of Montmirail, for example, abandoned his own considerable collection of lands in order to reside in

his wife's even more prestigious county of Chartres.⁶⁶ But usually an eldest son retained his paternal name and lands, making his wife's lands a subsidiary and often expendable resource. Hugh III, count of Rethel, is a classic example. His wife Felicity of Beaufort's inherited castle became a secondary residence and dower property of the counts of Rethel and a matter of contention for more than a century until their grandson, Hugh IV of Rethel, finally sold it.⁶⁷

SIBLINGS

Sibling succession accounted for about 16 percent of all castle transfers, with a marked increase from about 11 percent in the twelfth century to 23 percent in the thirteenth.⁶⁸ Although modern historians regard sibling succession as intrinsically patrilineal in the sense that a direct heir continued the patriline, contemporaries saw it differently; for them, any fraternal or sororal transfer was an indirect or collateral succession (*caducum, esca-sura, eschoite*) that owed a tax called relief (*rachatum, relief*). The High Court explicitly distinguished between a parent-child inheritance, in which the eldest child could warrant his siblings, and a sibling inheritance, in which all the heirs were equal and thus beyond the protection of the eldest child:

It is the custom in Champagne that a collateral inheritance owes relief, that is, the value of one year's revenue from the property. Item, there will be as many fiefs from that escheated property as there are heirs, since none of them is able to warrant the other.⁶⁹

By the conventional method of estimating a fief's value at ten times its annual revenue, a relief worth one year's revenue constituted a 10 percent inheritance tax. The king had been collecting relief since 1184, and perhaps earlier.⁷⁰ Within Champagne the earliest examples of relief payments are from 1218 and 1220, when the nephews of Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine and Margaret, countess of Blois, paid relief for their collateral inheritances.⁷¹ Relief was more than a symbolic tax, for it often imposed financial obligations exceeding the capacities of the collateral heirs, who were forced to obtain sureties for their relief payments.⁷² The 1,679*l.* in relief payments collected by the treasury in 1251 represented 16,790*l.* worth of fiefs passing by collateral inheritance in that year, a sum equivalent to the revenue of about sixty-two average fiefs (26.7*l.*).⁷³ An even larger amount must have been collected in years when substantial fiefs like the county of Rethel passed to a brother (it was assessed 2,000*l.* in relief).⁷⁴ Those sums confirm the magnitude of sibling succession in the thirteenth century, when the property of virtually every lineage passed through a sibling at one time or another. The collateral transfer of castle lordships beyond siblings, on the other hand, appears to have been infrequent, and in each case it followed succession by a sibling: Possesse (1165) and Pierrefonds (1192) passed to

cousins, while Bar-sur-Seine (1219) and Chacenay (1278) passed to nephews.

Fraternal Succession

The comital line was fairly typical of aristocratic families in that three of the eight counts of Troyes succeeded an older brother: Hugh succeeded Odo at about eighteen (1093), Thibaut III was the same age when Henry II died in the Holy Land (1197), and Henry III was twenty-one and already married when Thibaut V perished on Louis IX's last crusade (1270).⁷⁵ The crusades, especially the Third and Fourth Crusades, prompted a spate of collateral successions within baronial and knightly lines. Guiot of Provins, poet turned Cistercian, lamented the loss of an entire generation of barons in the 1190s: "Oh Champagne, so many barons you have lost in so brief a time."⁷⁶ The age had turned from gold to silver, he sang, as good barons were replaced by young boys and infants. And in fact younger sons did survive the fathers and older brothers they accompanied on those expeditions. Gaucher III of Châtillon (1191–1219) is a prime example. He and his older brother Guy II became close companions of Philip II on the Third Crusade. After Guy II died at Acre, Gaucher returned home to become one of the more prominent barons of the realm: he inherited his brother's lordships, he acquired the castle of Pierrefonds by collateral inheritance from his childless grandmother, Agathe of Pierrefonds, and he was appointed seneschal of Burgundy and butler of Champagne. His spectacular rise culminated with his marriage to the heiress of Saint-Pol, where he spent the last fifteen years of his life as count of Saint-Pol.⁷⁷ But Gaucher was extremely lucky: his great-grandfather had perished on the First Crusade, his grandfather died on the Second Crusade, his brother fell at Acre, and his two sons would perish on crusades, Guy at Avignon (1226) and Hugh at Mansourah (1248).⁷⁸

Perhaps the best known example of fraternal succession is Simon of Joinville, the fourth son of one of the most distinguished regional lineages. Simon was a young boy when his father, the seneschal Geoffroy IV (1188–90), died at Acre on the Third Crusade and in his teens or early twenties when his two oldest and unmarried brothers—the seneschal Geoffroy V, lord of Joinville (1190–1203), and Robert—died on the Fourth Crusade. Since the third brother, William, was archdeacon of Châlons and well positioned for a career in the church, both the paternal lordship of Joinville and the seneschalcy of Champagne passed to Simon (1204–33).⁷⁹ A still younger brother, Guy, later demanded a redistribution of the family inheritance, claiming (correctly) that Simon had succeeded by collateral inheritance (*caducum*), not by direct inheritance, and therefore their father's properties should have been divided equally among the surviving brothers. Through the mediation of their brother William, by that time bishop of

Langres, Simon and Guy redivided the family properties on a more equitable basis.⁸⁰

The inherent contingency of succession is graphically illustrated by several remarkable cases of consecutive fraternal succession. The lordship of Possesse passed collaterally three times within five years: first to a younger brother Jean (ca. 1163), then to a still younger Hugh after Jean took the habit at Clairvaux (1165), and finally, when Hugh in turn abandoned Possesse in order to travel overseas (1166), the property passed to a paternal cousin, Guy of Garlande. Thereafter Possesse passed through eldest sons for a century until it devolved collaterally to a nephew (1287).⁸¹ The county of Rethel passed through three fraternal successions within a span of twenty years, from the eldest Hugh III to the married but childless Jean (1243), then to Gaucher, a canon at Liège (1251),⁸² and finally to the fourth son, Manasses (1262).⁸³ At each transfer the surviving Rethel brothers negotiated an equitable division of the inheritance, just as the Joinville brothers did in 1215.

The Arcis-sur-Aube siblings offer an unusual example of successive partible divisions. The four Arcis brothers initially asked their maternal uncle, Milo of Noyers, to make an equitable division of their father's castle and castellany at Arcis-sur-Aube (1273).⁸⁴ Five years later, they applied the same principle of partibility to their great aunt Alix's castle of Chacenay (1278). The castle already had passed collaterally three times: to Erard I of Chacenay (1179–91), perhaps by usurpation of his nephew's right; to Erard III (1247–53); and finally to his sister Alix (1253–78). On Alix's death without children, her closest relatives were four great-nephews, the grandchildren of her deceased sister Mathilda. The Arcis brothers divided the castle and lordship, as required for a collateral inheritance: Jean IV, the eldest who already was lord of Arcis, received the tower and walled town of Chacenay; Erard IV, the second son, took the towers of Sainte-Parise outside the walls of Chacenay and called himself "lord of Chacenay," while the youngest two sons divided the rest of the Chacenay estate.⁸⁵ That four brothers divided two castle lordships, a paternal one (Arcis) and a collateral one (Chacenay), within five years was quite exceptional. It also proved to be contentious.

In 1285 Jean IV, who held the core of both Arcis and Chacenay, and his sister Helisent, who had received nothing at all at Chacenay, brought suit to the Parlement of Paris, which had begun to hear cases from Champagne. Jean sought the entire lordship of Chacenay by right of the eldest. The judges rejected his claim outright because, they recalled, the custom in Champagne required that castles, castellanies, and fortifications be divided equally among collateral heirs without advantage to the eldest, and they ordered the bailiff of Sens to impose an equitable settlement.⁸⁶ In an elegant partition, the lands at Chacenay moving from the bishop of Langres were divided into four equal parts; the rest of Chacenay moving from

secular lords was divided into two equal parts, one half to be shared by the eldest and youngest brothers, the other half to be shared by the middle two brothers.⁸⁷ Helisent's suit was dismissed because, the High Court explained, women had no right to fiefs passing collaterally, only to allods and rents.⁸⁸ Both decisions accorded exactly with customary practices. Thirty years later, however, after both the eldest and youngest Arcis brothers died without heirs, the two middle brothers redivided Chacenay: the older Erard, already lord of Arcis, took the towers of Sainte-Parise outside the castle of Chacenay; the younger William, a cleric, took the main fortress to become lord of Chacenay (1308–28); and Helisent finally received a token share (a 100*l.* rent).⁸⁹ Succession and partibility proved to be as temporal as they were contingent.

Sororal Succession

Sororal succession, in which a woman succeeds to a sibling's properties after having taken her dowry, ultimately affirms the primacy of descent within the conjugal family over the need for an immediate male heir. A well-documented case involved Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders (1168–91). Since he was childless in 1177 when he decided to go the Holy Land, and younger brothers had predeceased him, Philip convened his barons at Lille to make provision for his succession, should he not return. Philip had the barons swear to recognize his younger sister Margaret, wife of the count of Hainaut, as his legitimate successor. At his death in 1191, the king tried to seize Flanders in the absence of a direct male heir, but arbitration affirmed the legitimacy of the collateral transfer and of Margaret and her son as rightful heirs to Flanders.⁹⁰ That same custom applied in Champagne.

Unlike fraternal succession, where brothers often succeeded at a relatively young age, sororal succession generally came to women in their mature years, after the deaths of their brothers. Marie of Montmirail, for example, was in her late fifties and widowed for two decades before succeeding her brothers Jean II and Matthew, who had ruled Montmirail successively for more than forty years. Having outlived three childless brothers and a sister, Marie inherited a fabulous portfolio of castles, including La Ferté-Gaucher, Oisy, Montmirail, and the viscounty of Meaux.⁹¹ It all passed to her second and only surviving son, Enguerran IV of Coucy, who with his father's lands of Coucy became one the most powerful lords in northern France. Judith of Aigremont and Alix of Chacenay had similar experiences. Judith, the oldest of three sisters, inherited Aigremont after her brothers Olri and Renier II died without heirs, while Alix, a fourth child, survived two childless brothers, Huet and Erard III, to become sole heiress of Chacenay.⁹² Whether Marie, Judith, and Alix paid relief for their collateral inheritances is not known, although sibling succession had been subject to

relief since the 1220s, according to the chancery's book of homages. Margaret of Autricourt, for one, did liege homage for her brother's fief, then pledged security for payment of the relief.⁹³ Julienne of Apremont, too, recognized in her letter to Thibaut IV that she owed relief for one-third of the castle and castellany of Chaumont-Porcien that she inherited from her brother, Roger of Rozoy.⁹⁴ It is difficult to escape the conclusion that sororal inheritance, like direct inheritance by heiresses, was a routine event throughout the two centuries surveyed here.

Names

Recent onomastic studies have identified a "revolution" in naming practices throughout France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as the stock of first names contracted and aristocratic families adopted second names (surnames).⁹⁵ The new binomial practices, which are of chief interest here, varied considerably by region, with Champagne and eastern France showing a clear preference for second names based on placenames (toponyms).⁹⁶ That preference reflected a desire to be identified by the locus of one's lordship, the *lieu de pouvoir* as Contamine put it, rather than by one's family or place of origin.⁹⁷ Chancery scribes as well as monastic scribes in Champagne identified laymen by the location of their properties rather than by family name; one fiefholder they identified as "Renaud of Ligni res, Isle, and Ery," and another as "this Robert [of Fayel] is the same as the Robert of Bauteuil named above."⁹⁸ With the proliferation of self-sealed letters patent in the last decades of the twelfth century, the barons themselves proclaimed their identities. "I, Hugh, castellan of Vitry," announced the fourth son of the count of Rethel.⁹⁹ "I, Hermesend, lady of Tra nel," proclaimed the divorced countess of Bar-le-Duc, who had returned to the dower lands of her first husband and resumed the title *domina* of Tra nel even while her son was *dominus* of Tra nel.¹⁰⁰ Isabelle/Elizabeth of Dreux, heiress of Baudement, became "I, Isabelle, lady [dowager] of Ch teauvillain."¹⁰¹ The son and successor of the marshal Erard of Villehardouin located himself by residence and office rather than by the paternal property at Villehardouin, which had been sold (1219): he became "William of Villy, marshal of Champagne."¹⁰² Such fluidity in second names reflects the absence of fixed surnames before the mid-thirteenth century.

TOPONYMS

A man who married an heiress usually assumed the lordship of her property, which became his primary residence, and adopted its toponym as his second name.¹⁰³ G rard of Ch lons (lord of Nogent-sur-Seine), Hugh of Le Puiset (count of Bar-sur-Seine), and Simon of Bricon (lord of Rochefort)

were typical of men who, like most women, abandoned one name at marriage to take up another. Their sons—Milo II of Nogent-sur-Seine, Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine, and Simon I of Rochefort—also were typical in taking only the name of their maternal lordships.¹⁰⁴ In effect, they succeeded their mothers. It was the same for knights. Garnier, son of the knight Philip of Chalette, who was raised in Cunfin where his mother Agnes had inherited 1/24th of the allodial village, was known as “Garnier, knight of Cunfin,” after his mother’s property.¹⁰⁵ When an heiress died childless, her husband who had administered her properties during marriage surrendered both her land and title to her closest natal relative. Renard II of Choiseul (1192–1239), lord of Faucogney by marriage (1205–19), used both his own and his wife’s toponyms while married, at times together (“lord of Faucogney and Choiseul”) and at times separately (“lord of Faucogney”). At his wife’s death, Faucogney passed by sororal succession to her sister, and Renard reverted to being simply “of Choiseul.”¹⁰⁶ In each case, a shifting identity based on a lordship’s toponym reflected the mutable nature of lordship itself.

Those who inherited secondary parental residences or built new residences on inherited property generally adopted the toponyms of those properties. Thus brothers often had different second names. Simon of Châteauvillain, the son of Hugh III of Broyes and his second wife, Elizabeth of Dreux, is not known ever to have used his father’s name (Simon did not hold any property at Broyes). Simon took rather the toponym of his father’s secondary castle at Châteauvillain as his exclusive title, one that acquired renown with Simon and his descendants in the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁷ Wealthy families lacking castles, like the Briel, followed similar practices. Haimo of Briel’s two younger sons carved out new lordships on his property at Autricourt and Buxières, while his brother’s son settled at Fontette; their descendants in both branches abandoned the Briel name to use exclusively the toponyms of Autricourt, Buxières, and Fontette. Of course they knew their ancestry. The monks of Clairvaux even reminded Hugh I of Fontette that it was his grandfather Pierre of Briel who gave them rights at Fontarce almost a half-century earlier.¹⁰⁸ But Hugh himself never carried the Briel title, nor did his only son Pierre or Pierre’s eldest son Hugh III: they all were “of Fontette,” the name of their most important property. Hugh III’s younger brother Robert became a “Ville-sur-Arce” on inheriting their mother’s properties, and a still younger brother became “Guy of Noé-les-Mallets, son of Pierre the Large of Fontette.”¹⁰⁹ Fontette, like Châteauvillain, continued to serve as a lordly toponym without becoming an inherited family name.

The Villehardouin confirm that fluidity of second names. Known today chiefly through Geoffroy of Villehardouin’s memoirs of the Fourth Crusade, Villehardouin is perhaps the most familiar family name from medieval Champagne except for Joinville.¹¹⁰ That was not always the case. The

Villehardouin toponym was first adopted around 1150 by the two sons of Villain of Arzillières. The eldest was Jean, lord of Villehardouin, whose son Geoffroy founded the ruling dynasty in crusader Greece, where the Villehardouin name became synonymous with the princes of the Morea (1209–78). Villain's younger son (the eldest son of his second wife) was Geoffroy of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne and chronicler of the Fourth Crusade, whose own son Erard and grandson William succeeded him as marshal. But after Geoffroy's death, the marshals and their descendants in Champagne abandoned their property at Villehardouin in exchange for property at Villy (1219); thereafter, they were known as "of Villy," where they had a residence, and "of Lézinnes," the inheritance of Geoffroy's wife. It is one of the ironies of medieval names that Villehardouin became a prestigious dynastic name in thirteenth-century Greece but was abandoned entirely in Champagne in favor of now forgotten toponyms.

NAME CHANGES

Most men took as their second name the toponym of the *lieu de pouvoir* they inherited, acquired by marriage, or constructed as a new primary residence. A few resisted doing so because of ambiguous, conflicted, or manipulated identities. Erard, lord of Ramerupt (1203–43), better known as "Erard of Brienne," the name he adopted in his own letters, is a notable example. In fact, neither Erard nor his father André had property at Brienne. Erard was exploiting his "social capital" to draw attention to the fact that he was grandson of a count of Brienne and cousin of Jean of Brienne, king of Jerusalem by marriage, hence a worthy claimant to the county of Champagne through his wife Philippa. Only after Thibaut IV's succession ended Erard's ambitions did he add the name of his lordship, becoming "I, Erard of Brienne, lord of Ramerupt."¹¹¹ The arrogation of the Brienne name died with him and, in a cruel twist, so did the lordship of Ramerupt, which was divided among his four daughters after the death of both his sons.¹¹²

Garnier II of Traînel (1153–95) is an example of a prominent baron who took the name of his father's castle despite residing in his own castle at Marigny. Garnier did so with some justification, however, since he and his older brother Anselm II of Traînel, the count's butler (1152–84), remained co-lords of their ancestral properties at Traînel and jointly sealed letters for more than thirty years.¹¹³ The brothers often attended the count's court together, and Garnier performed services for the count.¹¹⁴ Although Garnier took the Traînel name and was known by others as a Traînel during his lifetime, he was more properly lord of Marigny, the castle that became the center of a new lordship within the extensive Traînel lands.¹¹⁵ His son Garnier III (1195–1218), in his own letters, also identified himself as a Traînel, as did the executors of his testament, who thus treated

Traînel almost as a family name. But the count's chancery scribes, in their list of renderable castles (ca. 1201), identified Garnier III as "lord of Marigny," after the castle he actually held.¹¹⁶ When his own son, Garnier IV "of Traînel" (1220–55), finally called himself "lord of Marigny" in 1228, it was because he had abandoned all residual rights at Traînel to a younger brother Dreux.¹¹⁷ After three generations, a Traînel lord of Marigny became simply lord of Marigny.

Guy of Vignory was another younger son who resisted abandoning his paternal name. His older brother, Gautier II, inherited their father's main castle and title at Vignory ("I, Gautier, lord of Vignory"), leaving Guy to inherit his mother's lordship of Laferté. But Guy continued to carry the Vignory name ("I, Guy of Vignory, lord of Laferté"), perhaps with a touch of irony, as he was the first younger son in more than a century *not* to succeed to Vignory itself.¹¹⁸ In any event, Guy eventually abandoned the Vignory toponym for his mother's Laferté, which his son Gautier adopted exclusively.¹¹⁹ Like Erard of Ramerupt, Guy of Laferté needed some time to relinquish his paternal name for the toponym of his own chief residence and lordship. Jacques of Chacenay, on the other hand, retained his father's second name for an entirely different reason. Dispossessed while still a boy by his guardian uncle, Erard I of Chacenay, Jacques was known locally as both "of Chacenay" and "of Durnay" (the property he later acquired by collateral inheritance). His dual identity is best revealed in two identical letters preserved by the monks of Montiéramey: the bishop of Troyes, in his letter, refers to Jacques "of Chacenay," whereas Jacques in his own letter identifies himself as "of Durnay."¹²⁰ That same duality exists in Thibaut IV's letter twenty years later, in which the count granted a new "barony" to "Jacques of Durnay." A clause written in a different hand at the end of the letter (perhaps by Jacques himself) declares: "I, Jacques of Chacenay, promise to observe all the above."¹²¹ The next year at the count's Christmas court (1224), Jacques appeared as a Chacenay among the barons consenting to the ordinance on the male succession to castles. In the end, Jacques' attempt to retain the Chacenay name—no doubt to preserve a claim to his father's lands—was in vain; his descendants, definitively dispossessed of Chacenay, were all Durnays.

Finally, Artaud, the count's treasurer, offers a unique example of someone who established a castle-based lineage and lordly identity *de novo*.¹²² Of obscure background, Artaud appears in many of Henry I's acts simply as treasurer (*camerarius*) without a second name. To the monks of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, who objected to Artaud's construction of a castle next to their land, he was simply "Artaud." A local obituary commemorates him as a "knight of Nogent," but chancery scribes call him "Lord Artaud" in the fief rolls, in recognition of his newly constructed castle lordship at Nogent. What Artaud and his wife called themselves is not known, but their

son William and his descendants adopted the toponym of Artaud's new castle, "lord of Nogent."¹²³

WOMEN'S NAMES

A married woman, both in her own letters and in letters sealed jointly with her husband, generally took the toponym of her husband's lordship as her second name, which she retained as a widow if she continued to reside there. If she retired to her inherited lands or to a dower residence located elsewhere, she used that toponym. Simon of Joinville's second wife, Beatrice of Auxonne, was typical. In her own letters while married she identified herself as *domina* of Joinville; as widow and regent for her son Jean, she added *senescalissa Campanie*, no doubt to preserve her husband's newly won hereditary right to that office.¹²⁴ After Jean succeeded to both Joinville and the seneschalcy, Beatrice left Joinville and thereafter adopted variously the name of her dower castle (Vaucouleurs) or her inheritance (Marnay).¹²⁵ Felicity of Beaufort, too, took the name of her inherited castle after being widowed by Hugh II, count of Rethel, but also continued to sport her husband's title, as in "I, lady of Beaufort, called [dowager] countess of Rethel."¹²⁶

In a few, perhaps exceptional, cases women did *not* take the names of their husbands' lordships. Simon of Joinville's eldest daughter Elizabeth, the second wife of Simon IV of Clefmont, was known while married as lady of Colomb  -la-Fosse (her dowry) and lady of Is-en-Bassigny (her dower). After her husband's death and the sale of her dowry, she took her father's prestigious name: "I, Elizabeth of Joinville, widow of Simon, former lord of Clefmont."¹²⁷ For her, as for her half brother Geoffroy of Vaucouleurs and her nephews in the Sailly line, the cachet of the Joinville name was too precious to relinquish. Elizabeth, heiress of Saint-Pol, offers a different example, of a widow who adopted her husband's name *after* his death, despite her own far more distinguished lineage. It was a perilous time for the Ch  tillon in 1227, seven years after the death of her husband, Gaucher III of Ch  tillon. Elizabeth's eldest son, Guy IV, and his wife had just died, leaving two infants, and her younger son Hugh, recently widowed after a childless marriage, had just remarried.¹²⁸ "Elizabeth of Ch  tillon, countess of Saint-Pol," as she identified herself, projected a forceful image of guardian matriarch of the powerful house of Ch  tillon and heiress of the ancient county of Saint-Pol.¹²⁹

HEREDITARY SURNAMES

The Ch  tillon and Garlande were among the few families to carry hereditary surnames before the late thirteenth century.¹³⁰ What made them unusual is that they retained those family names long after acquiring dis-

tant lordships and offices that propelled them to the highest reaches of the northern French baronage. Joinville, too, became an illustrious family name, but rather from the prominence of the office of seneschal than from any material success in the accumulation of castle lordships. So prestigious was the Joinville name that younger sons and their descendants clung to it despite having neither property nor rights at Joinville itself. The seneschal Simon's brother Guy, who established a lordship at Sailly within the Joinville lands, usually identified himself as "lord of Sailly," but on a few occasions he also took his father's name together with the toponym of his own castle, as in "I, Guy of Joinville, lord of Sailly."¹³¹ Guy's two sons by his first wife adopted Joinville as a hereditary name: the eldest called himself "Robert of Joinville, lord of Sailly," while his brother became "Simon of Joinville, lord of Donjeux."¹³² Their sons, Guy II of Sailly and Guy I of Donjeux respectively, continued to carry the Joinville name into the fourteenth century with some justification, since Sailly was located on the ancestral Joinville lands. But Guy of Sailly's son by his second wife, Petronilla of Chappes, also used the Joinville name, despite inheriting his mother's lands at Jully-sur-Sarce and lacking any direct tie to Joinville. When his own son Jean appeared with the great barons of the county in 1314 to protest royal taxation, he identified himself as "Jean of Joinville, lord of Jully."¹³³ By that time, the Joinville name had functioned as a hereditary surname for more than a century.

Family names like Châtillon, Garlande, and Joinville were exceptional in Champagne before the mid-thirteenth century, when the high barons began to adopt two second names, an inherited family name and a lordly toponym, a practice that became generalized in the next century even beyond Champagne.¹³⁴ Those who sported two second names when sealing the petition of 1314 protesting royal exactions included: William of Dampierre (lord of Saint-Just), Jean of Garlande (lord of Possesse), Jean of Joinville (lord of Jully), Henry of Traînel (lord of Villeneuve-aux-Riches-Hommes), Hugh of Conflans (lord of Saint-Chéron), and Hugh of Chappes (lord of Dienville).¹³⁵ For these barons, it was important for the king to know their distinguished ancestry as well as their lordly titles.

Two factors account for the fluidity of second names in Champagne: partible inheritance, which resulted in the redistribution of family properties each generation, and the preference to be identified by the site of one's most important lordship or residence. Younger sons, and even eldest sons who did not inherit their father's lands, generally preferred to take the name of their *lieu de pouvoir* no matter how they acquired it, whether from their mothers, wives, or from newly segment lordships. Women likewise adopted the most appropriate or advantageous title that circumstances allowed. It is not the lack of a hereditary family name that requires explanation but rather the early adoption of hereditary names within a few lines

like the Châtillon and Garlande, who could easily have shed their modest names of origin for the toponyms of the prestigious lordships they accumulated. Before the middle decades of the thirteenth century, in fact, few members of the aristocracy carried second names divorced from the locus of their lordships. Erard of Ramerupt had to abandon the pretense of being a Brienne, just as Jacques of Durnay eventually gave up Chacenay, for neither Erard nor Jacques retained any organic tie to those places. It is noteworthy that both men attempted to reconstruct fragmented lordships (Ramerupt, Bar-sur-Seine) commensurate with their aspirations. Likewise, men who married heiresses or relocated to new lordships saw their sons trade their paternal names for maternal ones. One reason for the prominent old families to adopt two second names, a fixed family name and a more variable lordly toponym, was to distinguish themselves from the lesser aristocratic families, whose second names taken from the toponyms of their modest residences were virtually indistinguishable from the names derived from the old castle lordships. In an age when nobleness had been redefined to include every fiefholder, a distinguished ancestral name served as an exclusive marker, adding luster to one's lordly toponym.

Partible inheritance ranks with the dower and community property as a deep-rooted characteristic of aristocratic families in Champagne. Although specific partible distributions varied according to circumstance, and were modified by the castle policies of the counts, the principle itself of partibility was reaffirmed by the ordinances of 1212 and 1224 and by decisions of the High Court a half century later. The reallocation of familial possessions each generation accounts in great part for the inherent instability of family fortunes, dependent as they were on a number of time-specific contingencies: number of living children, longevity of the parents, individual proclivities (such as a monastic profession), and extraneous events (such as a crusade). Certainly not all inheritances were equal—no one doubted that the eldest should be privileged—but the normative principle of equity generally assured all children a share, and usually an equitable share, of their parents' material possessions. Even so, partibility did not necessarily cause the fragmentation of properties and a "crisis" of aristocratic fortunes in the thirteenth century. Partibility meant rather that the various assets amassed by couples during marriage—a husband's inheritance, a wife's dowry/inheritance, collateral inheritances, and new grants or purchases of fiefs and fief-rents—were regularly redistributed to their heirs. The flexibility in second names was one consequence of that generational redistribution of property.

Chapter 7

The Aristocratic Life Course

Medieval writers continued a long tradition of viewing the “ages of man” as a set of life stages from infancy to senescence.¹ The most commonly proposed schemes of four, six, or seven ages are notable in being based on the male life and in lacking identifiable class or social markers. Modern life course analysis, by contrast, emphasizes the actual age of critical life experiences or “turning points” (for example, a woman’s age at first marriage) and the duration of those experiences.² Such an age-based analysis, the touchstone of demographic analysis, severely tests the limits of the medieval sources. Even so, it is often possible to obtain reasonable estimates of both ages and the duration of certain life stages that, in aggregate, reveal basic patterns of the aristocratic life course. This chapter relies on a select prosopography of some of the best documented individuals in the county to draw out those patterns.

In very few cases is it possible to know the exact dates of the most basic life course markers—birth, marriage, and death. We know that Henry I was born in December 1127 at Vitry only because his father celebrated that event by franchising a couple there.³ And we know that Thibaut III married Blanche of Navarre on 1 July 1199 because he sealed a dower letter for her on that day.⁴ Precise dates like those, unfortunately, are not routinely available even for the comital family. It took a formal inquest in 1284 to confirm the birth date of Jeanne, heiress of Champagne, eleven years earlier, and while the witnesses all remembered the year and month of her birth, they did not agree as to the day.⁵ For the aristocratic families, where comparable information is even more problematic, other references must serve as proxies for the dates of key life course events. A testament or anniversary endowment often marks the approximate date of death. A marriage contract, dower letter, or a woman’s earliest appearance in her husband’s acts furnishes an approximate date for her marriage and the birth of her first child, as well as her own birth (assumed to be about fifteen years earlier). Property transactions, homages, and inquests provide approximate dates of male majority, knighthood, succession, widowhood, death, and by extension longevity. Imperfect as these indicators are, they can serve for the construction of schematic biographies that serve as the basis of the prosopographical analysis here.⁶

Beyond the dates themselves, the thorniest problem in analyzing the life course is the variability of life course markers. The age at first marriage, for example, varied widely for both women and men. While canon law allowed girls of twelve to marry, that was strictly a minimum age for a freely given consent to marriage; marriage itself could—and did—come later, and cohabitation often still later. A girl could do homage for her fief at eleven, the High Court stated in 1278; six years later an inquest found that women customarily did homage and received homages from their fiefholders on completing their eleventh year.⁷ But that custom applied only to girls whose fathers had died; girls with living fathers presumably took their inheritances in the form of dowries at marriage. For men, the association between the age of consent, homage, knighting, and marriage was far more tenuous. Canon law allowed a boy of fourteen to marry, but homage and succession in the absence of a father were allowed only from fifteen in Champagne, and often came much later. Knighting usually occurred at about twenty, and despite being conventionally linked to marriage and succession, it did not necessarily coincide with them, since men married at widely different ages and succession was entirely unpredictable, depending as it did on family circumstances. What emerges most forcefully from this life course analysis is the absence of any set model of the aristocratic life course. Individual decisions, family exigencies, and external contingencies all contributed to the diverse life courses of the baronial and knightly elite.

The Life Course of Women

It is difficult to determine when most well-born girls left the parental household. A few marriage contracts of girls betrothed at very young ages required them to be raised in the households of their prospective husbands in anticipation of marriage.⁸ Alix of Grandpré was about two when placed in the Joinville household, where she spent ten years before marrying fifteen-year-old Jean of Joinville in 1240. Jeanne of Champagne was the same age when betrothed to one of Philip III's sons and deposited at the royal court until, nine years later, she married the future Philip IV, then fifteen.⁹ Both couples were raised virtually as brother and sister, both appeared to have delayed cohabitation after marriage until the wives reached their late teens, and both had very close marriages. Jean of Joinville remembered Alix after their twenty-seven-year marriage as "my dear companion Alix" and endowed eternally burning candles next to her tomb.¹⁰ Philip IV, similarly affected by Jeanne's death after twenty-one years of marriage, commemorated her in numerous benefactions.¹¹

The surrender of young girls in anticipation of marriage was known to carry risk. Alix of Grandpré's mother tried to protect her by inserting a clause in the marriage contract requiring Alix's return to her or her brother if the marriage did not occur. Thibaut IV refused to hand over his

two-year-old daughter Blanche until her prospective husband, the son of Odo II of Burgundy, turned fourteen and was capable of giving a canonically valid consent to marriage; at that time, said the count, he would deliver his daughter. The count's caution was justified, for the young man later refused his consent.¹² Thibaut had contracted to deliver his daughter for a certain marriage, not a possible one, and so young Blanche remained at home until, at twelve, she married Jean, the future count of Brittany (1239–1305).¹³ Even then, Thibaut took the precaution of depositing with the monks at Preuilly the two key documents pertaining to Blanche's marriage: the papal bull of dispensation for consanguinity, and the dower letter sealed by the groom's father.¹⁴ Margaret of Dampierre, too, refused to hand over her daughter for marriage until a dower had been assigned, in effect, until her daughter had been made a legitimate wife by dower.¹⁵ The absence of clauses in marriage contracts specifying the early delivery of betrothed girls suggests that most well-born girls remained with their natal families until marriage or entry into a convent. That is why so many daughters appear with their parents in the records of property transactions, first as silent witnesses, then as formal consenters to the acts of their parents.

FIRST MARRIAGE

It is not known how many girls entered convents or at what ages, although it appears that they generally did so in their teens, at about the age of marriage.¹⁶ For girls to be married, marriage contracts often tied the date of marriage to their nubility, without however explaining whether nubility was defined as a physical state or as the age of a canonically valid marriage.¹⁷ Gislebert of Mons reports that the proposed marriage between Henry I's daughter Marie and the young Baldwin of Hainaut would occur when both reached "a marriageable age" (*ad annos nubile*), without further explanation.¹⁸ Other contracts speak of *etas* in the sense of either physical state or chronological age.¹⁹ Jeanne of Champagne's marriage contract with the future Philip IV uses *etas* in both senses: the couple will give their consent "when they reach the minimum age (*in etate sufficienti*) for contracting a betrothal" and will marry "when Jeanne attains a marriageable state (*ad nubilem etatem*)."²⁰ Whether Jeanne was nubile when she married nine years later, in the middle of her eleventh year, is uncertain, for she had her first child five years later at sixteen. Ultimately, the date of her marriage had less to do with her physical state than with Philip III's need for his son's marriage as soon as possible.

Of the seven countesses of Champagne who married between 1164 and 1270, one married at thirteen, two at fifteen or sixteen, two at eighteen or nineteen, and two at twenty, for a median age of about eighteen at first marriage.²¹ The best documented cases of aristocratic women yield a similar pattern: a few married as early as twelve, but most married in their mid-

teens.²² Marie of Montmirail, Emeline of Broyes, Jeanne of Dampierre, and Alix of Grandpré were married by fourteen or fifteen. Simon of Joinville's eldest daughter Elizabeth married in her late teens, while Agnes of Choiseul and Agnes of Bar-le-Duc married in their early twenties.²³ Even desirable heiresses were not necessarily married off at the minimum age. Petronilla of Bar-sur-Seine was eighteen when her guardian uncle married her to Hugh of Le Puiset and surrendered custody of her inheritance. Agathe of Pierrefonds, heiress after her brother's death, married Conon, count of Soissons, at about nineteen while still under her mother's custody. That was the same age that Marie of France married Henry the Liberal, after spending ten years in the Benedictine convent of Avenay being educated and acculturated under the tutelage of a *magistra*, Alix of Mareuil.²⁴ Henry, at thirty-seven, had waited more than twelve years after betrothing Marie. These examples suggest that it was not the minimum canonical age of marriage that determined when a well-born woman first married but rather her family's sense of her readiness for marriage and the availability of a suitable husband.

Indirect evidence suggests that the girls who married at a very young age often delayed cohabitation after marriage.²⁵ The butler Anselm II of Traînel apparently left his bride in her father's custody out of respect for her tender age, a deferral that cost him both his wife and her dowry. Alix of Grandpré, who was betrothed as an infant and spent ten years in the Joinville household before marrying Jean of Joinville at about twelve, apparently did not begin to cohabit with him until she was seventeen, after five years of marriage; that was the year that Jean turned twenty-one and was knighted, and his widowed mother Beatrice left Joinville castle. Alix had her first child two years later at about nineteen and her second at twenty.²⁶ Even Countess Jeanne seems to have delayed cohabiting with Philip IV after their marriage in 1284; she had resided at the royal court since infancy, married at eleven, but had her first child at sixteen.

If women generally married in their teens, did they marry substantially older men, as is often claimed? Clearly there are cases of considerable age differences between spouses. Of the seven countesses, two were much younger than their husbands: Marie was eighteen years younger than Henry I (nineteen versus thirty-seven), and Margaret of Bourbon, Thibaut IV's third wife, was about fifteen years younger (fifteen versus thirty-one). Of the fourteen couples whose ages at first marriage can be reasonably estimated, half had an age difference of ten or more years.²⁷ In many of those cases a widowed or divorced man took a much younger second wife. Elizabeth of Joinville was in her late teens when she married Simon IV of Clefmont, a widower more than twice her age. Jeanne of Dampierre was thirteen or fourteen when she married Hugh III of Rethel, who was in his mid-forties and just divorced from his childless wife of eighteen years. Elizabeth of Dreux was about twenty when she became the second wife of Hugh

III of Broys, then in his late fifties; she qualified doubly as a trophy wife: by age and lineage (as the granddaughter of Louis VI). Yet not all remarrying men chose significantly younger wives; many widowers in fact married widows close to their own ages and with children (see below).

In a number of well-documented marriages, women were only a few years younger than their husbands, an age difference so small as to be negligible. Five of the seven countesses fall into this group: the two Blanches (of Navarre and of Artois) were about the same age as their husbands (Thibaut III, Henry III); the first two wives of Thibaut IV (Gertrude of Dagsburg and Agnes of Beaujeu) were respectively four and two years younger; and Isabelle of France was seven years younger than Thibaut V.²⁸ In half the aristocratic marriages analyzed here, the wife was no more than six years younger than her husband: for Alix of Grandpré and Clemence of Faucogney it was two years, for Helvide of Dampierre three or four years, and for Alix of Aigremont and Agnes of Brienne five or six years. Agnes of Bar-le-Duc, on the other hand, was about three years older than her husband.²⁹ Overall, women's ages at first marriage tended to cluster in the mid-teens, whether they married men who were slightly (one to six years) or substantially (ten or more years) older.

DURATION OF MARRIAGE

Women's marriages generally lasted for twenty or more years, about the same as the first marriages of contemporary Anglo-Norman countesses, which lasted seventeen years on average.³⁰ Of course, individual experiences varied enormously. Certainly Alix, heiress of Aigremont, was exceptional in being married for fifty-seven years. She died in her seventies still married to Jean of Choiseul, whom she had married in her mid-teens when he was about twenty and still under his mother's wardship. More typical were marriages of twenty to twenty-five years ending in widowhood, like those of Ida of Choiseul, Alix of Dreux, Agathe of Pierrefonds and Elizabeth of Nogent-sur-Seine. Agathe and Elizabeth are particularly interesting in being castle heiresses from their mid-teens but with quite dissimilar experiences. Agathe succeeded her childless brother, married in her late teens, and was widowed without children eighteen years later. Elizabeth, an only child who was married from an early age, succeeded her father in her mid-teens, had three sons in a twenty-five-year marriage, and outlived all three. Since neither Agathe nor Elizabeth was survived by a direct heir, their lineages disappeared: Agathe's lordship passed collaterally to her cousin Gaucher III of Châtillon, while Elizabeth sold her inheritance to Thibaut III. To those examples of long first marriages must be added a few instances of brief first marriages followed by long second marriages. Agnes of Baudement, widowed after being married only two years, had a second marriage with Robert I of Dreux lasting thirty-six years in which she added

at least eight children to the one child from her first marriage. Emeline of Broyes, a war widow, had a child from her brief first marriage, then added five more children during a twenty-one-year second marriage with Erard II of Chacenay. Marriages lasting two decades or more tended to be the norm.

One surprising finding here is the number of lengthy marriages that failed to produce children, at least surviving children. Agathe of Pierrefonds' eighteen-year childless marriage was not unique. Neither Clemence of Faucogney (married for twenty-seven years) nor Agnes of Bar-le-Duc (married for nine years) produced an heir, but neither was divorced for that reason. In fact, Isabelle of France, who married at thirteen, had a very close though barren thirteen-year marriage with Thibaut V. Despite the notorious cases of divorced and repudiated wives of kings and princes, few aristocratic women in Champagne, whether barren or not, saw their first marriages end in divorce. Even in the eleventh century, men did not necessarily divorce barren wives, if the knight Nocher is indicative. After Nocher made the monks of Montier-en-Der his heirs because "my wife seems not able to have children," he granted her lifetime use of half of his property (her dower) if she outlived him and stated that they wished be buried together.³¹ Only one of the women surveyed here, Elizabeth of Braine, was divorced ostensibly for failing to produce an heir, but even that followed an eighteen-year marriage.³²

Most women, as might be expected, outlived their first husbands. Of thirty-three well-documented first marriages here, women were widowed in twenty-one instances (64 percent).³³ Some deaths were war-related, with fatalities on the Third and Fourth Crusades especially heavy. If the lament of Guiot of Provins is an accurate reflection of the time, an entire generation was marked by the rapid ascension of young, untested heirs after those crusades.³⁴ Guiot did not mention the war widows whose lives were profoundly altered by those losses, nor has any modern study explored the impact of crusade deaths on the wives and families left behind. Helvide of Dampierre, for example, lost her husband, the seneschal Geoffroy IV of Joinville, on the Third Crusade and her two oldest sons on the Fourth Crusade.³⁵ Emeline of Broyes was widowed in her early twenties with an infant daughter by the death of Odo II of Champlitte, a distinguished commander on the Fourth Crusade. Helisent of Joigny lost her first husband on the Third Crusade and thirty years later both her second husband and his only son within weeks of each other on the Fifth Crusade. Except for those well-known cases of crusade deaths, however, the cause of a husband's death is rarely stated in the records available to us.

Of the women surveyed here, about one in five predeceased her first husband.³⁶ Among the most prominent was Petronilla, heiress of Bar-sur-Seine, who died in her mid-twenties after a seven-year marriage but who left an heir to preserve her lineage. Alix of Grandpré died at thirty-four, leaving

her husband of twenty-one years, Jean of Joinville, with six children. Clemence of Faucogney, on the other hand, left her husband of twenty-five years without an heir; her castle lordship consequently passed to her sister.³⁷ There are even fewer examples of women who ended their marriages by taking the veil. Bencelina, wife of Gueric of Pont-sur-Seine, was one who did, at the Paraclete, with her husband's consent.³⁸ Usually it was the husband who took the habit while married (see below).

If there is a dominant pattern that emerges from the disparate references to women's first marriages, it is that the well-born married in their mid-teens to slightly older men of the same social background. Marriages generally lasted about two decades and ended with the husband's death. Very few women were divorced or abandoned by their husbands for a monastic life, and relatively few predeceased their husbands. Most women who married could expect to be widowed in their late thirties with children ready, or almost ready, to inherit. At that point, as widows, they had to make a decision about a second career.

A SECOND CAREER

Since women in Champagne freely remarried without familial or lordly consent, a widow in her late thirties or early forties faced a highly personal mid-life decision regarding her "second career": whether to remain a widow on her dower lands, retreat to a convent, or remarry.³⁹ Remarriage brought the comfort of a spouse but often with it the loss of sole control over her inheritance and dower lands; it also created potential difficulties for her children about to inherit. A widow, on the other hand, assumed the lordship of her inherited properties, acquired life use of her residence and dower lands, and exercised custody of her children's inheritances through their minorities. Given those substantial rights and material resources, most aristocratic widows were not constrained to remarry. Elizabeth of Dreux and Marie of Montmirail are examples of the most privileged widows who easily could have remarried, but did not. Widowed in their late thirties after long marriages to considerably older, previously married men, they lived for another three decades. Elizabeth of Dreux's years as widow (1200–1229) are marked by the sale of her inherited castle of Baudement to Countess Blanche, the support of her daughter in a troubled marriage, and a generous endowment to Clairvaux for the annual feeding and clothing of eighty paupers. Marie of Montmirail is notable in that, after twenty-three years of marriage and two decades as a widow (1242–72), she outlived all her childless siblings and thus inherited, at fifty-eight, the entire paternal and maternal inheritance. Jean of Joinville's half sister Elizabeth was another well-connected widow who chose not to remarry after losing her husband in her mid-twenties. Unlike Elizabeth of Dreux and Marie of Montmirail, who were widowed with grown children, Elizabeth of Joinville exer-

cised custody over her eldest son for at least a decade. But she, too, could easily have remarried in her late thirties when her son came of age; instead, she chose to retire to her substantial dower lands for the last twenty years of her life. For these women, their second careers as widows varied as much as their first careers as wives.

Monastic Profession

It is impossible to determine how many widows took the veil, and whether they did so soon after being widowed, after their children inherited, or only in their last years.⁴⁰ Convents elsewhere in France included substantial numbers of formerly married women, perhaps 30 percent in some communities.⁴¹ Whether such a percentage obtained in Champagne, a region heavily imprinted by monasticism from the early decades of the twelfth century, is not clear. Helisent, widow of Anselm I of Traînel (d. 1151), is one example of a widow who took the veil right after her husband's death to become prioress of Foissy, a local Fontevrist priory.⁴² Her sons Anselm II, who had just returned from the Second Crusade, and Garnier were in their early twenties and thus succeeded immediately as lords of Traînel. Havide of Choiseul, on the other hand, whose son also succeeded immediately, waited twenty years before entering entered Bel-fays *ad succurrendum*, just before her death.⁴³

Widows with underaged children naturally postponed entry into religion until their sons came of age. Countess Marie served as regent for six years before Henry II succeeded and she took the veil, while Countess Blanche, despite her spiritual proclivities, served a twenty-one-year regency for Thibaut IV before retiring to the Cistercian convent she founded at Argensolles.⁴⁴ Both countesses were later recalled from the cloister by duty. Marie had retired in her early forties (1187) to Fontaines-les-Nonnes, a Fontevrist priory near Meaux, where she took vows as a nun, not expecting to return to a secular life. But three years later, while Henry II prepared for the Third Crusade, Marie returned to Troyes to serve as regent in his absence; she died eight years later while exercising the regency for her younger son, the future Thibaut III. The nuns of Fontaines commemorated her as a "most revered nun, most noble countess of Champagne."⁴⁵ Blanche, for her part, left Argensolles briefly in the summer of 1226, during Thibaut IV's absence with the king in southern France, then withdrew entirely from public life.⁴⁶

Elizabeth of Nogent-sur-Seine had a similar experience, retreating to the nearby convent of the Paraclete on the death of her husband, only to leave fifteen years later after the deaths of her sons. Elizabeth must have known the abbess Heloise (1130–64) as a child before her marriage (ca. 1147), since her father, Milo I, had been a generous benefactor to the nuns. Later, in recognition of the family's support, the nuns placed tombs in the convent's chapter house for Elizabeth's father, her husband Gérard, and her

sons Milo II and Jean. Elizabeth received a separate tomb inscribed “Elizabeth, dedicated to God, lady of Nogent,” an inscription that suggests a long and close relationship with the nuns, probably from 1171, when in her late thirties she took the veil as a widow. The deaths of her two youngest sons fifteen years later (1186) and the absence of a close heir may have prompted her to leave the convent and resume the lordship of her father’s castle and knights. She apparently remained at Nogent until 1199, when she sold the entire castle lordship to Thibaut III and returned to the Paraclete. Life’s contingencies followed Elizabeth, Marie, and Blanche into the convent, complicating their second careers as nuns. The second careers of remarrying women were equally unpredictable.

Remarriage

If a few widows took the veil immediately, and others chose not to remarry, many (perhaps 56 percent) ultimately remarried.⁴⁷ Certainly Guichard of Beaujeu assumed that his wife would remarry. His testament providing inheritances for his seven children also granted his wife Sybil a lifetime dower, even “if she wishes to remarry.”⁴⁸ And in Champagne, as in England, widows often married widowers.⁴⁹ Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine is a good example. She and Anselm II of Trainel, the butler, were married for twenty-five years. Four years after his death, she married Thibaut of Briey, the younger brother of the count of Bar-le-Duc (1189). She was in her forties, had grown children, and was about fifteen years older than Thibaut, a widower of twenty-nine with an infant daughter. Soon after beginning their second family, Thibaut succeeded his unmarried brother as count and Hermesend became countess of Bar-le-Duc. But six years later Thibaut divorced Hermesend, then in her early fifties. Leaving her three young children at Bar-le-Duc, Hermesend returned to the dower lands of her first husband, where she spent the last fifteen years of her life near her eldest son and his young family. Emeline of Broyes, another widow who chose a younger second husband, had a markedly different experience. She was in her-mid twenties when her husband perished on the Fourth Crusade, leaving her with an infant daughter. She remarried almost immediately. Her new husband, Erard II of Chacenay, was about twenty-one, four years younger than Emeline and not previously married. Their marriage, though later troubled, lasted twenty-one years. Despite their quite divergent life courses, Hermesend and Emeline shared several fundamental experiences common to remarried widows: a long and a short marriage lasting together thirty or more years; five and six children in two marriages; and a life span of more than sixty years. Each survived her first husband, had a brief widowhood between marriages, and outlived her second husband by thirteen to fifteen years.⁵⁰

Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine was not alone in choosing a widower as her

second husband. Alix of Dreux, about thirty-five when widowed after a twenty-three-year marriage, married Renard II of Choiseul, a widower of forty-three whose wife of twenty-seven years had just died. Neither Alix nor Renard had children from their lengthy first marriages, but in their second marriage together, lasting twenty years, they had five children.⁵¹ The second marriages of Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine, Emeline of Broyes, and Alix of Dreux added considerably to the total number of children they bore over the life course. That was a typical experience: Agnes of Baudement, for example, had one child in her first marriage and eight in her second; Mathilda of Bourbon had one and seven; and Beatrice of Auxonne had two and six. Women remarrying after divorce had similar experiences. Mathilda of Bourbon, for instance, had only a daughter by her first marriage but several sons by her second marriage to Guy II of Dampierre, constable of Champagne. Beatrice of Auxonne, divorced with two daughters by Haimon of Faucogney, soon became the second wife of the seneschal Simon of Joinville and had six more children, including Jean, the future biographer of Louis IX. A notable exception to these examples was Gertrude of Dagsburg, a great heiress with a substantial dower, who despite three marriages died childless at twenty-one.⁵² Most ever-married women not only remarried, they were far more prolific than reflected by a simple count of children per marriage.⁵³

The role of remarriage in medieval society has been largely ignored by modern historians, perhaps because it lacks the drama of high profile divorces. Yet remarriage involved most ever-married women and had significant consequences extending far beyond the couple and their children to the next generation of half siblings and cousins. Some of those remarriages resulted in “blended” families, in which the children of prior marriages were raised in the household of their remarried parents. Emeline of Broyes kept her infant daughter by Odo II of Champlitte with her after remarrying and having five more children with Erard II of Chacenay. Her first daughter Oda apparently was still in the household and unmarried twenty years later when her stepfather sold off her promised dowry. Agnes of Commercy brought her two young sons by Bartholomew of Cirey to her new husband, the widowed Arnold of Reynel, who had six of his own children. They had two more children, making for a total of ten in their new family, of whom four belonged to Agnes.⁵⁴ When someone like Daniel of Maquelain did homage for his wife’s dower from her first marriage and assumed the guardianship of her children, we can conclude that the children of the couple’s previous marriages lived together in the new household.⁵⁵

In many other cases, however, the young children of first marriages were transferred from the parental household so that the new couple could create a new family. Within a year of her husband Milo’s death, Agnes of Baudement left her infant daughter Petronilla with Milo’s brother, the

canon Manasses, who acted as her guardian so that Agnes and her new husband, Robert I of Dreux, could begin a new family. In this, Agnes resembled Eleanor of Aquitaine, who after her divorce abandoned her two young daughters in Paris, quickly remarried, and had a very large second family with Henry II Plantagenet in England. Although the two sets of children usually grew up in separate households, their mothers often served as matriarchal linchpins of the two families, having produced the heirs of two distinct lineages. Agnes of Baudement preserved the Bar-sur-Seine line through her daughter Petronilla, and Dreux through her son Robert II. Helisent of Joigny produced eldest sons for the Arcis-sur-Aube and Bar-sur-Seine lineages. Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine's eldest sons continued the Traînel and Bar-le-Duc lines, while Felicity of Brienne's sons did the same for the Broyes-Beaufort and Joinville.⁵⁶ The children of those marriages regarded themselves as siblings. Geoffroy IV of Joinville, the seneschal, in his own letters referred to himself as "[half] brother of Hugh (III), lord of Broyes," and Simon of Châteauvillain resisted Thibaut III's entreaties to do liege homage because he preferred to hold his castle directly from his (half) brother.⁵⁷

This brief review of women's second careers, whether prompted by a husband's death, monastic profession, or divorce, reveals as much variance as in their first marriages. Few widows appear to have taken the veil immediately. Most either remained widows for the rest of their lives or soon remarried and began entirely new, often larger, families. In either case, the choice was essentially theirs to make.

LONGEVITY

The twenty-seven well-born women surveyed here enjoyed a remarkable longevity: twenty-one (78 percent) attained at least fifty years of age, and almost half of them passed sixty.⁵⁸ They outlived by far the seven countesses, who died at about forty on average (only three countesses reached fifty).⁵⁹ Among the long-lived were Alix of Aigremont, who died at about seventy-two while still married to Jean of Choiseul, and Agnes of Brienne, who was about the same age at her death, after thirty-two years as a widow. Agnes of Baudement, whose first brief marriage was followed by a thirty-six-year second marriage to Robert I of Dreux, died at about seventy, while her granddaughter, Alix of Dreux, died at about seventy-four after two long marriages. Several of the longest-lived women survived their eldest sons as well as their husbands: Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine and Emeline of Broyes lost their eldest sons in their sixties, while Marie of Montmirail was only about forty-five at the death of her eldest son, Raoul of Coucy. Emeline and Marie had younger sons and Hermesend had a grandson ready to succeed, whereas Elizabeth of Nogent-sur-Seine faced the extinction of her lineage after losing her last two sons in her fifties. A scribe captured her grief in

1186, when in an emotional appearance at the court of Countess Marie, Elizabeth made a substantial offering to the Paraclete “for the remission of her sins and for those of her father, her mother, her husband Gérard, and her sons Milo and Jean.”⁶⁰

LIFE COURSE PATTERNS

The evidence from Champagne, fragmentary and limited as it is, suggests that aristocratic women ordinarily married in their mid-teens, either to slightly older men or to considerably older, previously married men. They had several children during first marriages lasting about twenty years and, barring an early death or divorce, faced the prospect of a “second career” in their thirties. At that point, their life courses diverged dramatically. The two wives of Simon IV of Clefmont illustrate how profoundly they could differ. Hermesend of Vendevre and Elizabeth of Joinville both married in their mid-teens. Hermesend, slightly younger than Simon, had five children in their twenty-six-year marriage (ca. 1200–1226) and died at about forty.⁶¹ She rarely appeared with Simon in his acts and seems not to have exercised lordship over her inheritance, one-eighth of the castle and castellany of Vendevre, which passed to her second son. Three years after her death, Simon, in his mid-forties, took as his second wife Elizabeth of Joinville, the teenage daughter of the seneschal Simon of Joinville. They had four children in a nine-year marriage (1229–38) that ended with Simon’s death. Widowed in her late twenties, Elizabeth did not remarry. Instead, she enjoyed a second career as lordly widow and guardian for her son Jean. She retained her dowry, her dower castle at Is-en-Bassigny, and half of her mother’s castle of Montclair, inherited from her brother. As the sister of the seneschal Jean of Joinville, she ranked among the most prominent personages of her time. In letters patent sealed with her own seal, she adopted the toponyms of her various lands and acted in her full capacity as castle lord for three decades (1238–68/70), three times longer than her marriage had lasted.

Mothers and daughters, too, could have fundamentally different life courses despite nominal similarities. Helvide of Dampierre (ca. 1172–ca. 1225) and her daughter Marie of Montmirail (ca. 1205–72), for example, both were third daughters who were married in their mid-teens to distinguished castle lords (Montmirail, Coucy). Both had lengthy marriages (twenty-five and twenty-three years), several children (six and five), and were widowed at about thirty-seven. But their marriages were quite different. Helvide, who was no more than five or six years younger than her husband Jean of Montmirail, shared his lordship during marriage (1185–1210), jointly sealing letters with him for a decade before he abandoned her for the cloister. She continued to exercise lordship over his lands, over her own dowry, and over her dower lands until their eldest sur-

living son succeeded. Her second career as lordly widow was simply an extension of her first career as lordly wife. As her children came of age, she gave up the various Montmirail properties and withdrew to her dower castle at Montmirail, which she held for more than a decade (1212-ca. 1225), exercising lordship just as she had shared it with Jean I during their marriage. In fact, Helvide had exercised lordship during her entire adult life. Her daughter Marie, by contrast, did not. As the third wife of the considerably older Enguerran III of Coucy, she did not share lordship with him during their twenty-three-year marriage (1219–42), nor did she assume the lordship of his lands after his death, since her two sons inherited immediately. Marie's thirty-year widowhood (1242–72), twice as long as her mother's, would have proved entirely uneventful had she not outlived all five of her siblings, none of whom left heirs. As it turned out Marie, at fifty-eight, became sole heiress of the entire collection of her parents' castle lordships and titles. Whereas her mother Helvide had overseen the division of the Montmirail properties among her children, Marie, the youngest of six children, purely by chance reconstituted her father's entire collection of properties. There was one further difference. Helvide, having been much aggrieved by Jean I's taking the religious habit and leaving her with underaged children, chose to be buried at Vaucelles in Picardy. Marie, who had a strong tie to her father, commissioned a great tomb for him and obtained permission from the monks of Longpont to be buried next to him; the tomb was inscribed: "daughter of a most worthy knight and most devoted monk Jean, former lord of Montmirail, and mother of Enguerran [IV] of Coucy."

The Life Course of Men

There is no evidence in Champagne for the practices described by Orderic Vitalis in the Anglo-Norman realm, where well-born boys were placed at the royal court or at court-like households of powerful barons and relatives for socialization with their peers.⁶² The counts of Champagne are not known to have gathered the sons of their barons for training and acculturation in their palaces in Troyes or Provins, nor did the barons maintain households of young relatives or the sons of their knights for that purpose. Within the comital family, only one son—William, the future archbishop of Reims (1176–1202)—is known to have entered the church from an early age, perhaps at ten or eleven.⁶³ All the other sons grew up in the parental household. Henry I had a private tutor from the age of seven and often accompanied his father in his travels and at court, learning the business of governance. Henry II and Thibaut III seem not to have left home before succession. Countess Blanche kept Thibaut IV close to her, as much for his personal safety as for his training in rulership, except for the four years between ten and fourteen that he spent virtually as a hostage at the royal

court in Paris. There he became intimate with the royal family, especially with young Louis (VIII) and Blanche of Castile, who were about the same age. Later, Louis may have arranged Thibaut's marriage with Agnes of Beaujeu (1223) while Blanche, as regent queen, provided Thibaut IV crucial military aid against the northern French barons (1229). Thibaut V also spent time as a teenager at the royal court, where he became enamored of Louis IX's youngest daughter Isabelle, an experience that may account for his preference to reside in Paris rather than in his own cities of Troyes and Provins.

If young men of baronial and knightly families generally spent their early and teen years in the parental household, and thus were available to appear as consenters to the acts of their parents, there were exceptional cases in which they did reside in another household. Jean of Montmirail was sent to the royal court at thirteen or fourteen after the deaths of his parents and the remarriage of his stepmother, Alix of Courtenay. It was precisely her royal connection that made possible Jean's residence at court, as much for her convenience as for Jean's advantage. Had Jean's father lived, Jean might well have remained at home and succeeded to Montmirail in his late teens; as it was, Jean became one of Philip II's closest companions, to his considerable profit. Within Champagne there is only one known case of a baron's son being sent as a hostage to the court of Champagne: at the conclusion of the civil war in June 1218, Blanche demanded that her disloyal seneschal, Simon of Joinville, surrender his castle and deliver his only son, nine-year-old Geoffroy, to her court as warranty for his good conduct.⁶⁴ Only after Simon returned from his overseas pilgrimage was the boy released. But that was primarily a demonstration of Blanche's will to discipline the baronage. Growing up at the court of one's lord or relative seems not to have been a general practice for well-born young men in Champagne.

THE AGE OF MAJORITY

Only two ages in a man's life course were fixed: the minimum age for a canonically valid marriage (fourteen) and the age at which he could leave his mother's custody to inherit his father's property (fifteen).⁶⁵ Knighting, marriage, succession, and the acquisition of a seal seldom coincided, despite being conventionally associated in marking a young man's coming of age. In fact, marriage and succession often were not so much discrete events as extended processes. A boy like the future seneschal Jean of Joinville, who was betrothed at a very tender age, might grant his provisional consent to marriage at seven, marry at fourteen, and cohabit only at twenty or twenty-one (see below). Or, like Henry I, he might initially receive part of his inheritance while his parents lived, then his father's chief properties after his father's death, and marry only years later. Or, like Thibaut IV, he

could be knighted and married and possess a seal in his late teens, while still officially under his mother's wardship, before succeeding at twenty-one. Ultimately, it was circumstance rather than age that determined the timing of each event and thus the pattern of a man's life course.

Knighthood

The depiction of the medieval *juventus* ("youth") as an aristocratic stage of life between knighting and marriage has enjoyed wide currency, perhaps because it cleverly projects a late twentieth-century stage of life, of university students who have left home but not yet married, into the twelfth century.⁶⁶ In their "youth," it is claimed, young men of knightly and baronial families lived a life of errancy, traveling in packs through the countryside while frequenting tournaments and seeking eligible heiresses because they were compelled to do so by a system of inheritance that excluded all but eldest sons (who also joined these bands of "youth" until they married and succeeded their fathers). Dispossessed youthful aristocrats supposedly engendered violence and instability in the countryside until the thirteenth century, when they were allowed to inherit and marry. The argument for such a class-specific life stage assumes a system of unilinear inheritance in the twelfth century, with a change in inheritance practices in the late twelfth century. Neither proposition holds for Champagne or for northern and eastern France, where inheritance was partible and younger sons inherited long before the late twelfth century. An examination of selected lives casts further doubt about the nature of "youth" defined in terms of an aristocratic experience.⁶⁷

Of the six counts who ruled between 1152 and 1273, only Henry I could be said to have experienced a "youth" in the sense of a prolonged bachelorhood. Prepared by his father to rule since seven, and guided to increasing responsibilities through his teens and early twenties, Henry had a seal by eighteen and was knighted and a crusader by twenty. At twenty-two (1149) he succeeded to two of his father's counties, and at twenty-five (1152) to all of his father's eastern lands. As a sponsor and frequenter of tournaments, Henry qualified as a bachelor prince between his twenty-fifth and thirty-seventh year, the twelve years he ruled before marrying Marie of France. Clearly not a knight errant seeking an heiress, Henry already had betrothed Marie in his early twenties shortly before assuming the lordship of two small counties. He spent his twenties and thirties constructing a new principality from his father's disparate lands, building new palaces and chapters of canons, encouraging the economic development of his towns, and sharing an intellectual life with the region's most accomplished prelates. By all accounts Henry was a sober, responsible bachelor prince, quite unlike the supposedly carefree, errant "youth."

Henry's successors had much different "youthful" experiences. Henry

II, only fifteen when his father died, spent six years under his mother's tutelage before succeeding at twenty-one, still unmarried, and ruled only three years as a bachelor (but betrothed) prince before leaving the county on the Third Crusade. His brother Thibaut III spent most of his early years growing up under his mother Marie's tutelage in the absence of a father; he was knighted and did homage for his lands at nineteen, married at twenty, and devoted his three-year rule to governing the county and preparing for the Fourth Crusade. Thibaut IV, like his father, spent his entire minority under the watchful eye of his powerful mother and was still under her custody when he married at nineteen and divorced at twenty; he was knighted five days before succeeding at twenty-one, and remarried at twenty-two on his own account.⁶⁸ His eldest son Thibaut V also married at nineteen, while still under his mother's custody, and succeeded at twenty-one. Thibaut V's younger brother Henry III, not expecting to become count, did the same, marrying at nineteen and succeeding at twenty-one. Except for Henry I, all of the counts had married by the time they succeeded at twenty-one; none enjoyed an extended youthful errancy. The future Philip IV had an even shorter "youth," being knighted at sixteen, one day before marrying eleven-year-old Jeanne of Champagne, who had resided with him at the royal court since infancy.⁶⁹

For the sons of knights and barons, knighthood had long marked the age of majority for consenting to property transactions. Milo II, future count of Bar-sur-Seine, was only a boy (*puer*) when his father made a deathbed bequest, and thus did not consent to it at that time with his mother, two sisters, and older brother. Milo gave his consent later, after "having been made a knight and having succeeded to the county."⁷⁰ Thibaut IV used that same expression a century later: "having become a knight and having entered my majority," he said, he confirmed the unlicensed alienations made "while I was under the wardship of my dearest lady mother."⁷¹ Anselm of Venizy explained to the monks of Dilo that his brother had not consented to an alienation "because he was not at that time a knight," but would do so "when he becomes a knight."⁷² Jean II, castellan of Noyon and Thourotte, who assigned a dower "at the time of my adolescence," promised to confirm it by sealing a letter "with my own seal after I become a knight."⁷³ In a few cases, knighthood was linked to marriage rather than to consent, as when Gautier of Argentolle made a donation "when still a squire and not yet responsible for a wife," and Giles of Warnécourt was described as "not yet a knight and not yet with a wife."⁷⁴

The actual age of knighting, which rarely is mentioned, generally occurred between eighteen and twenty-one.⁷⁵ Renard III of Dampierre became a knight at twenty-one when he sealed his first act, confirming the benefactions of his father, long-absent overseas.⁷⁶ Erard II of Chacenay succeeded in his mid-teens, was knighted and acquired a seal at about twenty, and married the next year at twenty-one.⁷⁷ Jean of Joinville also was

knighthood at twenty but within a different sequence of events: succeeding provisionally at fourteen (when he first used a seal), he married at fifteen, inherited at nineteen, and was knighted at twenty just as he began to cohabit with his wife. That pattern of knighting before marriage—indeed, often as a prelude to marriage—continued within the most prominent families through the thirteenth century. Within knightly families, however, the link between knighthood and marriage attenuated in the thirteenth century as some sons, including eldest sons, postponed knighthood until long after marriage and succession. By 1250, about one-fifth (18.5 percent) of the count's direct fiefholders were unknighthed squires, many of whom remained unknighthed for their entire lives; they become in effect a subclass within knightly families.⁷⁸ By that time, knighthood had ceased being a life-stage marker for well-born young men except in the elite families, where it became an exclusive social marker.

Succession

Of the six counts who succeeded between 1152 and 1271, only Henry I had a living father on reaching his majority at twenty-one. Prepared to rule from a very young age, Henry received the lordship of two counties, Bar-sur-Aube and Vitry, after returning from the Second Crusade at twenty-two; three years later, at twenty-five, he succeeded to the rest of Champagne, the only count in two centuries to succeed his father directly. The next four counts succeeded after maternal regencies, which became an integral part of the county's political history because the comital line observed the minimum age of succession at twenty-one, a relatively late age compared to fifteen years prescribed for the sons of barons and knights. Maternal regencies comprised a total of thirty-nine years (52 percent) of that seventy-five year span (1181–1256). It is not known when or why such a late age was imposed for comital successions; had the fifteen-year age of majority been observed, the history of the county might have been quite different.

Although Philip II, who came to the throne at fourteen, vigorously rejected any maternal oversight by his mother, Adele of Champagne, his half sister Marie observed the twenty-one year standard in Champagne, not relinquishing her regency until Henry II attained that age (1187) and continuing as regent for Thibaut III until her own death (March 1198). The king accepted Thibaut's homage at nineteen in lieu of an acceptable alternative, but three years later when Thibaut IV's minority became an issue (1201), Philip insisted on a maternal regency for the full twenty-one years; indeed, Philip exploited the situation in Champagne to generalize the twenty-one-year majority for all men in the realm.⁷⁹ The king's declaration appeared in his treaty with Blanche as a recognition of custom, but the barons and prelates of Champagne who confirmed his letter in their own sealed letters signaled the larger import of Philip's statement. The arch-

bishop of Reims said that he confirmed and approved what the king had confirmed and approved (*approbata*), as if an existing custom had been simply declared, but the duke of Burgundy and the bishop of Langres reported that the king had rendered a judgment (*judicium*), in other words, had determined a practice.⁸⁰ And so he had, or at least intended to. Yet the barons in Champagne continued to observe among themselves the fifteen-year majority for sons without fathers, and the High Court later affirmed that custom, that “a male heir, as soon as he is fifteen, should retake [his inheritance] from his lord . . . for a man is beyond wardship at fifteen.”⁸¹ As the bishop of Auxerre explained regarding the majority of young Gaucher of Joigny, who had founded a Dominican house in Auxerre, he “swore at the time this letter was drawn up that he had completed his fifteenth year, held his land, and had received his fiefs from his lords.”⁸² For the barons and knights, then, the normative association between succession, homage, consent to property transactions, and perhaps even oath-taking, obtained from fifteen, rather than twenty-one as for the counts.⁸³

Delayed Succession

Despite the norms, the actual age of succession depended ultimately on familial circumstances. Young men who came of age with living fathers could expect a delayed or progressive succession. William I of Joigny, for example, who remarried after his divorce and began a second family, gave his son Pierre from his first marriage a 300*l.* rent in his twenties, a very modest sum for an heir apparent of a small county. Pierre succeeded to Joigny in his late thirties, after he had married. Of course, succession was easier for the sons of a long-lived father if there were several castles in the family. Simon II of Broyes, for example, inherited his father’s main castle of Broyes in his fifties and would enjoy it only two years, but he had held his mother’s dowry of Commercy from eighteen and thus was a castle lord for his entire adult life despite his late paternal succession.⁸⁴ Jean of Châteauvillain was about thirty when his father Simon, then in his seventies, resigned Châteauvillain castle to him. But Jean had held his mother’s inheritance since his early twenties and moreover was fortunate in coming from a line of long-lived men; ultimately he enjoyed his father’s castle for sixty years, notwithstanding the delayed paternal succession. In each case, a maternal castle provided the lordly standing denied by a long-delayed paternal inheritance.

Those most at risk of losing their father’s castles were eldest sons whose fathers remarried. A multicastle lord like Hugh I of Broyes could divide his castles between the eldest sons of his two wives, both named Simon (of Broyes, of Châteauvillain). But when only one castle was available, it often was the younger half brother—the *primogenitus* of a second marriage—who inherited it. Pierre of Joigny, cited above, died only four months after suc-

ceeding to Joigny in his late thirties; since he lacked an heir, Joigny passed by collateral succession to his half brother, William II, who ruled Joigny for more than two decades and preserved the Joigny lineage.⁸⁵ Another prominent eldest son displaced by a half brother was Geoffroy of Joinville, son of the seneschal Simon (1204–33). Geoffroy was about eleven when his mother died and about sixteen when his father remarried and had another son. While his father lived, Geoffroy took his mother's inheritance and remained heir apparent of Joinville castle, which his father promised to Geoffroy's wife, Marie of Garlande, as her eventual dower; the expectation was that Geoffroy and Marie would reside there after Simon's second wife and her son (Jean) relocated to her dower castle. But Marie soon divorced Geoffroy, and he died shortly thereafter. That entirely unexpected turn of events made Geoffroy's younger half brother Jean heir to Joinville. As with Joigny in 1222, so with Joinville in 1233: eldest sons of second marriages—strictly their fathers' second sons—succeeded to the primary paternal inheritance. In both cases, an inheritance delayed became an inheritance denied to the firstborn son.⁸⁶

If a long-lived father could delay a succession, so could a widow, not only for her dower lands, but even for paternal lands passing directly to the heirs. As noted above, the High Court stated that a son passed out of his mother's custody at fifteen, at which time he was compelled to do homage for his father's property. But fifteen was only a norm, not an absolute, and some widows were able to convince their sons to postpone succession. When the seneschal Simon of Joinville prepared to leave for the Fifth Crusade, his wife Ermengard of Montclair agreed that, in the event of his death, their nine-year-old son Geoffroy could take his inheritance at fifteen "if he wishes me to withdraw," in effect letting Geoffroy decide whether to take his lands at the minimally permissible age or allow his mother to continue her custody.⁸⁷ In the event, that option became moot after both Ermengard and Geoffroy predeceased Simon. At Simon's death, his second wife, Beatrice of Auxonne, acted even more decisively in exercising wardship over her underaged son Jean. She immediately assumed the title of seneschal (*seneschalesse*) in order to preserve her husband's hard-won hereditary right to that office.⁸⁸ And she insisted that Jean not take his inheritance at fifteen, when he married, but postpone it until eighteen. Jean sealed a letter acceding to her wish: "I have granted her to hold the entire fief that I hold from my very dear lord Thibaut (IV)."⁸⁹ The count understood completely, for he himself had agreed to a similar postponement after Blanche had convinced the king to accept his homage at thirteen, on the understanding that Thibaut remain under her custody until twenty-one.⁹⁰ Blanche even obtained Thibaut's sealed letter consenting to the delayed succession: "I promised the lord king and the lady my mother that I will not leave her custody until I reach twenty-one, unless it is by her wish and his consent."⁹¹

It appears that the twenty-one year standard for the count's succession, reinforced by the king's own promotion of twenty-one as the age of succession in the realm, encouraged some powerful widows to prolong the custody over their sons. Beatrice, countess of Joigny, followed that example in 1222, when her eighteen-year-old son William (II) did homage to Blanche and Thibaut for his inheritance and then, "of his own volition and will, placed himself and all his land in my [Beatrice's] custody."⁹² Alix of Dreux likewise kept her son, Jean of Choiseul, under her custody until he was twenty-one. But no widow in Champagne went as far as Queen Margaret of Provence, who induced the future Philip III to swear that, in the event of Louis IX's death, Philip would remain under her custody until thirty.⁹³

FIRST MARRIAGE

It is a curious fact that in the twelfth-century the counts (Hugh, Thibaut II, Henry I, Henry II, Thibaut III) married after they succeeded, whereas in the thirteenth-century the counts (Thibaut IV, Thibaut V, Henry III) married before succeeding. Except for Thibaut II and Henry I, who married in their thirties, the counts married at about twenty.⁹⁴ Aristocratic men appear in general to have married at about the same age, in their late teens or early twenties, and to slightly younger women.⁹⁵ That was true for a fourth son like André II of Ramerupt and for an eldest son like Jean II of Roucy, who both married at about twenty-one. It was true as well for Simon of Joinville, a fourth son who became *primogenitus* at about nineteen after the death of two older brothers and married at twenty-one, and for Simon's two oldest sons, Geoffroy and Jean, who also married at twenty-one. Jean I of Montmirail, an only son, and his second son, Jean II of Montmirail, who became *primogenitus* after his older brother's death, both married at about twenty-one.

It is not clear why a few very prominent men delayed marriage for many years. Henry I, who might have married at thirty-two when Marie was fourteen, waited until she reached nineteen and he was thirty-seven, in what amounted to a delayed cohabitation after betrothal. His successor, Henry II, ruled his lands three years before joining the Third Crusade and apparently was not yet interested in marriage despite having been betrothed at a very young age; he might well have remained unmarried, had not events in Jerusalem induced him two years later at twenty-six to marry Isabelle, the twice-widowed queen of Jerusalem, then about twenty. Henry I, count of Bar-le-Duc, ruled his lands fifteen years before he perished at thirty-two, still unmarried, on that same expedition.⁹⁶ All three Henrys had younger brothers capable of succeeding and thus might not have felt any pressing need to marry. Henry the Liberal's youngest brother Stephen, count of Sancerre, in fact married twelve years before Henry did. Thibaut of Briey, the younger brother of Henry of Bar-le-Duc, married at sixteen, was wid-

owed at twenty-four, and was remarried with a son, all before succeeding his never-married older brother.⁹⁷ The brothers Guy and Hugh V of Châtillon followed a similar pattern, with the younger Hugh marrying at eighteen, three years before the brothers divided their father's lands and five years before the eldest Guy married at twenty-three. Certainly within those powerful families the presence of siblings relieved the eldest sons of the sole responsibility of preserving a lineage. It is also noteworthy that of the three fraternal pairs—of Champagne, Bar-le-Duc, and Châtillon—none had a father alive at the time of the eldest son's marriage.

If aristocratic men generally married in their early twenties, they did not always marry younger, unmarried women.⁹⁸ Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine, one of the more eligible bachelors in the region, was in his twenties when he married Helisent of Joigny, a widow only a year or two younger with a young son. Erard II of Chacenay and Geoffroy of Joinville were two equally prominent young men who married at about twenty-one, but to older widows: Erard's wife Emeline, a war widow, was slightly older with a young child (1205), while Geoffroy's wife Marie, countess of Grandpré, was about ten years older with two children (1230). It appears that parents who negotiated a son's first marriage at a very young age paid more attention to the age of his prospective wife than did a man in his twenties who contracted his own marriage.

REMARRIAGE

Unlike women, who if they married, generally married more than once, the counts and most aristocratic men married only once. Of the eight counts between 1093 and 1274, six (75 percent) married once (only Hugh and Thibaut IV remarried).⁹⁹ Of the forty-one men in this sample who married, most (67 percent) did so only once.¹⁰⁰ Conversely, about one-third (33 percent) of ever-married men eventually remarried, in sharp contrast to the more than half (52 percent) of ever-married women who remarried. A few widowers chose not to remarry because of age, like Jean of Choiseul who was seventy-seven when his wife died. Jean of Joinville, who married at fifteen and again at thirty-six, was sixty-three at the death of his second wife and did not remarry; his next twenty-nine years as a widower were exceptional for a man, in that they resembled a woman's extended widowhood. Renard II of Dampierre likewise did not remarry after being widowed in his thirties just before the Fourth Crusade, but for quite another reason: he spent the next thirty years in captivity in the Levant.

Of the men who did remarry, some chose significantly younger women as second wives while others married widows or divorcées close to their own ages. Among the best known examples of a winter-spring marriage is Hugh III of Broyes: widowed in his fifties (1178) after being married more than three decades, he took as his new wife Elizabeth of Dreux, still in her teens.

Simon IV of Clefmont did the same: widowed in his late forties after a marriage of twenty-six-years, he married Elizabeth of Joinville, the teenage daughter of the seneschal Simon of Joinville. To these examples must be added just as many counterexamples, of widowed or divorced men who married women of similar age. Renard II of Choiseul is a prime example. Widowed in his late forties after a twenty-seven-year marriage, he married Alix of Dreux, about thirty-five and recently widowed after a twenty-three-year marriage. Neither Renard nor Alix had children from their first marriages, but they had five children together in their twenty-year marriage. Thibaut of Briey, a widower of twenty-nine, married the widowed Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine, then in her mid-forties with grown children. These examples suggest that a widower's second wife was just as often a widow herself as a very young, unmarried woman, and that a woman's age may not have been the determining factor in her remarriage.

MONASTIC PROFESSION

Although young boys continued to be placed as oblates in Benedictine monasteries in the twelfth century, the Cistercians and other reformed monasteries popularized adult profession, specifically excluding boys under fifteen and later even under eighteen, while the Cluniacs resisted accepting men under the age of twenty, supposedly because of their lack of commitment.¹⁰¹ The profusion of new monasteries, priories, and houses of the military orders attracted large numbers of aristocratic men to the monastic life in what must be counted as a major sociological event of the twelfth century. Of the 440 monks identified at Clairvaux in the twelfth century, almost all (90 percent) were like Bernard in coming from aristocratic families.¹⁰² What remains unknown is the age at which they left the secular world to enter the monastic one. According to anecdotal accounts, they entered at several distinct life stages: as unmarried young knights or castle lords, as mature and still-married lords, and as widowed men after long marriages.

Gaucher of Montmirail, the younger brother of Helias, lord of Montmirail, was probably typical of the young knights who succumbed to Bernard of Clairvaux's charisma. According to William of Saint-Thierry, who added the story to his *vita* of Bernard, the unmarried young Gaucher, a habitué of tournaments, visited Clairvaux with his knightly companions (ca. 1120) and was so taken by Bernard that he entered the monastery on the spot. He was still a monk there and a prime witness to Bernard's persuasive powers in the mid-1140s, when William of Saint-Thierry was collecting materials for his biography of Bernard. Had Gaucher not chosen to enter Clairvaux, he would have become castle lord of Montmirail or La Ferté-Gaucher.¹⁰³ A number of unmarried men who took the habit already were castle lords. Perhaps the best known is the classic robber baron Hugh, lord of Crécy,

who became a monk (1118) as penance for killing his cousin, Milo II of Bray-sur-Seine. Crécy, a castle dominating the Paris-Lagny-Coulommiers road, passed to Hugh's sister and ultimately through marriage to the Châtillon. Jean of Possesse was another castle lord whose profession at Clairvaux resulted in his castle's transfer to a related lineage. As the youngest of three brothers, Jean inherited by fraternal succession, perhaps in his early thirties, and ruled as lord of Possesse only two years before making extravagant benefactions to the Cistercians and Templars, then abandoning his castle for the cloister. During more than twenty-six years at Clairvaux (1166–92), he held a privileged position as cellarmaster and often appeared in witness lists just after the abbot and prior. Another Jean, lord of Reynel (1212–16), the eldest son of his father's second wife, ruled his castle lordship only four years before transferring it to his younger brother Gautier (1216–64) and taking the habit at Clairvaux, along with a 20*l.* entry gift.¹⁰⁴ Reynel castle thus passed to Gautier's daughter Alix, wife of Jean of Joinville. In each case, the monastic profession by a relatively young and unmarried castle lord led to the collateral transfer of his castle lordship (Crécy, Possesse, Reynel) to another lineage (Châtillon, Garlande, Joinville). A contemplative life clearly trumped primogeniture.

It would be interesting to know how many Cistercian monks were married men or widowers, as opposed to never-married men, in view of Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons addressed to monks, notably the *Song of Songs* with its powerful sexual imagery aimed at reeducating the formerly married to spiritual marriage.¹⁰⁵ Most of the evidence pertains to married men. Thomas, lord of Chacenay (1158–79), was one of those who entered Clairvaux after losing his wife. It is not known how long he had been married, but he left an underaged son, Jacques, in the custody of his younger brother Erard I, who ultimately usurped the lordship of Chacenay. A half-century later the dispossessed Jacques (of Durnay), perhaps drawn by his father's example, abandoned a thirty-year marriage to spend his last nineteen years (1229–48) at Clairvaux. We know more about Guy Gasteblé (of Traînel), who entered the Cistercian house of Preuilly after the Fourth Crusade. As a cousin of Anselm II of Traînel, butler of the count (1152–84), Guy belonged to one of the most distinguished lineages of the county, but he never inherited a castle or married a castle heiress. He remained instead a modest knight, holding fiefs from the count and other local lords. He was generous to local monasteries, was loved by his younger brother Garnier, canon and later bishop of Troyes (1193–1205), and was remembered by the nuns of the Paraclete, who accepted his daughter in their community.¹⁰⁶ Guy apparently was widowed when he entered Preuilly in his late sixties (ca. 1207) and where he later testified in two highly charged inquests. In 1213 he and two fellow "noble" monks (Simon of Courpalay and Pierre of Bauvin) were deposed by the papal legate Robert to testify about the consanguinity (*parentela*) between Erard of Brienne and Henry

II's daughter Philippa. The monks delineated the couple's line of descent back to Louis VI and his brother Florus, proving a consanguineous relationship.¹⁰⁷ Five years later in 1217, while "ill and aged and fearing death" (he must have been about eighty), Guy gave a second deposition, regarding his cousin Anselm II of Traînel's marriage and jilting that he had witnessed six decades earlier.¹⁰⁸ Despite his infirmities, Guy survived to 1225, when he must have been about eighty-seven.

A few monks are known to have professed while still married. Simon of Bricon, a second son who married the heiress of Rochefort, ruled his wife's lordship for about thirty years (1170s–1205) before entering Clairvaux in his sixties. Simon's wife probably consented, as required by canon law, and later visited him at Clairvaux to confirm a donation.¹⁰⁹ Their surviving second son inherited her lordship and continued her lineage without break. The abandonment a wife with young children, however, could be a messy affair. Perhaps the most dramatic example is Jean I of Montmirail, who left his wife Helvide, then in her late thirties with underaged children, to take the habit at the nearby Cistercian monastery of Longpont. We know about it because his exemplary monastic life and posthumous healings elicited a *vita* (ca. 1230) in support of his sanctification. Orphaned in his early teens, Jean spent the 1180s at the royal court with young Philip II, becoming one of the king's most trusted companions. In his twenties Jean made a brilliant marriage to Helvide of Dampierre, daughter of the constable, and inherited vast properties from both sides of his family. Jean enjoyed the life of a prominent, well-connected castle lord who took his pleasure at tournaments. But after the Third Crusade and military service with Philip II in Normandy in the 1190s, Jean, then in his mid-thirties, began to turn inward. He was among the few barons of his generation who passed up the Fourth Crusade. According to his *vita*, he was particularly touched by lepers, whom he befriended. He supported local monastic houses and even founded a convent for his eldest daughter in Montmirail. In 1210 the death of his eldest son, then in his twenties, finally prompted Jean in his mid-forties to abandon his wife of two decades and four children for the cloister. Brother Jean was noted for his complete rejection of his former bellicose and extravagant lifestyle. For seven years he lived a model religious life, and after his death at about fifty-two, his tomb became the site of miraculous healings. Jean stands for an entire group of men who chose a second, spiritual career in mid-life, after many years as an active castle lord and while still in a lengthy first marriage.

LONGEVITY

Of the six counts of Champagne between the birth of Henry I (1127) and death of Henry III (1274), none lived longer than Henry I, who died at fifty-four.¹¹⁰ His sons Henry II and Thibaut III lived to thirty-two and twenty-

two, his grandson Thibaut IV to fifty-one, and his great-grandsons Thibaut V and Henry III to thirty-four and twenty-five, for a median age of thirty-five. By contrast, almost 75 percent of the aristocratic men inventoried here lived to at least fifty.¹¹¹ The reason for that discrepancy (if not a genetic predisposition in the comital lineage) is not clear, since none of the counts died in battle. In this respect, well-born aristocratic men and women enjoyed significantly longer lives, on average, than the counts and countesses, who rarely attained fifty (only two counts and two countesses passed fifty). Admittedly, the sample here excludes those who died young, but the fact remains that some prominent men and women had lengthy lives. Hugh III of Broys, who lived to almost eighty, was noted in his own time for his longevity. Although his eldest son survived him only three years, the eldest son by his second marriage, Simon of Châteauvillain, lived to about seventy-five, and Simon's only son Jean lived to his mid-eighties. Because Simon and Jean each ruled for fifty-some years, there were only two lords of Châteauvillain in the century between 1204 and 1314. The best known nonagenarian is of course Jean of Joinville, who died at ninety-two after surviving two wives, both sons of his first marriage, and the eldest son of his second marriage. His brother Geoffroy of Vaucouleurs died at eighty-eight. Apart from their longevity, however, Hugh III of Broys, Guy Gastblé of Traînel, Jean of Joinville, and Geoffroy of Vaucouleurs had utterly dissimilar formative experiences and lives.

LIFE COURSE PATTERNS

Neither the medieval "ages of man" scheme nor the recent model of the primogenital lineage reflects the actual life course of aristocratic men in Champagne. Nor did the normative convergence of knighthood, age of majority, marriage, and succession characterize any particular life; those events in fact were independent variables. Knighting often proceeded marriage, but not always, and the age at succession often depended on a father's longevity or a guardian mother's wishes. If any commonalities can be drawn from the preceding prosopographical analysis, it would be that young men of baronial and knightly families ordinarily remained at home until succession or marriage; they married in their early twenties to slightly younger women; they followed a crusade; they lived to their fifties or sixties; they left widows with dower rights to their properties; and they left heirs. A few men divorced, a few took the habit while married, and a few remarried after the death of their wives. But the great majority of men married only once and had durable marriages.

Three men exemplify the diverse paths of the male life course. Erard II of Chacenay was typical in being knighted shortly before marrying in his early twenties, in marrying once, in dying in his fifties, and in leaving heirs. He was atypical, however, in lacking siblings, in marrying a slightly older

widow with a child, and in considering divorce late in his marriage but not divorcing. Too young for the Fourth Crusade, he joined the Fifth Crusade, but not out of religious conviction; he went rather as penance after being excommunicated for his unyielding opposition to Blanche and Thibaut IV during the civil war over the Champagne succession. Except for his role as a rebel baron, however, Erard was a quite ordinary baron of his time in terms of his life course markers.

We know much more about Simon of Joinville and his second son Jean, both younger sons who succeeded after the death of an older brother. They married twice, had children by each marriage, and were succeeded by an eldest son of a second marriage. As seneschals of Champagne, they played a prominent role in the affairs of the county through the entire thirteenth century: Simon held the office for thirty years (1204–33) and Jean for more than seventy years (1239–1317). Nevertheless, Simon and Jean lived considerably different lives. Simon was a fourth son who succeeded to both Joinville and the seneschalcy at about twenty; he married two years later in his early twenties and apparently chose his own bride, Ermengard of Montclair. After being widowed thirteen years later, he quickly remarried, to Beatrice of Auxonne, a divorcée with two daughters, who gave Simon a large new family during their nine-year marriage, including his eventual heir, Jean. Unlike his father, Jean did not choose his first wife. He was about five when his father contracted his marriage to the infant Alix of Grandpré, and ten years later Jean's widowed mother saw to it that the marriage took place. Fifteen-year-old Jean and his twelve-year-old bride lived under his mother's tutelage for five years, until he was about twenty; only at that time was he knighted and did he begin to cohabit with Alix. Jean's succession shows just how ambiguous the life stages could be: despite his homage to the count for Joinville and the seneschalcy at fifteen, when by custom he entered his majority in the absence of a father, his mother insisted that he remain under her tutelage until twenty. Jean's life course up to that point paralleled young Thibaut IV's, in that both experienced extended maternal regencies and married before succeeding. Jean married twice, like his father, but their marriages differed significantly: Jean seems to have been close to both his wives, and his marriages lasted far longer—twenty and twenty-seven years against his father's thirteen and nine years. Jean also was exceptional in his longevity, living to ninety-two, a full half-century longer than his father, who died in his late forties. Jean's extended life provided him an additional stage of life, almost three decades as a widower.

A prosopographical analysis, despite its inherent limitations, is a useful reminder that normative life course markers were only that—markers, not determinants—and that the life courses of aristocratic men and women proved extremely variable in practice. The most stable markers were the age of first marriage, for both men and women, and the age of knight-
ing,

which generally came at about twenty. Perhaps the most consistently variable maker was the age of succession. A long-lived father or a forceful regent widow could delay a succession, while a long-lived dowager could postpone for many years the final distribution of an inheritance among siblings. Similarly, a parent's remarriage might result in the eventual dispossession of the eldest child. Nevertheless, men and women made important decisions regarding their own lives. Although first marriages were arranged by parents or relatives, widowed and divorced men and women freely contracted their second marriages, or not, since they were neither forced to remarry nor penalized for not remarrying—an especially important right for women in Champagne.

Two related findings about the life course likewise fail to accord with either the "ages of man" template or the model of the patrilineage. The first is that, especially for men, the sequence of life course markers could vary considerably. In a few cases marriage, knighting, and succession occurred together, according to their normative association, but in most cases they followed an entirely ad hoc sequence, depending on familial circumstances and individual choice as well as custom. Moreover, those major life course markers often were independent of second-level markers, like consenting to a property transaction or to a marriage, taking an oath, or possessing a seal. The second finding relates to remarriage and its consequences. Since most women who married tended to remarry and have second "careers," in effect, second families, they served as a nexus for two sets of siblings and stepchildren tied horizontally across lineages. That major sociological event with its wide-ranging implications for the cohesion of a regional aristocracy has so far escaped the attention of historians. In sum, life course markers, contingent events, and individual decisions all contributed to the fates of individual lives, and consequently of their lineages.

Chapter 8

Aristocratic Lineages: Case Studies

This chapter offers brief histories of a few prominent families to illustrate their diverse fates as lineages.¹ It seeks to detect general patterns and processes rather than to recount all that is known about them. It should be said at once that there is no evidence for any general restructuring of aristocratic families in the late twelfth century. Nor is there any simple correlation between lineage and lordship: some lineages remained rooted in a single castle lordship, others generated offshoot lineages, while still others assembled veritable portfolios of lordships. What is most striking about these families is the unpredictable and contingent nature of their evolution, affected as it was by a host of factors: longevity of the parents, number of siblings, availability of suitable spouses, crusade deaths, comital policies, and proximity of religious communities, not to mention individual character and personal decisions.

Lineages are grouped here under generic headings defined by the possession of a castle, understood as either a tower-residence surrounded by a fortified wall that served as a familial and lordly center, or a walled urban center containing a lordly residential complex.² The most powerful old lineages erected or acquired castles from the late tenth or early eleventh century, while their collateral, or segmentary, branches constructed new fortified residences on their ancestral lands in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The antiquity of castles, however, is an unsatisfactory benchmark for classifying lineages, since it fails to account for the histories of the families, which varied considerably. Some were generous benefactors to the church, others were not; a few provided a steady stream of monks and canons who rose in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, while others were notably absent from ecclesiastical offices. Most of the prominent families supported the crusades every generation from the Second Crusade (1147) through the Louis IX's last crusade (1269), but a few seem not to have participated at all, for whatever reason. Some families amassed vast fortunes and multiple castles through marriage and collateral inheritances, others spawned collateral lines, and a few established new roots overseas. A handful of old lineages disappeared, but not because of biological failure; in a few cases the heirs sold their inheritances to the count, in others it was marriage into a more powerful family that led to the devaluation of

an ancestral castle lordship. Ultimately, any generalization about the complex relationship between lineage and castle lordship, even within the well-known families, remains highly problematic.

The castle-holding families discussed here are grouped under four rubrics according to whether they possessed a single castle or several castles, and whether they branched from an old family or founded an entirely new castle lordship and lineage. A fifth category includes middling families of diverse origins who lacked castles but who built fortified residences and served the counts in second-level administrative positions that accorded them quasi-baronial standing; they occupied an intermediary position within the aristocracy between the old nobles and the more numerous knights whose histories are rarely recoverable for more than a generation or two. These five sets of families are but a small sample of aristocratic lineages in Champagne. Modern monographic studies are available for the few whose influence extended beyond the county (Joinville, Villehardouin). Others are known through André Duchesne's prodigious tomes from the seventeenth century (Broyes-Beaufort-Châteauvillain, Châtillon-sur-Marne) or from late nineteenth-century genealogical studies (Chacenay, Vignory). The rest have been studied by local historians, who have compiled dossiers on the more prominent lineages from the ecclesiastical records preserved in the regional archives.³ The following sketches attempt only to uncover the contours of the long-term evolution of these lines, to reveal their diversity as lineages rather than to analyze their properties or their exercise of lordship. Each lineage could easily sustain a separate monograph.

Single Castle Lineages

Of the four old lineages described here, three retained their ancestral castle lordships intact until division among collateral heirs (Bar-sur-Seine, Chacenay) or transfer by marriage to another lineage (Vignory) altered the role of their castles as family centers. The fourth (Ramerupt) is a rare example of a divided castle lordship whose two halves passed through separate lines for a century before being briefly reunited as a single lordship. In all three cases of divided lordships (Bar-sur-Seine, Chacenay, Ramerupt), the heirs attempted to reconstitute the old lordships. But neither the Ramerupt nor the Chacenay succeeded, and the heirs of Bar-sur-Seine were preempted by the count, who incorporated their fragmented lordship into the comital domain. It is no little irony that the one castle lordship to survive intact as the site of a single lineage (Vignory) did so through younger sons. (See Appendix E for Genealogies.)

BAR-SUR-SEINE (GENEALOGY 2)

Lying astride the Seine on the main north-south road between Burgundy and Champagne, the town and castle of Bar-sur-Seine acquired strategic

importance in the twelfth century as the most significant urban center south of Troyes.⁴ A Gallo-Roman site attested from the ninth century, Bar-sur-Seine became known as a county in the late eleventh century after its heiress Eustachia married Gautier I, count of Brienne, who styled himself “count of Brienne and Bar-sur-Seine.” Their third son, Milo II (1085–1124), inherited his mother’s castle and his father’s title “count.” Like other lords in the borderlands between Champagne and Burgundy, Milo and his successors were pulled toward Champagne, in part by a desire to loosen ties with the bishop of Langres from whom Bar-sur-Seine moved in fief, and became steadfast barons of the counts of Champagne.

The small county of Bar-sur-Seine remained a stable, compact lordship through the twelfth century. It passed undivided to Milo’s eldest son Guy (1125–47) after his second son, Renaud (abbot of Cîteaux, 1134–50), joined the Cistercians and the third, Herbert, married the heiress of the neighboring lordship of Ville-sur-Arce.⁵ At Guy’s death, perhaps on the Second Crusade, Bar-sur-Seine again passed to an eldest son, Milo III (1147–51), whose marriage to Agnes, heiress of Braine and Baudement, held great promise for a powerful Champenois lineage. But his death a year later left an infant daughter Petronilla as heiress of Bar-sur-Seine.⁶ Milo’s brother Manasses, a cleric then in his teens, served as provisional count of Bar-sur-Seine (1151–68) before resuming his ecclesiastical career as canon, then bishop of Langres (1179–93). At about eighteen Petronilla married Hugh of Le Puiset, the great-grandson of Stephen and Adela of Blois and consequently a desirable match for the heiress of a small but strategically important lordship on the Seine above Troyes. Hugh ruled her lands, first in her name (1168–74) then as guardian for their only son, Milo IV (1174–89). It was probably Hugh who transferred the *mouvance* of Bar-sur-Seine to the count of Champagne in the 1170s as part of a general political realignment of episcopal baronies in southern Champagne.⁷ By 1201, Bar-sur-Seine was ranked among the “great fiefs” of Champagne.⁸

Milo IV (1189–1219), like his father, devoted most of his rule to military affairs: he fought with the king in Normandy and was at the siege of Rouen in 1204; he joined the Albigensian Crusade and appeared at the sieges of Béziers and Carcassonne; and he took his eldest son Gaucher on the Fifth Crusade in 1218.⁹ The next year they both perished at Damietta. Milo’s widow, Helisent of Joigny, retained the castle and her dower lands, but the remaining half of the lordship passed collaterally through Milo’s two deceased sisters to four nephews and nieces. Bar-sur-Seine might well have suffered the fate of the earlier fractured castle lordships of Vendevre, Gondrecourt, and Ramerupt, had not Thibaut IV seized a singular opportunity to make it his own forward outpost in the frontier zone south of Troyes facing Burgundy. By purchasing all the collateral shares of Bar-sur-Seine (1223–24), as well as Helisent’s dower lands and community prop-

erty (1225), Thibaut reconstituted Bar-sur-Seine as a comital castellany (1227).¹⁰

Bar-sur-Seine survived intact in the century between the deaths of Milo II (1124) and Milo IV (1219) because only twice in five generations did more than one son survive his father, and each time one younger son entered the church while the other married an heiress (Ville-sur-Arce) or settled on a peripheral lordship (Bragelonne). The lineage might well have continued after 1219 through the collateral heirs, who initially attempted to reconstitute the lordship, but Thibaut IV's military and political needs prevailed; the castle lordship survived within the comital domain, but the lineage disappeared.

CHACENAY (GENEALOGY 6)

The Chacenay first appeared among the founding benefactors of Molesme in 1075 and thereafter ranked among the leading baronial families in southern Champagne.¹¹ Like its neighbor Bar-sur-Seine, Chacenay initially moved from the bishop of Langres, but as the lords of Chacenay became close companions of Counts Hugh, Thibaut II, and Henry I, Chacenay came to move directly from the count of Champagne.¹² The lords of Chacenay and Bar-sur-Seine were listed together in the fief rolls of the 1170s, and by 1200 their castles were numbered among the count's "great fiefs."¹³

Chacenay passed successively to four eldest sons in the century after 1075, while younger sons married heiresses or became Cistercian monks, very much like the Bar-sur-Seine. But in the next century, between 1179 and 1278, Chacenay passed to collateral heirs on four occasions. The first followed the monastic profession of Thomas II (1158–79), who left his infant son Jacques in the custody of his younger brother Erard. Unlike Manasses of Bar-sur-Seine, who a decade earlier had exercised then ceded custody over his niece Petronilla's inheritance, Erard I (1179–91) usurped Chacenay and dispossessed his nephew Jacques.¹⁴ Although Jacques later inherited a minor lordship (Durnay) from his aunt, he never forgot that he was rightful heir of an old castle lordship and later attempted to reassemble the fragmented lordship of Bar-sur-Seine.¹⁵

The lords of Chacenay, like the counts of Bar-sur-Seine, were inveterate crusaders. Jacques I joined Henry I on the Second Crusade; Erard I followed Henry on pilgrimage in 1179 and Henry II on the Third Crusade; and Erard II (1191–1236) joined the Fifth Crusade after displaying his line's bellicosity during the war of succession, in which he proved one of Blanche's most stubborn opponents.¹⁶ Chacenay survived intact under Erard II's two sons, Huet (1236–47) and Erard III (1247–53), and their sole surviving sister, Alix of Chacenay (1253–78). At Alix's death without children, despite two marriages, Chacenay was divided among her closest heirs, the five grandchildren of her deceased sister Mathilda.¹⁷ A contested

fraternal division (1285) was followed thirty years later by a redistribution among the surviving siblings (1308). Chacenay had ceased to exist as an integral lordship and the site of a baronial lineage. Having survived two centuries (1075–1278), Chancery became a fractured lordship like Vendevre.

VIGNORY (GENEALOGY 15)

Vignory, the most important baronial fortification on the Marne River between Chaumont and Joinville, is a rare example of a castle lordship that remained intact from its first appearance in the tenth century.¹⁸ The lords of Vignory managed to balance competing pressures from the bishop of Langres and the counts of Burgundy and Champagne to preserve a large measure of independence until the thirteenth century, when they were drawn into Champagne's orbit. The various parts of Vignory (castle and outer walls, town, castellany) moved from different lords, yet the lordship itself passed undivided through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a remarkable feat explained by the fact that only once in those centuries did more than one son survive his father. More exceptional still, the lineage survived the two centuries primarily through younger sons until it fell to an heiress in 1262.

Little is known about Vignory before Guy IV (ca. 1097–ca. 1126), a third son who inherited the lordship and married into the ducal line of Burgundy. Like the lords of Bar-sur-Seine and Chacenay, he attended Count Hugh of Troyes, beginning the long process by which his successors gradually came under the sway of the counts of Champagne. Since Guy's oldest son Robert predeceased him, Vignory passed to his second son, Guy V (ca. 1126–50).¹⁹ When Guy V and his oldest son both perished on the Second Crusade, Vignory again passed to a second son. Bartholomew of Vignory (ca. 1150–91) was typical of the barons of the southern borderlands in holding only a small fief in contingent homage from Henry I, while the tower and walls of Vignory continued to move in fief from the count of Burgundy and the town itself remained allodial until Bartholomew's son converted it to a comital fief (1204).²⁰ The death of Bartholomew and his oldest son Guy on the Third Crusade (1191) left Vignory once again to a sole surviving younger son.

Gautier I (1191–1229), like his father and grandfather before him, took the cross (at Ecry, 1199), but whether he in fact went on the Fourth Crusade is unknown.²¹ He was a close ally of Blanche and Thibaut IV, especially during the civil war (1216–18) that elicited strong local support in the Basigny for Erard of Ramerupt. Of Gautier's four sons, the youngest entered the church, the third predeceased him, and the second took the maternal inheritance of Laferté-sur-Amance.²² Thus Vignory passed integrally to Gautier II (1229–62), the first eldest son in more than two centuries to

succeed to Vignory itself, and the one who finally made Vignory in its entirety (castle, town, and walls) a fief moving directly from Champagne.²³ He was Vignory's last male heir. Vignory passed to his only daughter Jeanne (1262–1311) and then, after the death of her two sons without heirs, to her daughter Jeanne, wife of William IV of Dampierre. No longer the site of a resident lineage, Vignory became an ancillary lordship of the Dampierre, just as Montmirail became a secondary residence of the Coucy (see below).²⁴

RAMERUPT (GENEALOGY 14)

Ramerupt stands as an unusual example of a divided lordship whose two parts passed intact through separate lines for a century (1120s–1227). Briefly reunited (1227–50), it was divided again, into four equal parts, then partially reassembled (1267) as an ancillary lordship of the counts of Grandpré. Like the divided Vendevre lordship, Ramerupt defied all attempts to reconstitute it as a unitary lordship and site of a lineage.²⁵

Ramerupt is known from the late tenth century but it emerged from obscurity only in 1126, when it was divided between Gautier II, count of Brienne (1125–58), and his sister Felicity.²⁶ The two halves of Ramerupt shared a remarkably similar history during the next two generations, each passing initially to a younger son and then to a sole heir or heiress, but with quite different results. Felicity of Brienne's half-share went successively to her second son, Simon of Beaufort, to his only daughter Felicity (of Beaufort), and to Felicity's daughter Helisent (countess of Rethel), for whom it was a distant, minor possession.²⁷ By contrast, Gautier II of Brienne's half of Ramerupt became the seat of a derivative (segmentary) lineage under his younger son André II (d. 1189).²⁸ It was André's son Erard I (1203–43), whose aspirations exceeded half of Ramerupt and his mother's lordship of Venizy, who ventured to become count of Champagne by marrying Henry II's daughter Philippa.²⁹ After the death of his wife (ca. 1211), Erard was inspired by Jean of Brienne, his cousin who recently had married the queen of Jerusalem (1210). Although Erard ultimately lost the war over the Champagne succession (1216–18), his persistence and remarkable agility in obtaining compensatory property in the 1220s made him a baron of far greater standing than his father had been. In 1227 he exchanged that newly acquired property for the other half of Ramerupt from his cousin Helisent, thus restoring Ramerupt as a unitary lordship about the same time that Thibaut IV was reconstituting Bar-sur-Seine as a comital castellany.³⁰ Erard is a rare example of someone other than the count who successfully restored a fragmented old castle lordship.

The reunited lordship of Ramerupt, with its prestigious tie to the counts of Brienne, passed to Erard's eldest son, Erard II (1243–50). But the childless Erard II died on Louis IX's crusade at Mansourah one year after the

death of his younger brother Henry, and so Ramerupt passed collaterally in equal shares to their four well-married sisters.³¹ Isabelle and her husband Henry V, count of Grandpré, managed to acquire three-fourths of Ramerupt by 1267, when Henry styled himself "lord of Ramerupt."³² But for a count of Grandpré, Ramerupt was only a source of revenue, not the site of resident lineage. Just as at Bar-sur-Seine and Chacenay, the closest heirs of Ramerupt attempted, but failed, to reassemble a fractured old castle lordship. If the division of a castle lordship could destroy its role as the site of a lordly lineage, so could inheritance by an heiress, as with Vignory, if she and her husband lived elsewhere. By 1300, not one of these single-castle lordships survived as the site of a resident lineage.

Multiple Castle Lineages

The handful of families possessing more than one castle faced similar challenges of fragmentation and devaluation of their lordships. Of the three lineages reviewed here, one (Joinville) saw its resources gradually diminished through the segmentation of its properties for younger sons, while two (Montmirail, Châtillon) saw their castle lordships become part of substantial portfolios of castles amassed through marriage, collateral inheritance, and royal patronage. The Montmirail collection of lordships eventually was absorbed by another lineage, the Coucy, whereas the various Châtillon lordships were dispersed among heirs or sold to the king. These three lineages illustrate how the contingencies of succession and marriage accounted for much of a castle's mutable role: it could raise a family's standing, it could become the site of a subsidiary lineage, or it could serve as an ancillary possession of a more prominent lineage. Whatever their fates, none of these old lordships descended solely through eldest sons.

JOINVILLE (GENEALOGY 10)

The fortress constructed or enlarged at Joinville in the early eleventh century made it the dominant force on the Marne between Saint-Dizier and Vignory in the eastern borderlands between Champagne and the empire.³³ With the acquisition of Vaucouleurs in the late eleventh century, the lords of Joinville ranked among the handful of regional multicastle families. Thereafter they regularly attended the count of Troyes and were much involved with local monasteries, antagonistically with the old Benedictine house of Montier-en-Der and supportively with the newer Cistercian houses like Clairvaux and La Crête. What drew the Joinville to Champagne was the bond forged between Geoffroy III of Joinville and Henry I on the Second Crusade that led to Geoffroy's appointment as seneschal of Champagne (1152–88) and facilitated the election of his brother Guy as bishop of Châlons (1164–90).³⁴ Despite his office, Geoffroy III seems not to have

attended Henry's court in Troyes on a regular basis, unlike the royal seneschal Thibaut V, count of Blois (1152–90), who witnessed practically all of Louis VII's acts. Nevertheless, the Joinville came to identify themselves very closely with the comital office, which passed to Geoffroy IV (1188–90) and his eldest son, Geoffroy V (1190–1203).

The deaths of the unmarried Geoffroy V and his younger brother Robert on the Fourth Crusade had dramatic consequences for the Joinville. Since the third brother, William, was a canon poised for promotion in the church (bishop of Langres, 1209–19, archbishop of Reims, 1219–26), it was the fourth brother, Simon, who inherited both Joinville and Vaucouleurs castles as well as the office of seneschal (1204–33).³⁵ The fifth brother, Guy, later established a new lineage at Sailly, the first of several segmentary lordships carved out of the Joinville lands in the thirteenth century.³⁶ For two decades, Simon played a prominent role in the county's affairs, and like his father, he produced a large family, including five sons by two marriages. Since his firstborn, Geoffroy, predeceased him without heirs, Simon's lands passed to the four sons of his second wife.³⁷ The oldest, Jean (1239–1317), inherited Joinville and the seneschalcy and later achieved fame as the biographer of Louis IX.³⁸ The second, Geoffroy (d. 1314), established a segmentary lineage at Vaucouleurs (after his mother vacated her dower) but spent most of his life in England and Ireland, where he married an heiress.³⁹ The third, Simon, took his mother's dowry lands at Marnay, and the fourth, William, entered the church.

The seneschals Simon and Jean, a fourth and a second son respectively, between them held the lordship of Joinville and the seneschalcy of Champagne for more than a century (1204–1317).⁴⁰ In both cases, older brothers predeceased them without heirs while younger brothers either took a maternal lordship (Marnay), a secondary paternal lordship (Sailly, Vaucouleurs), or entered the church. Joinville itself survived relatively intact, though with diminished financial resources.⁴¹ That pattern was repeated in the fourteenth century: the exceptional longevity of Jean of Joinville (he outlived five of his six sons) made his fourth son, Anselm, heir to both Joinville and the seneschalcy as well as his mother's lordship of Reynel (by fraternal succession). Joinville's two derivative lineages, Sailly and Vaucouleurs, survived as independent lineages closely identified with Joinville. Thus the Joinville, a two-castle lineage at the beginning of the twelfth century, became through segmentation of the original properties three related but distinct lineages in the thirteenth century. Despite a regular oversupply of sons, the primary Joinville lordship survived relatively intact over the course of two centuries because younger sons followed ecclesiastical careers, acquired maternal inheritances, married heiresses, or were provided with outlying lordships for founding separate lineages.

MONTMIRAIL (GENEALOGY 12)

The Montmirail, a multicastle lineage like the Joinville, evolved in an entirely different manner. Instead of dividing their inherited properties, they garnered castle lordships and high offices through marriage and collateral inheritance.⁴² That process began with Gaucher I (ca. 1099–1125), who inherited the neighboring castles of La Ferté-Gaucher and Montmirail in Brie, both built in the late eleventh century. As castellan of Château-Thierry as well, Gaucher frequented the courts of Stephen and Adele of Blois and Hugh of Troyes.⁴³ Thereafter for a century, until 1210, the two castles and office of castellan passed to a single son.

Montmirail and La Ferté-Gaucher would have been divided between Gaucher I's two sons had not Bernard of Clairvaux convinced the eldest, Gaucher, a habitué of tournaments and the knightly life, to take the monastic habit at Clairvaux.⁴⁴ Consequently the younger, Helias (1123/26–58), inherited both castles and appeared prominently in regional affairs for the next three decades.⁴⁵ Helias's own sons would have divided the castles, but the younger, Gaucher, died from injuries sustained at a tournament in 1153.⁴⁶ The eldest, André, had occupied La Ferté from an early age (1144) while his father and mother, Adelaide of Pleurs, resided at Montmirail.⁴⁷ Since she remained at Montmirail for a decade as a widow, André inherited the castle in his fifties (1166).⁴⁸ Thus the two-castle lordship remained intact because in two successive generations only one son was available to succeed.

The Montmirail fortunes, their knightly lifestyle, and their spirituality all converged in Jean I, one of the best known barons of the late twelfth century.⁴⁹ Only about twelve at his mother's death and fourteen at his father's (1177), Jean was sent by his stepmother, Alix of Courtenay, to the royal court where he became a close companion of Philip II, who was about the same age. Jean inherited his father's two castles and married the sister of the constable of Champagne, Helvide of Dampierre. He accompanied the king on the Third Crusade, and on his return inherited his maternal uncle's substantial properties (the castle of Oisy, the viscounty of Meaux, and the office of castellan of Cambrai) to become one of the more prominent barons of northern France. But Jean turned to spiritual matters in the 1190s, and instead of joining the Fourth Crusade, which drew enthusiastic baronial support in Champagne, he dedicated himself to local acts of piety and charity. Apparently the death of his oldest son William in 1210 led Jean to take the monastic habit at the nearby Cistercian monastery of Longpont, where his exemplary monastic life during the next seven years was celebrated in an official *vita* prepared for his canonization.

Jean's wife Helvide ruled the lordship of Montmirail with determination after his departure until her death fifteen years later in 1225.⁵⁰ Their eldest

surviving son, Jean II, took his great-uncle's lands of Oisy and Cambrai (1215) and, after his mother died, Montmirail itself.⁵¹ The rest of the properties, including the castle at La Ferté-Gaucher, were divided equitably among the siblings.⁵² But that dispersion proved temporary, for fifteen years later Jean II, who married the countess of Chartres and spent most of his life away from Montmirail, died without children. His surviving brother Matthew (1241–63) inherited Montmirail and Oisy and, two years later, his sister Felicity's share of the inheritance. For all those properties, Matthew did a public homage to Thibaut IV at Provins (1243).⁵³ Matthew, the third son, in effect reconstituted the entire collection of lands that his father had acquired a half-century earlier.

Since Matthew, too, died without children, the Montmirail inheritance passed again by collateral succession (1263), to his youngest and sole surviving sister, Marie, the widowed third wife of Enguerran of Coucy then in her late fifties. Marie thus inherited after the deaths of two older, childless brothers, much like Alix of Chacenay did a decade later. But whereas Chacenay in the absence of direct heirs was divided among four great-nephews, the Montmirail properties passed to Marie's second son, Enguerran IV, who already had succeeded his older brother as lord of Coucy (1250–1311).⁵⁴ Enguerran IV consequently gathered all the properties from his maternal and paternal sides (Montmirail, La Ferté-Gaucher, Oisy, the viscounty of Meaux, Coucy, and scattered lesser lands); for the third time within a half-century, the entire collection of Montmirail properties passed to a sole surviving son. The rich portfolio of Montmirail-Coucy properties remained together during the next four decades, until Enguerran IV's death without direct heirs, when it was divided once again, between his sister's two sons.

What had changed at Montmirail in the course of two centuries was its relative importance. The castle remained the favorite residence and familial center until Helvide of Dampierre's death, when it became a secondary residence under Jean II, whose interests lay in his wife's more prestigious county of Chartres. Montmirail never recovered its position as the primary castle within the joint collection of castle lordships; by 1263 it had entered the vast conglomeration of Coucy properties as an ancillary lordship, no longer the site of a baronial lineage. In that, it shared the fate of Beaufort (see below).

CHÂTILLON-SUR-MARNE (GENEALOGY 7)

The Châtillon are an example of a family whose martial talents, loyal service to count and king, stellar marriages, and fortuitous collateral inheritances propelled it from modest roots to the highest reaches of the northern French aristocracy by the end the twelfth century.⁵⁵ In many respects the Châtillon resembled the Garlande, who served the king in

high office, married up, and collected prestigious titles and castle lordships (see below). And like the Garlande, the Châtillon eventually sold the castles that accounted for their spectacular ascension.

The castle built at Châtillon on lands of the archbishop of Reims in the mid-ninth century had become a comital castle by circa 1023, one of four castles that Henry I later held in fief from the archbishop.⁵⁶ The castle's strategic importance lay in the fact that, with the castle at Château-Thierry, it anchored the count's presence in the Marne valley. The earliest known commander of the castle, Guy I of Châtillon (late eleventh century), apparently had his own fortress there, perhaps a tower, like the lords of other castle towns shared with the count of Troyes.⁵⁷ With the death of his son on the First Crusade, the fortress and office of castellan passed to his son-in-law Henry, lord of the nearby castle of Montjay (1117–ca. 1135) located in the royal domain, and the Châtillon became a multicastle lineage straddling the comital-royal border.⁵⁸

The rapid rise of the Châtillon occurred under Gaucher II (1135–48), an only son who inherited both Montjay and noncomital Châtillon, and whose fortuitous marriage to Adele of Roucy (1134) later brought the castles of Crécy (1168) and Pierrefonds (1192) to his heirs.⁵⁹ The personal bond he forged on the Second Crusade with the king's brother, Robert I of Dreux, led to the marriage of Gaucher's son Guy II with Robert's daughter Adele, making the Châtillon royal cousins.⁶⁰ Perhaps because his marriage drew him into the royal orbit, Guy II (1148–70) rarely appeared with the counts, and his eldest son Guy III (1170–91) left few traces in Champagne before perishing on the Third Crusade.⁶¹ But the younger Gaucher III (1191–1219), who succeeded by fraternal succession, was one of the more remarkable figures of the time.⁶² Although his most notable deeds occurred beyond the county in the service of Philip II, he was a staunch supporter of Thibaut III and Blanche through many trying years. To the four castle lordships he inherited either directly (Montjay, Châtillon) or indirectly (Crécy, Pierrefonds), Gaucher III added the seneschalcy of Burgundy, the butlership of Champagne, and the county of Saint-Pol through marriage (1205). That concentration of assets enabled his sons to make even more prestigious marriages, to the heiresses of the county of Nevers (1221) and even Blois (1225), the very homeland of the counts of Champagne. It was a spectacular achievement.

Gaucher III's two sons divided his lands, separating forever the century-old link between the ancestral castles of Châtillon and Montjay. The eldest, Guy IV, took Montjay and his mother's county of Saint-Pol (1219–26), while the younger Hugh V (1219–48) received the ancestral lands within Champagne (Châtillon, Crécy) and the butlership of Champagne.⁶³ By his second marriage, Hugh V became count of Blois (1225) and, after his brother's death at Avignon on the Albigensian Crusade, he inherited his mother's county of Saint-Pol. Hugh's substantial assets beyond Champagne

made him a difficult personage within the county, where he not only resisted Thibaut IV but even conspired with the count's enemies until the two finally reconciled in 1230.

In 1247 Hugh divided his vast collection of lands among his sons in order, he said, to prevent dissension among them. Countess Marie of Blois, by her testament six years earlier, had given Hugh and her maternal aunt, Isabelle of Chartres, complete freedom to dispose of her inheritance, the county of Blois.⁶⁴ So Hugh distributed his and his deceased wife's inheritances according to prestige and value: their oldest son Jean was given his mother's county of Blois; the second son, Guy, received his grandmother's county of Saint-Pol (1248–89); the third, Gaucher IV, would have his father's paternal inheritance of Châtillon and Crécy (1248–61).⁶⁵ Gaucher IV's properties at Châtillon constituted a relatively modest lordship compared to the count's castle, town, and castellany there with fifty-five attached fiefholders.⁶⁶ Gaucher V (1261–1329) must have fulfilled an old family ambition when he acquired comital Châtillon ("the castle, the town, and the castellany") from Philip IV (1290).⁶⁷ Gaucher gave the king Crécy in exchange. In 1290, for the first time, a Châtillon was lord of all Châtillon. Thirteen years later, however, the king changed his mind and forced Gaucher to return comital Châtillon in exchange for the county of Château-Porcien and two other castle lordships.⁶⁸ Thereafter, lordly Châtillon remained in the shadow of the royal town and castellany of Châtillon.

Of all the lordly families in Champagne, the Châtillon were most notable in their consistently fabulous marriages—to the daughters of counts (Roucy, Dreux, Bar-le-Duc) and heiresses of counties (Saint-Pol, Nevers, Blois)—that brought them an ever richer supply of substantial lordships. Apportioning those castle lordships among heirs proved a far simpler exercise in partibility than carving up a patrimony (like Joinville) for younger brothers to found segmentary lineages. Although the Châtillon continued to hold sizable lordships, they were thwarted in their attempt to create a minor principality by joining baronial Châtillon with comital Châtillon. Like Montmirail, ancestral Châtillon in the late thirteenth century was merely one castle lordship, and not the most important one, within the family's vast collection of lordships

Segmentary Lineages

A collateral, derivative, or segmentary lineage was created when two brothers divided a paternal or maternal inheritance so that the younger would hold his share as a distinct property from the older.⁶⁹ The construction of a new residence and the adoption of the property's toponym established, by extension, a new identity and line of descent. In a region of partible inheritance, that tendency to spawn branch lineages was inherent in every family with more than one son. But what made those segmentary lines inde-

pendent rather than subsidiary lineages was comital policy. By imposing liege homage on younger sons in order to make their fortified residences direct comital fiefs, the count in essence treated segmented lordships as sites of independent lineages. Jully-sur-Sarce, Châteauvillain, and Sailly are nearly contemporary examples of new lineages created by segmentation at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A century later, in 1314, a Jully, a Châteauvillain, and a Sailly ranked among the prominent nobles of Champagne who sealed an open letter to the king protesting royal taxation. Not all segmentations were successful, however; in a few cases, like Beaufort, chance events thwarted the creation of an enduring branch lineage.

JULLY-SUR-SARCE AND SAILLY (GENEALOGY 11)

Jully-sur-Sarce, located at the very edge of the county of Bar-sur-Seine, belonged to the lords of Chappes since the early twelfth century.⁷⁰ It became the site of a separate line after Clarendaud IV, lord of Chappes (1170–1204), and his younger brother Guy returned from the Third Crusade and Countess Marie appointed their youngest brother, Gautier, as her chancellor (1192–1206).⁷¹ Like most younger sons, Guy of Chappes (1192–1221) held his inheritance in fief from his older brother, and so he is not named among the count's direct fiefholders in the earliest rolls of fiefs.⁷² Guy must have constructed a fortress at Jully in the 1190s shortly before Thibaut III induced him—or “forced” him, as his grandson later claimed—to do liege homage for it, despite Guy's preference to hold it from his brother.⁷³ Henceforth Jully moved directly from the count.⁷⁴ After his oldest brother died on the Fourth Crusade, Guy tried to transfer his homage for Jully to his cousin Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine, but Countess Blanche would not have it, insisting that Guy continue to hold Jully from her as a liege and renderable castle.⁷⁵ For the next two decades, Guy played a prominent role in the county's affairs: he was present at the baronial council of 1212 that regulated female succession to castles; he testified at the papal inquest in 1213 that the barons had sworn in 1190 to accept Thibaut III as successor to Henry II; and he served at Bouvines.

Guy's lands fell to his three daughters. Since the youngest already had entered Jully-les-Nonnains, the prestigious convent founded by Molesme, the two oldest sisters divided the parental properties according to the custom that Guy and the other barons had approved in 1212: the firstborn, Petronilla, took his lordship of Jully, while her younger sister took their mother's lordship of Champlost.⁷⁶ Petronilla of Jully, one of the most desirable heiresses of the county, became the second wife of Guy of Joinville, lord of Sailly (1206–48), a prominent and ambitious younger son (and brother of the seneschal Simon) who recently had established his own segmentary lordship at Sailly.⁷⁷ Thus Jully and Sailly, two new segmentary lord-

ships, were combined almost as soon as they were created. By adding Petronilla's inheritance to his own two castles (Sailly, Donjeux), Guy of Sailly became a lord of three modest fortified sites in a consolidation of lordships remarkably similar to those of the Montmirail and Châtillon. The subsequent dispersion of properties also was similar. Guy of Sailly's own castles passed to the sons of his first marriage (Sailly to the eldest Robert, and Donjeux to Simon), while Petronilla's castle at Jully was inherited by her son, William I (1262–98), and grandson Jean (1298–1328).⁷⁸ With a Joinville pedigree and an income of 770*l.*, Jean of Jully ranked among the more important regional lords.⁷⁹ In 1314 he appeared as “Jean of Joinville, lord of Jully,” among the great nobles who protested royal taxation.⁸⁰ With him on that occasion were his cousin Guy II of Sailly and Jean of Châteauvillain, both descendants of branch lineages. By that time, all three were well-established, century-old lineages.

BROYES, BEAUFORT, AND CHÂTEAUVILLAIN (GENEALOGY 5)

The lords of Broyes ranked with the Châtillon, Joinville, and Montmirail among the handful of multicastle lords in Champagne. In the twelfth century they shed two castles, Beaufort and Châteauvillain, but with strikingly different results that illustrate how tangled and contingent the relationship between lordship and lineage could be. Beaufort almost emerged as the site of a segmentary lineage but instead became (like Montmirail) a secondary possession of a more prominent family, whereas Châteauvillain became the site of a segmentary lineage and acquired even greater renown than Broyes itself.

The two sons of Simon I of Broyes (d. ca. 1132) divided his three castles: Hugh III took Broyes and Châteauvillain, while Simon took Beaufort.⁸¹ During an exceptionally long life, Hugh III of Broyes (d. 1200) favored his secondary residence at Châteauvillain, where he established a chapel and rebuilt or enlarged the castle in the 1160s.⁸² Through the dower he granted his second wife, Elizabeth of Dreux, Châteauvillain passed to her son Simon, who in a classic case of segmentation adopted the toponym of that lordship.⁸³ As was customary in Champagne, Simon of Châteauvillain (1199–1259) held his castle from his older half brother, Simon II of Broyes-Commercy, with whom he had a close relationship. Only at Thibaut III's insistence did Simon become the count's liegeman, making Châteauvillain an entirely independent lordship and lineage. So esteemed was Simon's son Jean of Châteauvillain (1259–1314) that he was named first among of the nobles of Champagne protesting royal impositions in 1314.⁸⁴

A much different fate awaited Beaufort, which passed to Simon of Beaufort's only daughter Felicity (1187).⁸⁵ Had her husband assumed her title and lands, Beaufort would have become the site of an authentic segmen-

tary lineage like Châteauvillain.⁸⁶ As it was, Felicity married Hugh II, count of Rethel (1198–1228), whose own extensive properties made Beaufort seem like a relatively minor asset. Later, as the dowager countess of Rethel (1229–43), Felicity let her eldest son, Hugh III of Rethel (1228–43), promise Beaufort as the eventual dower for his wife, Jeanne of Dampierre, in the expectation that it would pass to their children.⁸⁷ But when Felicity and the childless Hugh III both died in 1243, Hugh's younger brother Jean succeeded as count of Rethel (1243–51) and assigned Beaufort in dower to own wife, Marie of Thourotte. Although Jeanne of Dampierre soon remarried and acquired a substantial new dower, her second husband Thibaut II, count of Bar-le-Duc (1239–91), insisted on recovering Beaufort, the dower promised by her first husband.⁸⁸ The dispute was arbitrated by Thomas of Coucy, lord of Vervins, who found that Jeanne's marriage contract (*les chartes dou mariage*) did indeed grant her Beaufort and a 500*l.* rent; with her death months later, however, Beaufort reverted to her brother-in-law.⁸⁹

While these events were unfolding, Jean of Rethel was attempting to divorce his wife, Marie of Thourotte. Unfortunately for Jean, her father Jean of Thourotte, governor and vice-regent of Champagne in the absence of the count, seized Beaufort castle while the divorce was pending before an ecclesiastical court.⁹⁰ In the event, Jean of Rethel failed to obtain a divorce before he died without heir in 1251. His youngest brother Manasses, who succeeded, gave Beaufort to his daughter Felicity as dowry in marriage to Jean the Younger of Thourotte, the very brother of Marie of Thourotte who still claimed Beaufort as her rightful dower.⁹¹ Marie appealed to the High Court of Champagne where the governor, her father Jean of Thourotte, decided that her dower right to Beaufort had been violated.⁹² With the deaths of both Marie of Thourotte and Felicity of Rethel shortly thereafter, Beaufort passed to Hugh (IV) of Rethel, who soon sold the troublesome castle lordship to Henry of Champagne, then in the process of investing the cash dowry of his wife, Blanche of Artois.⁹³ With Henry III's accession as count of Champagne (1271), Beaufort entered the comital domain as a modest baronial castellany consisting of twelve direct fiefholders (including three women holding their dowers), seven rear-fiefholders, and substantial forests and arable producing about 600*l.* revenue, slightly less than the revenue from Jully-sur-Sarce.⁹⁴ Despite its century-and-a-half existence as a separate castle lordship (1132–1270), Beaufort failed to emerge as the site of a segmentary lineage; it served instead as a source of dowers and dowries for the counts of Rethel until it finally was sold. Beaufort's convoluted history as a bone of contention between competing familial interests contrasts with the relatively untroubled emergence of Jully-sur-Sarce, Sailly, and Châteauvillain as independent lordships and lineages. Under different circumstances, Beaufort, might have joined them.

New Castle Lineages

In the twelfth century there were two ways, beyond inheritance, to acquire a castle lordship. One was to construct a new castle (Nogent-l'Artaud) with the count's consent and support; the fact that its founder, the count's treasurer Artaud, elicited comments for over a century attests to its novelty. The second way was to purchase an existing castle from impecunious relatives, again with the overlord's consent. The Garlande family, well-known in Brie for its royal service but lacking a castle of its own, did just that, using its substantial resources to purchase two castles (Tournan, Possesse), thus joining the select company of multicastle lords. All three of the newly acquired castles, whether constructed or purchased, eventually were sold, either because of financial exigency (Nogent-l'Artaud, 1283; Tournan, 1292) or in response to royal acquisitiveness (Possesse, 1335).

After 1200, the castle policy of the counts effectively precluded the construction of new castles even on allodial land, except by a few powerful barons like Robert II of Dreux, who already possessed a castle elsewhere.⁹⁵ Although Thibaut IV created two new "baronies" in the 1220s, neither cohered as an authentic castle lordship and neither became the site of a lineage.⁹⁶ In the absence of opportunities to acquire castles, it is not surprising that descendants of the old lines were lured by the prospect of restoring fragmented old castle lordships. The Bar-sur-Seine and Vendevre heirs attempted it, but only Erard I of Ramerupt was successful, and even then only for his lifetime. By the thirteenth century, it had become virtually impossible to acquire an existing castle lordship or to found an entirely new one within the county.

NOGENT-L'ARTAUD (GENEALOGY 13)

The building of Nogent-l'Artaud became a well-known story in the thirteenth century perhaps best told by Jean of Joinville, the seneschal of Champagne, for whom it was a cautionary tale about the presumptions of a nouveau riche. According to the seneschal, Artaud, a wealthy townsman (*borgois*) who served as Henry I's treasurer (*camerarius*), had the temerity to build a castle at Nogent on the Marne, in essence, to appropriate a baronial lifestyle without its values. On a certain Pentecost, relates Joinville, as Henry I was entering Saint-Etienne of Troyes to hear Mass, a poor knight approached the count, seeking dowries for his two daughters. Artaud, who was just behind the count, reprimanded the knight for his uncourteous behavior, saying that the count's liberality had left him with nothing to give. But he still possessed Artaud, replied the count, who forthwith handed him over to the knight. Artaud paid the knight 500*l.* to secure his release.⁹⁷ Earlier versions the story had focused on Artaud's wealth: Jacques of Vitry depicted him as a rich provost (*dives prepositus*) who was called peas-

ant (*rusticus*) and serf (*servus*) by the count, and Etienne of Bourbon made him a rich townsman (*dives burgensis*).⁹⁸ But Joinville, who was especially sensitive about the lowborn acting beyond their station, may have captured the salient point, that in constructing a castle, Artaud had succeeded in arrogating the most exclusive right of the old families. It is unlikely that Joinville or the other moralists knew the details of the castle's history.

Artaud was of obscure origin. He may have descended from a knightly line, for he held fiefs owing castleguard in several castellanies and one obituary calls him a knight.⁹⁹ Known as one of Henry I's most intimate counselors, he served as treasurer for about thirty years (1158–88) and witnessed more than 150 of the count's acts. Artaud's castle and its castellany (*potes-tas*) were first mentioned in 1171, when he dowered his wife Hodiernne with them.¹⁰⁰ Chancery scribes accorded him the title of castle lord (*dominus*), and when they listed his castle among the renderable fortifications, they dubbed it, perhaps with a touch of malice, "Artaud's Nogent."¹⁰¹ He built his walled tower at Nogent in the late 1160s after Henry I gave him the advocacy of Saint-Germain-des-Prés' lands there.¹⁰² In 1178 the count allowed him to hold a weekly market at Nogent, in effect making the new lordship a viable local economic center.¹⁰³ Only after the count's death did the monks dare to bring suit against Artaud for infringing their rights, in the first of a series of disputes with Artaud's family.¹⁰⁴ In the court of the count's brother William, archbishop of Reims and papal legate, the monks charged Artaud with building a tower, walls, moat, oven, and wine press against their will, and then establishing a fair and a market and even occupying their own properties.¹⁰⁵ The monks were awarded half of the banal and commercial revenues, and Artaud promised not to usurp their lands or to collect anything more than the customary exactions. In essence, the monks accepted the new fortress and lordship next to their lands in return for sharing its economic prosperity. But jurisdictional conflicts continued under Artaud's widow, who held the castle in dower (1190/95–1212).¹⁰⁶ Only in 1212 did their son William make a firm peace with the monks, by which they accepted him as co-lord over the residents of Nogent and he did homage to them for half of their extensive woods.¹⁰⁷ That marked the end of a bitter forty-year conflict between the new lords of Nogent and the local priory.

Little is known about Nogent-l'Artaud under William (1212–40) and his widow Isabelle (1240–50). Their son William II (1250–63) renewed his family's conflicts with the local priory, perhaps out of financial necessity, but later resigned the castle to his two sons-in-law, Jean and Robert of Mortagne.¹⁰⁸ They in turn sold it (1283) to Blanche of Artois and Edmund of Lancaster whose third son, John of Lancaster, inherited the castle to become baron of Beaufort and Nogent-l'Artaud (1304–36).¹⁰⁹ By the time Jean of Joinville was narrating the almost mythic story of social indiscretion by the count's treasurer more than a century earlier, Nogent-l'Artaud had

been safely in the comital domain for a generation and its lineage had vanished. Joinville may not have appreciated the irony when, within a few years of writing his anecdote, his youngest daughter Alix married, as her second husband, John of Lancaster, and thus became herself lady of Nogent-l'Artaud.¹¹⁰

GARLANDE-TOURNAN-POSSESSE (GENEALOGY 8)

The Garlande, first mentioned in the late eleventh century, rose to prominence in the early twelfth century as a powerful kindred in the royal entourage.¹¹¹ The brothers Gilbert, Stephen, Anselm, and William succeeded one another as royal chancellors, while a second Gilbert served as royal butler (1112–27). They had extensive properties and fiefholding knights in Brie near Lagny but are not known to have had an ancestral castle (the very location of Garlande is not certain).¹¹² Louis VI gave them two castles he captured from rebellious barons but Gilbert the butler, the youngest Garlande who is of chief interest here, does not appear to have received one.¹¹³ Nevertheless, Gilbert was so well connected that he suffered only a temporary setback when dismissed from office and his lands were confiscated (an event perhaps engineered by Suger).¹¹⁴ His two sons were eminently successful: Manasses rose in the church to become archdeacon of Sens, then bishop of Orléans (1146–85), while Guy, who attended both Louis VII and Henry I, purchased the castles of Tournan and Possesse to become a multi-castle baron within Champagne. If Heloise, abbess of the Paraclete (1130–64), was their sister or half sister, the Garlande siblings represented one of the more powerful kindreds of the early twelfth century.¹¹⁵

Guy of Garlande already had extensive properties near Tournan in Brie before he acquired the castle there from his maternal cousin Guy II of Tournan-Possesse.¹¹⁶ Guy II mortgaged (*invadiavit*) the castle to Guy of Garlande for 640*l.*, with the consent of the bishop of Paris from whom it moved in fief (ca. 1158), but failed to redeem it within the prescribed two years.¹¹⁷ A few years later, perhaps in 1162, Guy II mortgaged his other castle, Possesse, to Henry I for 272*l.*¹¹⁸ Located beyond the eastern border of Champagne, Possesse was one of several castles that came under Henry I's direct *mouvance* in 1162, and thus it was natural for Guy II to mortgage it to his new lord. After Guy II disappeared with the mortgage outstanding, Possesse (without the castle) passed to his younger brother Jean (1163–65), who soon left Possesse for Clairvaux, and then to the youngest brother Hugh, who also abandoned the lordship.¹¹⁹ At his Christmas court in 1166, the count recognized Guy of Garlande, the new lord of Tournan, as the closest relative of the former lords of Possesse, but he reserved Hugh's right to reclaim Possesse within one year.¹²⁰ Guy of Garlande and his son Anselm II took custody of Possesse and the next year, after redeeming the mortgage, they assumed full possession of the castle and lordship of Possesse.¹²¹

In 1175 Guy of Garlande, then in his mid-sixties, resigned Tournan to his eldest son Anselm II, who already held Possesse.¹²² Guy presented both his son and his grandson, Anselm III, to the bishop of Paris to do homage, perhaps to strengthen the line of succession against Guy's two sons by his second marriage.¹²³ Seven years later, after Anselm II predeceased his father (1182), the aged Guy accompanied the bishop of Paris to the king, seeking confirmation of his grandson's earlier homage to the bishop.¹²⁴ Guy of Garlande's energy and persistence were worthy of his ancestors; not only did he reverse his father's ill fortunes, he had founded a multicastle line that would hold Tournan and Possesse for more than a century.

Anselm III exercised the lordship of Tournan and Possesse only for a decade in the 1190s.¹²⁵ But his son Anselm IV (1200–1249) and grandson Anselm V (1249–87) continued the line for the next eighty years.¹²⁶ Unlike most families that adopted the toponyms of their residences as second names, the Garlande retained their family name (“of Garlande”) even after acquiring Tournan and Possesse, in effect distinguishing their lineage from their lordships.¹²⁷ At Anselm V's death without heirs, the castles were divided between his two nephews: Anselm VI (1287–92) took Tournan while Jean of Garlande (1287–1335) took Possesse. Jean soon inherited Tournan by fraternal succession and sold it to Pierre of Chambly (1292). Jean remained lord of Possesse for another four decades until, at an advanced age, he exchanged it for Vaucouleurs, which the king had recently acquired from the Joinville (1335).¹²⁸

In acquiring and holding Tournan for more than 130 years and Possesse for 175 years, the Garlande were preeminently successful “new” castle lords of Champagne. The founder, Guy of Garlande, in many respects resembled Artaud, the count's treasurer, in that both made their fortunes in service to a ruler. But whereas Artaud invested his financial resources in constructing an entirely new castle at Nogent-l'Artaud, Guy of Garlande used his no less ample means to purchase two existing castles, in effect displacing an older lineage (which might account for their insistence on being identified as “of Garlande”). With the eventual sale of the castles that had grounded their baronial standing through most of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Garlande, like the Nogent-l'Artaud, ceased to exist as a castle-holding lineage.

Lineages Without Castles

Between castle lords and ordinary village knights there existed substantial lordly proprietors without castles who typically possessed a mix of ancestral allodial lands, fiefs held from local castle lords, and fiefs held from the count for which they owed castleguard in his castle towns. Those who constructed fortified residences in the last decades of the twelfth century were accorded the title *dominus*, hitherto reserved for castle lords. A few of these

families (Villehardouin) appear to have descended from castle-holding lineages.¹²⁹ Others (Briel) seem to have been wealthy allodial proprietors without apparent ties to castle-holding families. Of those who made their fortunes in service to the count, several (Jaucourt) managed to purchase village lordships, in effect, to buy their way into the landholding aristocracy, much like the Garlande did with Tournan and Possesse. Yet none of these middling lines, no matter their origin or subsequent history, ascended to the level of the old aristocratic houses, and none had achieved sufficient repute by 1314 to appear among “the nobles of Champagne” protesting royal taxation.¹³⁰

VILLEHARDOUIN (GENEALOGY 16)

The Villehardouin are known today chiefly through the crusade memoirs of Geoffroy of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne (1185–1204) and of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. But in the thirteenth century they were better known as princes of the Morea (1209–78), a crusader principality established by Geoffroy’s nephew and namesake quite by chance after the Fourth Crusade.¹³¹ The Villehardouin princes drew a generation of relatives, neighbors, and companions seeking adventure and opportunity in Greece where a few, like the Briel, even became founding barons of the principality of the Morea. Within Champagne, the stay-at-home branch of the Villehardouin acquired the office of marshal, also by chance, with which they would be identified for more than half a century (1185–1246).

The village of Villehardouin northeast of Troyes was first mentioned in the mid-twelfth century as one of the small, scattered properties settled by Odo, castle lord of Arzillières, on his second son Villain, known variously as “of Arzillières” and “of Villehardouin.” Villain’s own sons, the half brothers Jean and Geoffroy (the future marshal), shared that modest property as ordinary knights, unlike their Arzillières relatives who carried lordly status at that time. The lives of Jean and Geoffroy, and of their descendants, diverged markedly. Jean (1177–1218) became “lord” of Villehardouin and Brandonvillers, perhaps after erecting a typical late twelfth-century fortified residence at Villehardouin.¹³² Jean is known primarily through his acts of charity and his service on the commission of twelve barons who prepared the draft articles on the female inheritance of castles in 1212.¹³³ It was his son Geoffroy who became the first Villehardouin prince of the Frankish Morea (1209–ca. 1226) and whose two sons, Geoffroy II (ca. 1226–46) and William (1246–78), spent their entire lives in Greece.¹³⁴ Transformed into overseas princes, they had only incidental interests in their ancestral Villehardouin property.¹³⁵

Villain’s eldest son by a second marriage, Geoffroy, followed an entirely different course. Appointed marshal (1185–1204) by Countess Marie, Geoffroy became deeply involved with preparations for the Fourth Cru-

sade, and after the fall of Constantinople he remained in Greece to write his memoirs.¹³⁶ Shortly after his death, his sole surviving son Erard exchanged Villehardouin for property at Villy (-le-Maréchal), which became the primary residence of his descendants in Champagne.¹³⁷ Geoffroy's grandson William I (marshal, 1231–46) regarded himself as a “Villy,” while his great-grandson William II became a “Lézinnes,” after the property of Geoffroy's second wife.¹³⁸ Villehardouin ceased to exist as the site of a knightly lordship. Geoffroy's heirs relocated to their maternal and other newly acquired properties to enjoy a modest existence for the rest of the thirteenth century. There is no mention of a Villehardouin at the baronial council of 1224, and none appeared with the barons protesting royal taxation in 1314. Had Geoffroy's memoirs of the Fourth Crusade not been revived in the nineteenth century to become one of the canonical narratives of the Middle Ages, the Villehardouin name would resonate today only for historians of crusader Greece.

BRIEL-SUR-BARSE (GENEALOGY 4)

The Briel first appeared in the late eleventh century as substantial proprietors with lands extending along the Ource River from Autricourt to the forest of Beaumont, and northward to Fontette, Buxières, and Briel itself.¹³⁹ Although the brothers Haimo and Pierre were identified as lords (*domini*) of Briel early in the twelfth century, there is no evidence of any relationship to a lordly lineage or to a castle or fortification at Briel, which was held in fief from the lords of Vendeuvre. They were rather affluent knights with allodial properties and fiefs moving from several castle lords.¹⁴⁰ Like the Vendeuvre brothers, who shared the lordship of Vendeuvre, Haimo and Pierre shared the lordship of Briel. But their sons (again like the Vendeuvre) divided the paternal properties (Autricourt, Briel, Buxières, and Fontette) to found independent knightly lineages.¹⁴¹

Estout of Briel (1160–97), who inherited the ancestral allodial lands at Briel and held fiefs from several castle lords, received the village of Bouy in fief from Henry I sometime before 1178.¹⁴² Bouy was a compact village lordship located nine kilometers west of Villehardouin. Perhaps larger than Villehardouin, it had about thirty tenant households, arable lands, a granary, and a mill, and it produced an altogether a respectable annual revenue of 24*l.*, just about an average fief income in the mid-thirteenth century. It became Estout's preferred residence and passed successively to his oldest sons, William (1197–1209) and Giles (1209–22), until their younger brothers Renaud and Hugh sold the entire village to the nearby monks of Larrivour.¹⁴³ The sale of Bouy was prompted by a shift in the family's fortunes to the Frankish Morea, where Renaud and Hugh became barons of Skorta under their cousin Geoffroy of Villehardouin, first prince of the Morea (1209–26). Renaud of Briel had accompanied Geoffroy of Vil-

lehardouin and Henry of Arzillières on the Fourth Crusade, traveling directly to Syria rather than to Constantinople with the main crusader expedition. Renaud then went to Greece, where after five years of service as a knight, he was appointed lord of Skorta (1209–22) by Geoffroy of Villehardouin. Renaud's younger brother Hugh joined him in Greece in 1215, married Geoffroy of Villehardouin's only daughter Alix, and later succeeded Renaud as baron of Karytaina (ca. 1222–38). Hugh's son, Geoffroy of Briel, baron of Karytaina (1238–75), played a major role in the history of the Morea, but his death at fifty-three without a direct heir ended the Briel lineage in Greece, and Karytaina reverted to the prince's domain.

The Briel descendants remaining in Champagne are almost invisible. After the sale of Bouy, they lost any pretension to lordly standing. Thereafter Giles, the second son who had remained in Champagne, held only minor rents there, although he continued to be known as a “knight of Briel” (1222–38). His sons and grandsons in Champagne, likewise styled “of Briel,” remained squires living off scattered and minor fief-rents, a classic example of a knightly lineage that had failed to develop compensatory resources after being devastated by partible inheritances. Producing too many sons at home for their limited properties, they produced too few in Greece (only one son in sixty-five years). Like their Villehardouin cousins, the Briel exploited their military skills and leadership qualities to become a spectacular crusader lineage in Greece. But in Champagne, again like the Villehardouin, the Briel failed to develop a viable lineage.

JAUCOURT (GENEALOGY 13)

The Jaucourt originated with Lambert of Bar-sur-Aube, a comital treasurer (1200–1215) like Artaud of Nogent-l'Artaud.¹⁴⁴ Lambert held a number of small allodial properties and a fief from the lord of Chacenay, but after purchasing a granary at Jaucourt from monks at Beaulieu (ca. 1205), he built a fortified residence and became “lord of Jaucourt,” just as Artaud became “lord of Nogent” after building a castle at Nogent.¹⁴⁵ Lambert's eldest son Pierre I (1215–45) succeeded him as comital treasurer and lord of Jaucourt, and Pierre's son and grandson continued to make consolidating purchases of properties at Jaucourt through the late thirteenth century, as befitting a middling aristocratic lineage.¹⁴⁶

Two decades after Lambert purchased Jaucourt, Pierre I of Jaucourt acquired the village of Dinteville (1226) for his second son. Dinteville had belonged to a family of knights since at least the 1170s; in 1220 they alienated it to Clairvaux, and six years later the monks gave it to Pierre of Jaucourt in an exchange of properties.¹⁴⁷ Pierre became “Pierre of Jaucourt, lord of Dinteville.”¹⁴⁸ Like many fathers who purchased fiefs for their younger sons, Pierre I was protecting his eldest son Erard's lordship of Jaucourt from partible division.¹⁴⁹ Pierre *filz* thus inherited a modest village

lordship, and like some sons who founded segmentary lines, he kept his paternal name; but his successors at Dinteville eventually dropped “of Jaucourt” to become exclusively “of Dinteville.” Thus Lambert of Bar-sur-Aube had founded two knightly lineages, the Jaucourt and the Dinteville, one based on a newly created lordship consisting of various monastic properties, the other preserving an existing knightly lordship. Both village lordships survived to the fourteenth century as sites of minor aristocratic lineages.

The fates of aristocratic lineages and their lordships, though entwined, were not identical. Castle lordships, whether held as allods or as fiefs, were material assets available for a family’s use as needed. They were divided among siblings (Gondrecourt, Ramerupt, Vendevre, Bar-sur-Seine, Chacenay) and occasionally reconstituted in whole (Chacenay) or in part (Ramerupt). They were assigned as dowries (Beaufort) or as lordships for younger sons (Beaufort, Châteauvillain, Jully-sur-Sarce, Sailly, Châtillon-sur-Marne, Vaucouleurs). In times of financial need, they were mortgaged to their lords (Vendevre, Possesse, Chaumont, Brienne, Beaufort, Choiseul, Aigremont). A few were sold to relatives (Tournan, Possesse, half of Gondrecourt, half of Ramerupt), and many more were sold outright to the count (Nogent-sur-Seine, Sainte-Menehould, Chaumont, Baudement, Bar-sur-Seine, Nogent, Beaufort, Châtillon, Nogent-l’Artaud, Possesse). The same processes affected knightly lineages and their village lordships: properties were shared in co-lordship (Baslieux, Bouy, Fronville), divided among heirs (Briel, Buxières, Cunfin, Fontette), and sold to local monasteries (Briel, Bouy, Dinteville) or to the counts (Villehardouin). And a few properties were developed as new village lordships (Jaucourt), much like Nogent-l’Artaud became a new castle lordship.

It was as rare for an aristocratic lineage to remain rooted in a single castle (Vignory) as to suffer biological extinction (Nogent-sur-Seine).¹⁵⁰ Every lineage that disappeared in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did so because the heirs sold its castle lordship, the material basis of aristocratic standing (the first Possesse line, Chaumont, Baudement, Bar-sur-Seine, Nogent). In each case, however, there were heirs—daughters, half brothers, nephews, cousins, and grandchildren—who could have continued the lineage. The hypothesis of a general law of extinction, by which aristocratic lineages survived in the male line only five to six generations on average because of biological exhaustion, is based on a misleading conception of families as patrilineages.¹⁵¹

Conclusions: A Medieval Aristocracy

Two centuries of sustained economic and demographic expansion transformed the landscape of Champagne from a remote, sparsely populated, and undeveloped region in the early twelfth century into a region saturated with villages, religious communities, aristocratic residences, and towns overflowing their urban centers by the late thirteenth century. A line of active counts and countesses fostered a strong sense of dynastic and regional identity while steadily extending the county's reach into the northern, eastern, and southern border zones. As the physical landscape and contours of the county evolved, so too did the political and social landscape. The barons, who had attended counts Hugh and Thibaut II as the most powerful regional lords, forged even closer ties with Henry I, who inherited his father's gift of collegial leadership. While maintaining their loyalty, Henry established the central institutions that would gradually subsume the castle lords and their lordships within a new polity, the county of Champagne. That was his lasting achievement, to remap Champagne according to a new spatial template based on his own castellanies and embodied in the chancery's registers of fiefs. His new residence and chapel in Troyes became the political and administrative center of the principality and, consequently, its cultural center as well. After 1152 the regional aristocracy would evolve within, and in reference to, that new principality.

Collegial governance and baronial autonomy, the hallmark of the twelfth-century principality, were eroded under Thibaut III and Blanche, who subjected all castles and fortified residences to comital authority. The king did the same in his lands. It is not coincidental that in the years around 1200 both the royal and comital chanceries drew up registers to track the barons and began to exact and archive their sealed letters patent. There are other parallels. If the Battle of Bouvines (1214) capped the ascendancy of Philip II, marking a definitive turning point in royal-baronial relations, the war over the comital succession (1216–18) completed a similar subordination of the barons in Champagne: liege homage to the count finally trumped ties of kinship. The war also ended any pretense of shared governance. Henceforth, a bureaucracy reliant on written records would administer the county and, after 1234, increasingly in the absence of the count himself. The castle lords of the twelfth century had evolved into the

wealthiest and most privileged slice of a highly stratified landed aristocracy within the count's principality.

The old baronage was transformed internally, as well, in the century between 1150 and 1250. A number of distinguished old lineages vanished, like the Bar-sur-Seine, Baudement, Beaufort, Chaumont, Nogent, and Nogent-sur-Seine. Others like the Chacenay, Gondrecourt, Ramerupt, and Venduvre were severely diminished by the fragmentation of their lordships through partible inheritance. Despite the emergence of segmentary lineages (Châteauvillain, Jully, Marigny, Plancy, and Sailly) and of a few entirely new ones (Garlande, Nogent-l'Artaud), the old noble lines were severely reduced in number. It was not a question of biological extinction: every one of the expired lineages, except perhaps for Nogent-sur-Seine, might have survived through collateral heirs. The thinning of the old families was the consequence rather of comital policy: the incorporation of castle lordships into the comital domain methodically reduced the number of substantive lordships—the very symbols of baronial identity—available for redistribution within the aristocracy.

The count's knights were similarly thinned over the course of two centuries, but for different reasons. Their fiefs, whether created by infeudation or by allodial conversion, became fungible assets that circulated relatively freely since the early decades of the twelfth century. Fiefs were donated, sold, purchased, mortgaged, and annuitized with the perfunctory consent of their lords, at least until the large-scale transfer of fiefs to religious communities before the Third and Fourth Crusades forced the counts and barons to consider the implications of unrestrained alienations. Even so, unrelenting financial pressures thwarted all attempts to limit the alienation of fiefs. Fiefholders continued to liquidate their assets, both allods and fiefs, and to sell off their fief-rents through the thirteenth century. Thibaut IV expended large sums to purchase fiefs from needy fiefholders, both castle lords and knights, and to purchase allodial conversions and the *mouvance* of fiefs. Religious institutions did the same, purchasing fiefs, the *mouvance* of fiefs, and allodial conversions, as well as creating annuities and making loans collateralized on fiefs. The chancery's fief rolls measure the progressive shrinkage in the number of the count's direct fiefs in the century between 1178 and 1275, just before the county came under the royal hand. Of course, the fiefholders themselves did not disappear, only the fiefs they held from the count; most of those who alienated their comital fiefs continued to hold property in allod and in fief from other lords, both lay and religious. According to the countywide amortizations in 1269 and 1291, most of the count's alienated fiefs entered monastic patrimonies; townsmen seem not to have acquired comital fiefs in great number or value before 1300.

Despite the attempts of some modern historians to diminish the importance of fiefs in medieval society, the evidence from Champagne, and from

most of France, is unambiguous: fiefs and the customs attendant on fief tenure figured prominently throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Fiefholders routinely testified about their fiefs at inquests; they submitted sealed letters patent to their lords, and received letters from their lords, regarding their fiefs; and they followed the customs governing the inheritance and transfer of fiefs as prescribed by the councils of 1212 and 1224 and later declared by the High Court. Not only were fiefs ubiquitous, the homage done for them was a frequently performed, quasi-public act. A homage was done each time an heir succeeded (even at eleven or fifteen), a sibling inherited, the lord of a fief changed, an allod was converted, or a wife took her dower. Homage was done by women as well as men, by the highest-born as well as by the poorest knights and squires. It was done for castle lordships and for very small revenues. Even the counts continued to do homage to their overlords until 1285, when Prince Philip announced that the homages traditionally owed by the counts would “disappear” as soon as he became king.

While the practices surrounding fief tenure and homage remained fairly consistent over the life of the principality, the significance of fief tenure itself evolved. The implicit linkage between knighthood and fief tenure was severed by the early thirteenth century: no longer were fiefs necessarily held by knighted men. There were several reasons for that delinkage. Some well-born sons chose, or were constrained by financial circumstances, to remain squires for many years, often for their entire lives. At the same time, the number of women holding fiefs in dowry and dower increased dramatically and regular castleguard fell into disuse. Fief tenure came to be regarded as an aristocratic tenure available to women and non-knighted men as well as to knights, but inappropriate to those born outside of lordly and knightly families. The High Court accepted the equivalence of personal and tenurial status, as did the royal ordinances of amortization in 1275 and 1291. In all of this, the evolution of attitudes and customs regarding fiefholding in Champagne parallels in large measure developments in neighboring Burgundy, Lorraine, Namur, and the Ile-de-France. What makes the view from Champagne noteworthy is the volume of detail furnished by the comital registers of fiefs and the chancery's archive of baronial letters patent, two exceptionally informative repositories of information on the aristocracy and its fiefs.

When we pass to the aristocratic families themselves, we enter less familiar territory because the regional studies in the last half-century, following Duby's lead, have viewed those families as patrilineages, with scant attention paid to wives and children other than eldest sons. This study finds no justification for such an approach. A mountain of evidence from Champagne and elsewhere depicts the conjugal unit as the elementary form of the family. Beyond consent to marriage, the centerpiece of canon law treating marriage, it was the dower assigned by the husband to his wife that con-

firmed a marriage: in associating her with his material assets, the dower legitimized her as his wife. A lifetime dower, in most cases consisting of the conjugal residence and half of her husband's possessions, in addition to a wife's community property (half of all the property acquired during marriage), made for powerful widows in Champagne. Even during marriage, a woman's prospective dower and community property rights encumbered her husband's property, present and future, making her consent a necessary requirement for its disposition, as the monastic beneficiaries fully understood.

While some women are scarcely detectable in the extant records, and indeed might not have exercised their rights during marriage, others do appear, and some prominently so, especially after they obtained personal seals from the 1160s. In the letters patent they sealed jointly with their husbands while married or alone as widows, women dealt with the same matters that men did in their letters. In fact, one of the more surprising findings here is the extent of women's involvement in fiefholding. They did homage and received homage; they donated the fiefs they held by inheritance, dowry, and dower; they consented to the transactions of their fiefholders; and they arbitrated disputes in which fiefs were at issue. The emergence of women as fiefholders and as lords of fiefholders in the documents of the second half of the twelfth century coincided with the increasing importance of the dower within aristocratic families, which may account for a shift in the chancery's way of tracking fiefholders, from anticipating the future male heirs of fiefs to recording the names of the actual fiefholders, including heiresses, dowagers, and guardians.

If the actual role of women in the family fails to accord with the model of the patrilineage, so too do inheritance practices. Partible inheritance, which provided for all children, must be counted with the half-dower as inherent to aristocratic families in Champagne and throughout northern and eastern France, including the royal domain. While the eldest child was privileged, he (or she, in the case of only daughters) did not inherit the entire parental estate. The barons explicitly affirmed in 1212 and 1224, as did the High Court later, that all children should inherit equitably from their parents. The actual division of inheritances, of course, varied according to circumstance. The survival of a single child resulted in the concentration of paternal and maternal properties, whereas the existence of siblings led to the division and even fragmentation of properties. But properties also were re-formed and regrouped through marriage and collateral transfers, so that while some lineages suffered diminishing economic resources, others amassed large portfolios of landed assets. The Châtillon-sur-Marne, Garlande, and Sailly are examples of families that increased their resources through marriage and collateral inheritance. If there was any "crisis" of the aristocracy in the late thirteenth century, it pertained only to individual families, not to the aristocracy as a whole.

One consequence of partible inheritance was that heirs readily adopted the toponyms of their most important property, whether a paternal or maternal inheritance or a wife's inheritance, and thus siblings often carried different second names. Hereditary family names in fact were rare until the late thirteenth century, when the wealthiest castle lords adopted two second names, coupling a hereditary family name with a lordly toponym. It should be emphasized that succession could, and often did, run through a younger son or a daughter or sister as easily as through an eldest son, and that lineal descent did not end with an heiress. There is little evidence for newcomers, in the sense of social inferiors, marrying into the wealthy old families suffering financial misfortune. Marriages were contracted within circles of like-ranked families; the few cases of asymmetrical marriages (Margaret of Bourbon and Thibaut IV, Margaret of Buzancy and Renaud of Broyes-Commercy) were still within broadly acceptable social limits. The most prominent families remained a very closed elite in the thirteenth century as they had been in the twelfth, and self-consciously so: in their own letters patent, they often referred to their closest relatives as "noble" in the traditional sense of members of a small group of exclusive old families. But their relationship to the count changed dramatically with Jeanne's marriage to Philip of France in 1284; henceforth a nonresident prince would deal with the regional aristocracy through a bureaucracy staffed by outside appointees. Only a privileged few, like a Joinville or a Châtillon, managed to grace the royal court in a manner reminiscent of the barons with the earlier counts. The league of 1314, which the old noble families of the county instigated, ultimately was a reminder to the king that he could not ignore them with impunity.

Analyzing the life course of individuals proved to be the most difficult and revealing part of this study. Biographies of medieval people generally are cast in terms of the best documented examples, beginning with kings and queens, and a few extraordinary individuals like William Marshal and Jean of Montmirail, whose deeds were recounted in contemporary narratives. The lives of the less prominent but more typical men and women, for whom it is not possible to construct meaningful biographies, are best captured through a prosopographical analysis of schematic biographies constructed from references scattered through the administrative and property records. The aristocratic life course that emerges from such an analysis reveals, for example, that women did not necessarily marry at the minimum age permitted by canon law; a few did, but many married in their late teens, and just as often to men close to their own ages as to much older men. Since women generally survived their husbands after marriages of twenty to twenty-five years, they faced the prospect of a "second career" in their late thirties or early forties. Some remained formidable widows for many years, even intimidating their inheriting sons. But most widows (and divorcées) remarried: they arranged their own second marriages, had sec-

ond families before being widowed again, and lived into their sixties. Those remarriages produced networks of stepchildren, half-siblings, and cousins that forged a dense set of kinship relationships within the largely endogamous regional aristocracy.

If marriage served as the primary life course marker for women, it was only one of several variable markers for men. Knighting often, but not always, preceded marriage, which generally occurred at about twenty. Succession, by contrast, depended on familial circumstances entirely independent of knighting and marriage. Despite the custom allowing a boy of fifteen to succeed (and do homage) in the absence of a living father, there are few documented cases of barons or knights inheriting before the age of twenty. The examples of widows forcing their sons to delay succession reflect not only the powerful rights of widows in Champagne but also perhaps a tacit recognition that the twenty-one-year benchmark set for succession by the counts, and strongly supported by Philip II, was a more appropriate age for male succession. What a prosopographical analysis makes abundantly clear is the role of contingency and individual choice in the aristocratic life course. Jean I of Montmirail, for example, might never have become one of the premier barons of northern France had his stepmother not sent him as a boy to the royal court. Jean's youngest daughter Marie could not have imagined inheriting, in her late fifties, her father's entire collection of lordships after all five of her siblings predeceased her without children. We do not know why Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine, a widow in her mid-forties, married the considerably younger Thibaut of Briey, for nothing compelled a well-dowered woman with an heir in his majority to remarry and consequently to perpetuate two baronial lineages. If the marshal Erard of Aulnay had not died excommunicate after tangling with the canons of Châlons, his uncle Geoffroy of Villehardouin would not have become marshal of Champagne—and chronicler of the Fourth Crusade.

In the end, this study draws three general conclusions. The first is that the rise of the comital principality accounts in large part for the transformation of the region's castle lords and fiefholders into an identifiable regional aristocracy in the century between 1152 and 1253. That process occurred incrementally, decade by decade. But within that arc of development, three events stand out as being transformative in redefining comital-baronial relations: Henry I's imposition of his own castellany template over the entire region; Thibaut III's policies regarding baronial castles and fortified residences; and Blanche's decisive victory in the war over the comital succession.

The second general conclusion pertains to the nature of the family and its practices. Seen through the conjugal unit, the analytical prism of this study, aristocratic families in Champagne were grounded in two fundamental principles: the right of a wife to share in her husband's properties (com-

munity property, the half-dower) both during and after marriage, and the right of all children to inherit equitably (partible inheritance) from their parents. Those principles applied well beyond Champagne across a broad swath of lands and principalities in northern and eastern France, including the royal domain, regions where aristocratic families too often are depicted in terms of patrilineage, primogeniture, patrimony, dispossessed younger sons, and devoid of women; replication studies recasting those regional aristocracies in terms of the conjugal family would reveal family dynamics similar to the ones in Champagne.

Finally, this study rests primarily on the rich collections of records documenting property transactions and relationships in the years after 1100. Beyond the beneficiary-redacted ecclesiastical charters, they include the comital chancery's outgoing letters and internal administrative registers, and the High Court's adjudications. Even more informative are the letters authored and sealed by aristocratic men and women, first for their transactions with religious communities, then for transactions with other laypersons, and finally, after 1198, for transactions with the counts. The proliferation of written records after 1150 was not limited to Champagne. Over the course of the twelfth century, northern French aristocracies passed from an age of memory to an age of written records, in M. T. Clanchy's memorable phrase. No longer were written records the preserve of religious communities; they had become essential tools for governing the principality and indispensable instruments for recording the aristocracy's private affairs. The volume and detail of those practical records expose a diversity of individual lives and lineages that eludes any normative model of the medieval aristocratic family.

Appendix A. The Ordinance of 1224

Count Thibaut IV announces his ordinance establishing the principles of inheritance by the sons of castellans and barons, as approved by thirty-one named barons at his Christmas council in 1224. The ordinance extends the principles enacted in 1212 for inheritance by the daughters of barons.¹ Names marked with an asterisk have biographical entries in Appendix D.

I, Thibaut, count palatine of Champagne and Brie, make known to all who see this letter that since there arose a dispute requiring legal resolution as to how the male children of my castellans and barons ought to share [their inheritance] among themselves, namely how much the firstborn son ought to take relative to his brothers, I, with the consent and advice of my barons and castellans, that is, the reverend father Milo, bishop of Beauvais; my dearest kinsman and faithful Henry [II], count of Bar-le-Duc; my dear and faithful *Guy [IV of Châtillon-sur-Marne], count of Saint-Pol; *Jean [II of Montmirail,] count of Chartres; the count [*Jean II] of Roucy; the count [Hugh II] of Vaudémont; *Simon of Joinville; *Erard of Brienne [lord of Ramerupt]; *Simon of Châteauvillain; *Hugh [V of Châtillon-sur-Marne, count] of Saint-Pol; *Gautier [I] of Vignory; Garnier [IV] of Traînel [lord of Marigny]; *Renier [II] of Nogent; Anselm [IV of Garlande, lord] of Posse; Guy of Arcis-sur-Aube; Thomas of Coucy; Nicholas of Rumigny; Gautier of Arzillières; Eustace [II] of Conflans; [Hugh of Rethel,] castellan of Vitry; Renard [III] of Dampierre [-le-Château]; Simon [II] of Sexfontaines; *Guy [of Joinville] of Sailly; *Jacques of Chacenay [of Durnay]; Philip [I] of Plancy; Manasses of Pougy; Guy of Plancy; Clarembaud [V] of Chappes; Gautier of Reynel; Robert of Milly; Erard II of Aulnay; the viscount [Hugh II of Bazoches] of Châlons; and the rest of my barons whose seals are appended to this document, have established (*stabilivi*) that:

The firstborn son (*primogenitus filius*) shall take precedence before all his brothers. If there is only one castle (*castellum*) among them, he will take that castle, the fiefs attached to it, and the arable land, pastures, vineyards, waterways, and ponds located within the parish of the castle. The revenues and taxes of the castle will be appraised (*appreciati*) with the rest of the land, and from all those revenues each son will receive the same amount, provided that the firstborn receive his share from the revenues and taxes within the castle. If any other brother should receive something within that castle, that share will be under the jurisdiction of the firstborn.

If they have a fortified residence (*domum fortem*), the second son will have it, with all the advantage of fiefs, arable, pastures, vineyards, waterways, and ponds within the parish of the village in which that residence is located. If there are several fortifications (*fortericias*), they will be divided in the manner of castles, as noted below. If there are two or three castles but only two brothers, the firstborn may take the castle he prefers and the next son the castle he likes best; each will have the fiefs of the castle, the arable and vineyards, pastures, waterways, and ponds within the parish of the castle. Then the firstborn will take the third castle with its fiefs, arable, pastures, vineyards, waterways, and ponds within its parish. The revenues, taxes, and produce of those castles and castellanies will be appraised, and each brother will receive half of the value, so that each will receive an equal share within his castellany. But if the son who has the less valuable castle and castellany does not receive an equal share within his castellany, he will have the remainder of it assigned on open land (*terra plana*). And if the revenue from that open land is inadequate, he will have his revenue assigned within the castellany, except for the justice of the lord of the castle, as noted above. And if there are four castles, the next born will have the fourth. And if there are several castles, they will be divided accordingly.

If, however, there are more heirs than provided for above, and there are several castles, the eldest son will take the castle he chooses, the next son will take the castle he likes best, and the next younger son will do the same; and that is the way they are divided, namely, the firstborn will choose freely but each of the brothers will have the advantage of a castle, as stated above, and the revenues and produce will be appraised, as noted above. If, however, there are too many heirs for each to have a castle, those who lack one will have their shares assigned on open land, as already stated.

Be it known that this ordinance (*stabilimentum*) was enacted for all castles that move from me (*de omnibus castellis que movent de me*), and that it becomes effective from the day it was enacted. Divisions (*particiones*) made before the day of this establishment will remain in effect and are secure. So that this endure and remain firmly established, I and my barons have had this letter sealed with our seals. Done in the year of grace 1224, on the feast of the birth of the Lord, in the month of December.

Appendix B. The Registers of Fiefs and Homages

The chancery's archive and administrative registers were transferred to Paris in the 1320s.¹ The loose pieces, primarily letters patent and the rolls of fiefs of 1249–51 and 1275 (the only original feudal surveys to survive intact to the fourteenth century), were sent to the royal Trésor des Chartes and placed in wooden boxes called *layettes*.² The various bound volumes (financial accounts, domanial surveys, cartularies, and books of homages) went to the royal Chambre des Comptes, where in 1489 they were stored “in a new coffer next to the chimney.”³ Since the Trésor des Chartes remained largely inaccessible to the early historians of medieval institutions, Pierre Pithou, Nicolas Brussel, Charles Du Cange, Lévesque de la Ravallière, and Louis Chantereau-Lefebvre scrutinized the more readily available volumes in the Chambre des Comptes.⁴ They were particularly attracted to the cartularies (especially the Liber Principum) and two volumes entitled *Feoda Campanie*, both of which later perished in the fire of 26 October 1737.

A century ago Auguste Longnon attempted to reconstruct the lost *Feoda Campanie* volumes, particularly the 127-folio volume designated “J” in the Chambre des Comptes that contained the earliest registers of fiefs.⁵ He initially edited what he thought was a mid-thirteenth century French transcription (AN, P 1114), but after discovering a derivative and highly defective eighteenth-century Latin copy of the same volume (BM Troyes, MS 2277), he was able to recover most of the original Latin text (Table B.1).⁶ Longnon concluded that the original volume “J” contained six registers, which he designated *Feoda* 1–6.⁷ It seems now that there were only three distinct surveys of fiefholders by castellany (Table B.2): under Henry I (*Feoda* 1, ca. 1178), Henry II (*Feoda* 2, ca. 1190),⁸ and Blanche (*Feoda* 3, 4, 5, ca. 1201–4, with later additions).⁹ The last register (*Feoda* 6) was not a survey at all but rather a book of homages (*Hommages* 1 here) in which homages were recorded in a codex (or unbound quires) as they were rendered to Thibaut IV after his accession in 1222.¹⁰ An eight-folio fragment of a second book of homages (*Hommages* 2 here), for homages rendered in the 1230s and 1240s, also survives (Longnon's *Feoda* 7).¹¹ Thus the lost 127-folio volume entitled *Feoda Campanie* (“J”) was not a gathering of the origi-

nal registers, as Longnon thought, but rather a copy made in 1230–32 of the original fief rolls (ca. 1178–1204) and the unbound quires of homages (1220s).¹² What Longnon edited as *Feoda* 1–7 thus constituted five distinct sets of records: three sets of rolls derived primarily from inquests (ca. 1178, 1190, and 1201–4), and two sets of unbound quires recording homages rendered to Thibaut IV (1222–29, 1230s–40s) (Tables B.2, B.3).

The second volume entitled *Feoda Campanie* in the *Chambre des Comptes*, a 101-folio codex designated “M” (*Rôles* here) has a simpler history (Table B.2).¹³ Longnon reconstructed the entire volume from a complete French transcription of 1326, supplemented by sixteenth-century extracts made directly from the original.¹⁴ The French transcription identifies the volume as a register of homages to Thibaut V, implying that homages were listed as rendered since 1256, even though the entries are based on a systematic inquest on fiefs conducted by castellany (the original Latin title affixed to the volume’s binding, *Feoda Campanie*, also suggests it). The original volume most likely was a fair copy of now-lost rolls, the medium of all feudal inquests in the thirteenth century, of a survey completed by December 1262.¹⁵

The earliest extant rolls, from 1249–51 (Figure 1), offer precious testimony about the material aspects of the earlier rolls and the processes involved in their creation. Thirty-three rolls survive: twenty-three describe current fiefs, three list alienations, three contain abstracts of letters patent held by the bailiffs, and four summarize castleguard (Table B.4).¹⁶ Each roll consists of one to seven membranes of parchment measuring 20/24 cm by 48/60 cm and sewn end to end. The first membranes are cut to uniform width and length and are longer (50–70 cm) than the others. The parchment surface was treated to make it white, a process that accounts for some flaking, but very little damage has occurred in the century since the rolls were published, and they remain in an excellent state of preservation after seven hundred years.¹⁷

The rolls of fiefs of Blanche of Artois (1275) followed the betrothal of Jeanne with Philip of France in May 1275. They were drawn up on separate membranes for each castellany, then were sewn together in four long rolls, one for each *bailliage*. They survive today in an excellent state. The uniformity of their composition suggests that they, like the earlier rolls, are fair copies made from lost field returns. But unlike the earlier rolls, the rolls in 1275 are written directly in French and often verbatim from oral testimony.¹⁸

TABLE B.1. TRANSMISSION OF THE *FEODA CAMPANIE* ("J")

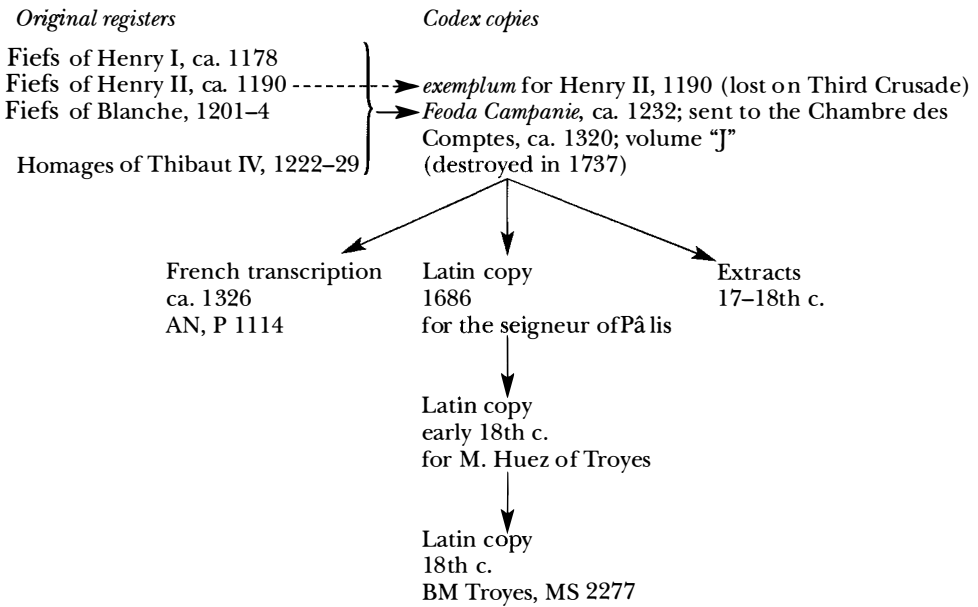


TABLE B.2. THE REGISTERS OF FIEFS AND HOMAGES

<i>Originals</i>	<i>Longnon</i>	<i>Designations</i>
		<i>Chambre des Comptes</i>
Rolls of Henry I, ca. 1178	<i>Feoda</i> 1	} <i>Feoda Campanie</i> ("J")
Rolls of Henry II, ca. 1190	<i>Feoda</i> 2	
Rolls of Blanche, 1201–4	<i>Feoda</i> 3–5	
Homages (1) of Thibaut IV, 1222–29	<i>Feoda</i> 6	} <i>Hommaiges</i> ("EE")
Homages (2) of Thibaut IV, 1230s–40s	<i>Feoda</i> 7	
Rolls of Thibaut IV, 1249–50	<i>Rôles</i>	[at Trésor des Chartes]
Rolls of Thibaut V, 1262	<i>Hommages</i>	<i>Feoda Campanie</i> ("M")
Rolls of Blanche of Artois, 1275	<i>Rôles</i>	[at Trésor des Chartes]

TABLE B.3. THE EARLIEST ROLLS OF FIEFS

<i>Rolls of Henry I</i> <i>Feoda 1</i> (ca. 1178)	<i>Rolls of Henry II</i> ¹ <i>Feoda 2</i> (ca. 1190)	<i>Rolls of Blanche</i> <i>Feoda 3, 4, 5</i> (ca. 1201/4)
Laferté-sur-Aube	Laferté-sur-Aube	
Bar-sur-Aube	Bar-sur-Aube	
Rosnay	Rosnay	
Saint-Florentin	<u>Saint-Florentin</u>	
Ervy	Ervy	
Villemaur	Villemaur	
Vitry + Larzicourt	Vitry + Larzicourt	
<u>Wassy</u> ²	<u>Wassy</u>	
Bussy	Bussy	
Mareuil-sur-Ay	Mareuil-sur-Ay	
Montfélix	Montfélix	
Épernay	Épernay	
Châtillon-sur-Marne + Fismes	Châtillon-sur-Marne + Fismes	
Oulchy	<u>Oulchy</u>	
Château-Thierry	<u>Château-Thierry</u>	
Meaux	Meaux	
Coulommiers ³	Coulommiers ³	
Montereau	Montereau	
Chantemerle	Chantemerle	
Bray-sur-Seine	Bray-sur-Seine	Knights of Bray ⁴
Provins	Provins	
Payns	Payns	
Pont-sur-Seine		
Sézanne	<u>Sézanne</u> ⁵	
Vertus		
Troyes + Isle-Aumont	<u>Troyes + Isle-Aumont</u>	
Méry-sur-Seine	<u>Méry-sur-Seine</u>	
	Jouy [*]	Sainte-Menehould ⁷ Nogent-sur-Seine ⁸ Chaumont ⁹ <i>Feoda Magna</i> ¹⁰ <i>Castles jurabilia et reddibilia</i> ¹¹

N.B.: Underlined names represent changes to Longnon's edition in *Documents*, 1.

1. I have modified Longnon's edition by adding to Henry II's rolls: (1) the corrected lists for Oulchy and Château-Thierry, which Longnon included in *Feoda 1* (nos. 900–924, 1007–39), and (2) the lists for Sézanne, Troyes + Isle-Aumont, Saint-Florentin, Méry-sur-Seine, and Wassy that Longnon edited under *Feoda 3* (nos. 2492–2506, 2511–82). It is not clear whether the roll for Jouy belongs with *Feoda 1*, as Longnon has it, or with *Feoda 2*.

2. Although Longnon placed this roll in *Feoda 3* (nos. 2673–2702), it resembles the rolls of Henry I, particularly in containing scribal corrections (unlike all other lists within *Feoda 3*).

3. For unknown reasons, chancery scribes ca. 1232 copied the roll for Coulommiers of Henry I into Cartulary-Register 5 (KK 1064, fol. 390r-v) under the title *Isti sunt feodati de Col[umbarias]* (edited in M.-Cl. Hubert, "Recherches sur les frontières," 171–90). The roll for Coulommiers that Longnon edited as *Feoda 1*, nos. 1179–1256, belongs rather to the rolls of Henry II.

4. *Feoda 3*, nos. 2608–72, were most likely drawn up after May 1201, when Blanche turned

over Bray as security to Philip II. It is entitled *Isti milites sunt de feodo Bratii juxta testimonium Girardi Eventati*.

5. A stray entry (*Feoda* 3, no. 2607) referring to Roger Gros Os, who *non est in scripto patris* [Henry I] *vel filii* [Henry II], confirms that only two sets of rolls existed at the death of Thibaut III, and that the roll for Sézanne printed in *Feoda* 3 (nos. 2492–2506) with a date of ca. 1201 is in fact a roll from the time of Henry II, ca. 1190.

6. This is the earliest roll for Jouy.

7. See Chapter 2 n. 9.

8. See Chapter 2 n. 7.

9. *Feoda* 4, nos. 2889–96. See Chapter 2 n. 31.

10. Although edited as part of *Feoda* 2 (nos. 2421–84), it might well date from the time of Blanche (one entry, perhaps an insertion, refers to Count Louis of Blois, 1191–1205).

11. See Chapter 2 n. 35.

TABLE B.4. THE EXTANT ROLLS OF 1249–51

[Bailliage]	Castellany	Fiefs	Alienations	Rolls for	
				Bailiff letters	Castle-guard
[Provins]	Bray-sur-Seine	X ¹			X
	Chantemerle				
	Jouy	X			X
	Montereau				
	Nogent-sur-Seine	X ²			
	Pont-sur-Seine	X			
	Provins	X		X	X
	Sézanne	X			
[Troyes]	Bar-sur-Seine	X			
	Ervy	X			
	Isle-Aumont	X			
	Méry-sur-Seine	X			
	Payns	X ³			
	Troyes	X			
	Saint-Florentin	X			
	Villemaur				
[Meaux]	Château-Thierry		X		
	Châtillon-sur-Marne				
	Coulommiers	X			X
	Fismes	X ⁴			
	Meaux	X	X	X	
	Oulchy	X [Vitry]	Bussy		
	Épernay	X			
	Sainte-Menehould	X		X	
[Chaumont]	Vertus	X			
	Vitry	X	X		
	Bar-sur-Aube	X			
	Chaumont				
	Laferté-sur-Aube				
	Nogent	X			

TABLE B.4. (CONTINUED)

<i>[Bailliage]</i>	<i>Castellany</i>	<i>Fiefs</i>	<i>Rolls for</i>		
			<i>Alienations</i>	<i>Bailiff letters</i>	<i>Castle- guard</i>
	Rosnay				
	Wassy				

Manuscripts are cited in Longnon, *Documents*, 1: xixxxix. Underlined names are for rolls dated 1249.

1. The third membrane resembles those of 1250; it might have been added, as Longnon suspected.
2. The beginning of the roll is torn; it might have contained additional entries.
3. Entries for Payns are added to the bottom of the roll for Méry.
4. Vestiges of sewing along the top of the first membrane indicate a lost membrane.

Appendix C. Quantitative Tables

Tables C.1–C.7 are based on an analysis of more than 10,000 entries in the six surveys of fiefs and two registers of homages. The remaining tables are obtained from an analysis of successions to castles (C.8) and of life courses within the comital and the best documented aristocratic families (C.9–C.16).

TABLE C.1. THE COUNT'S FIEFHOLDERS, 1178–1275

<i>Fiefholders</i>	<i>1178</i>	<i>1190</i>	<i>1250</i>	<i>1262</i>	<i>1275</i>
All (estimate) ¹	1,899	1,859	1,707	1,089	811
Fifteen “old” castellanies ²	1,105	1,072	780	515	340
(average per castellany)	74	72	52	34	23
<i>Gender</i> ³					
Men	1,887	439	977	432	451
Women	12	59	205	106	93
Percentage of women	0.6	13.4 ⁴	17.3	19.7	17.1

1. Adjustments to the extant returns are as follows. For 1190: the original entries in the rolls of Henry I plus additions, minus deletions. For 1250: the twenty-three extant rolls list 1,182 fiefholders (1,358 entries minus 176 duplicate/multiple entries); that figure extrapolated to thirty-four castellanies yields about 1,707 fiefholders. For 1262 and 1275: three castellany returns are missing from the rolls of 1262 (Ervy, Wassy, Rosnay) and the rolls of 1275 (Villemaur, Marroles, Bussy). The missing returns are here replaced by the ones furnished in the other inquest; thus Ervy's numbers for 1275 serve as well for 1262.

2. Fifteen “old” castellanies have extant returns from all inquests between 1178 and 1275 (Troyes, Isle-Aumont, Saint-Florentin, Payns, Pont-sur-Seine, Provins, Jouy, Bray-sur-Seine, Coulommiers, Meaux, Bar-sur-Seine, Oulchy, Épernay, Vertus, and Sézanne).

3. Actual number of fiefholders in the extant rolls.

4. Based on 439 new fiefholders named in the emendations made ca. 1190 to Henry I's rolls, that is, 59 women (see Table C.3).

TABLE C.2. CASTLEGUARD OWED BY COMITAL FIEFS, 1178–1275

A. Fiefs Owing Castleguard (percent)						
<i>Obligation</i>	<i>1178</i>	<i>1190</i>	<i>1220s</i>	<i>1250</i>	<i>1262</i>	<i>1275</i>
Reported	40.7	40.2	10.3	26.6	21.2	7.4
Uncertain			0.1	6.8		
None				24.1	0.5	0.3
Not reported	59.3	59.8	89.6	42.5	78.3	92.3
Total number of fiefs	2,039	2,071	775	1,511	1,287	920

TABLE C.2. (CONTINUED)

B. Tours of Castleguard Duty (percent)						
<i>Tours (in weeks)</i>	<i>1178</i>	<i>1190</i>	<i>1220s</i>	<i>1250</i>	<i>1262</i>	<i>1275</i>
1-4	1.3	1.4	17.5	19.4	24.2	23.5
6-8	37.6	37.0	36.5	42.0	44.3	57.4
9-12	24.1	30.6	12.5	11.2	11.7	5.9
13-52	10.0	11.9	7.5	11.7	8.1	8.8
<i>Custodia, garda</i>	19.4	13.2	26.3	15.7	11.7	4.4
<i>Estagium</i>	7.3	5.9				
Number of fiefs owing castleguard	830	832	80	402	273	68
Percent of all fiefs	40.7	40.2	10.3	26.6	21.2	7.4

TABLE C.3. TRANSFERS OF COMITAL FIEFS, 1178-90

<i>Fiefs transferred to family members</i>	
Wife	50
Son	111
Daughter	5
Brother/sister	10
Son-in-law/other	9
Probable relative ¹	<u>79</u>
Total transferred to family	264 (60%)
<i>Fiefs transferred out of family</i>	
Sold/reverted to count	36
To church	7
Reassigned to laymen	<u>132</u>
Total transferred from family	175 (40%)
Total number of fiefs transferred	439

Table C.3 is derived from the emendations made ca. 1190 to the rolls of Henry I: of 2,039 fiefs inventoried, 439 (21.5%) are noted as having been transferred (notations such as "he lives" [*vivil*] are ignored here). Of those 439 transferred fiefs, 59 (13.4%) passed to women (50 widows, 5 daughters, 4 sisters). According to the rolls of Henry II (see Table C.4), about 54% of the fiefs in 1190 had been acquired from a family member.

1. It is assumed that those with similar names are related: Erlebaud of Aulnay, for example, was probably related to Nevel of Aulnay whose fief he acquired (*Feoda* 1, no. 195).

TABLE C.4. TRANSFERS OF COMITAL FIEFS, 1190-1250

	<i>1190</i>	<i>1220s</i>	<i>1250</i>
<i>Source of familial acquisition</i>			
Father, mother (inheritance)	116	43	100
Wife, husband (dower, dowry)	48	81	309
Brother, sister (collateral inheritance)	9	13	50
Probable relative (collateral inheritance)	74		
Total familial	247 (54.3%)	137 (88.4%)	459 (87.8%)

Source of nonfamilial acquisition

Allodial conversion		3	14
Purchase		6	30
Exchange		2	2
Other/unspecified	143		
New grant from count	65	7	18
Total nonfamilial	208 (45.7%)	18 (11.6%)	64 (12.2%)
Total number of fiefs transferred ¹	455 (100%)	155 (100%)	523 (100%)
Total number of fiefs inventoried	455	775	1511

1. Figures are derived from the rolls of fiefs of Henry II (1190), the book of homages (1220s), and the rolls of 1250.

TABLE C.5. STATUS OF THE COUNT'S FIEFHOLDERS, 1250

A. Direct Fiefholders (percent)

<i>Status</i>	<i>County</i> ¹	<i>Bailliage of Troyes</i> ²
<i>Dominus, miles</i>	55.5	50.2
<i>Armiger</i>	18.5	20.4
<i>Domina</i>	16.6	21.3
<i>Domicella</i>	2.8	4.4
Other	6.7	3.6
Fiefholders with title	899	225
Fiefholders without title ³	283	54
Total number of fiefholders	1,182	279

B. Rear-Fiefholders (percent)

<i>Status</i>	<i>County</i> ¹	<i>Bailliage of Troyes</i> ²
<i>Dominus, miles</i>	30.3	34.9
<i>Armiger</i>	2.3	2.1
<i>Domina</i>	9.2	9.5
<i>Domicella</i>	0.8	0.2
Other	2.7	3.0
Without title ⁴	54.7	50.3
Total number of rear-fiefholders	1,519	430

1. Evergates, "The Aristocracy of Champagne," 6–8, 14–15.

2. Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 71–73. The *bailliage* of Troyes consisted of the nine southernmost castellanies of the county.

3. The omission of titles is regarded as a random event rather than as designating a category of nontitled fiefholders, since some of the nontitled are identifiable from other sources.

4. The large number of omissions of title (more than twice the percentage for fiefholders) suggests that many rear-fiefholders, unlike direct fiefholders, did not carry a title.

TABLE C.6. FORTIFICATIONS AND RESIDENCES ON COMITAL FIEFS, 1250

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Castle	46	3.8
Fortress, tower	17	1.4
Fortified house	147	12.1
House	432	35.5
Merchant hall	21	1.7
Granary	12	1.0
Total number of fiefs with structures	675	55.5

Based on 1,216 fiefs described in the extant fief rolls of 1249–51.

TABLE C.7. VALUES OF COMITAL FIEFS, 1250

<i>Value (in lt.)</i>	<i>Castle</i>	<i>Fortress</i>	<i>Fortified house</i>	<i>House</i>	<i>All fiefs</i>
200 +	1		3	2	7
100	*5	1	10	10	31
90			1	2	3
80	1		5	4	11
70	2			1	3
60			12	15	37
50			5	8	19
40		1	*7	21	43
30		1	8	28	58
20		1	7	*53	95
15		*1	4	24	*62
10		2	6	41	102
5			6	43	111
1		2	5	20	93
Total number of valued fiefs	9	9	79	272	675
*median value	100lt.	15lt.	40lt.	20lt.	15lt.
Average value					26.7lt.
Fiefs not valued	37	8	68	159	541
Total number of described fiefs ¹	46	17	147	432	1,216

1. Of the 1,511 fiefs inventoried in the extant rolls, 1,216 (80.5%) are described as to their components. Of those described fiefs, 675 (55.5%) are valued in terms of annual revenue.

TABLE C.8. CASTLE SUCCESSIONS, 1100–1300

A. Summary of Successions

<i>Heir</i>	<i>Twelfth Century (%)</i>	<i>Thirteenth Century (%)</i>	<i>Total (%)</i>
Eldest son	70 (62.5)	35 (41.7)	105 (53.6)
Younger son	14 (12.5)	15 (17.9)	29 (14.8)
Daughter	9 (8.0)	6 (7.1)	15 (7.7)
Sibling	12 (10.7)	19 (22.6)	31 (15.8)
Other	7 (6.3)	9 (10.7)	16 (8.2)
Number of successions	112 (100)	84 (100)	196 (100)

B. Successions by Family

<i>Castle</i>	<i>Eldest son</i> 12th c./ 13th c.	<i>Younger son</i> 12th c./ 13th c.	<i>Daughter</i> 12th c./ 13th c.	<i>Sibling</i> 12th c./ 13th c.	<i>Other</i> 12th c./ 13th c.
Aigremont	2-2	1-0	1-1	1-1	
Bar-sur-Seine	4-0		1-0		0-1
Beaufort	1-0	1-1	1-1	0-3	0-1
Broyes	3-3				
Chacenay	4-1			1-2	0-1
Champagne (counts)	2-2		0-1	2-1	1-0
Châteauvillain	0-2				
Châtillon	3-2	0-2		1-0	
Chaumont	3-0				0-1
Choiseul	4-2			1-0	
Clefmont	2-2	0-1			
Crécy	3-2	0-1	2-0	2-0	0-1
Dampierre (Aube)	2-1	1-2			
Faucogney	2-1		1-0	0-2	
Joinville	3-0	0-1		1-1	
Jully-sur-Sarce	1-1	1-0	0-1	0-1	
Lafauche	3-3	1-0		0-1	
Montjay	2-2	1-0			
Montmirail	4-0	0-2	0-1	0-1	
Nogent-sur-Seine	1-0	1-0	1-0		1-0
Nogent	3-0				0-1
Oisy	4-0	0-2		1-2	
Pierrefonds	1-0			1-1	2-0
Plancy	3-2	0-1			0-1
Possesse	4-2	2-0			1-1
Sailly	0-2	0-1		0-2	
Tournan	4-1				1-1
Vignory	0-1	4-0		0-1	
Villemaur	2-0		1-0	1-0	1-0
Ville-sur-Arce	1-1	1-1	1-1		
Number of successions	70-35	14-15	9-6	12-19	7-9

TABLE C.9. AGES OF THE COUNTS AND COUNTESSSES OF CHAMPAGNE

<i>Counts</i>	<i>Succession</i>	<i>Age at:</i>			<i>Countesses</i>	<i>Age at:</i>		
		<i>Marriage</i>	<i>Death</i>			<i>Marriage</i>	<i>Regent</i>	<i>Death</i>
Henry I	25	37	54	Marie	19	36	53	
Henry II	21	26	31					
Thibaut III	19	20	23	Blanche	20	22	50	
Thibaut IV	21	20		Gertrude	16		20	
		22		Agnes	~20		30	
		31	51	Margaret	~16	37	43	
Thibaut V	21	20	35	Isabelle	13		29	
Henry III	22	20	22	Blanche	~18	22	54	
Median age	21	20	35		18		43	

TABLE C.10. AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

<i>Age</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
50+		1
40-49		
30-39		4
25-29		1
20-24	2	*16
15-19	*14	4
12-14	6	
Number of examples	22	26

*Median age

TABLE C.11. AGE DIFFERENCE AT MARRIAGE (WIFE'S AGE RELATIVE TO HUSBAND'S AGE)

	<i>First marriage</i>	<i>Subsequent marriage</i>
<i>Years younger</i>		
15+	5	1
10-14	2	1
5-9	1	
1-4	4	2
Same age	1	1
<i>Years older</i>		
1-4	1	2
5-9		
10+		2
Number of examples	14	9

TABLE C.12. DURATION OF MARRIAGES

	<i>First marriage</i>		<i>Subsequent marriage</i>	
<i>Years</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
30+	2	2	1	
20-29	*13	*11	7	2
10-19	6	4	*2	*5
5-9	3	3	3	1
1-4	3	1	3	
Number of examples	27	21	16	8

*Median duration

TABLE C.13. REASONS FOR TERMINATION OF FIRST MARRIAGES

	<i>Wife</i>	<i>Husband</i>
Death	7	15
Death of spouse	21	12
Divorce	3	1
Monastic profession		3
Spouse's monastic profession	2	
Number of examples	33	31

N.B. A woman's first marriage is counted separately from a man's first marriage.

TABLE C.14. NUMBER OF MARRIAGES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
3	3	1
2	12	13
1	*14	29
Number of examples	29	43

*Four women predeceased their husbands; ten widows did not remarry.

TABLE C.15. NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER MARRIAGE

<i>Number of children</i>	<i>Woman's first marriage</i>	<i>Woman's second marriage</i>
6 +	4	3
5	3	2
4	3	
3	3	2
2	5	2
1	7	3
0	4	2
Number of examples	29	14

N.B. Tabulation excludes children who died in infancy or were given as oblates.

TABLE C.16. LONGEVITY

<i>Age</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
70 +	4	8
60-69	9	6
50-59	*8	*9
40-49	3	6
30-39	1	1
20-29	2	1
Number of examples	27	31

*Median

Appendix D. Prosopographical Register

This register gathers basic information about twenty-eight women and thirty-six men whose lives can be documented in a rudimentary manner. The nature of the evidence makes this register illustrative rather than comprehensive. A name in ***bold italics*** cross-lists a separate entry. Genealogies are in Appendix E.

- 1 Aigremont, Alix
- 2 Auxonne, Beatrice
Bar-le-Duc, Agnes. See Hugh V of Châtillon
Bar-sur-Seine, Helisent. See Helisent of Joigny
- 3 Bar-sur-Seine, Hermesend
- 4 Bar-sur-Seine, Milo IV
- 5 Bar-sur-Seine, Petronilla
- 6 Baudement, Agnes
- 7 Beaufort, Felicity
- 8 Bourbon, Mathilda
- 9 Bricon, Simon
- 10 Brienne, Agnes
Brienne, André. See André II of Ramerupt
Brienne, Erard. See Erard I of Ramerupt
- 11 Broyes, Emeline
- 12 Broyes, Hugh III
- 13 Chacenay, Erard I
- 14 Chacenay, Erard II
- 15 Chacenay, Jacques I
Chacenay, Jacques. See Jacques of Durnay
- 16 Champlitte, Beatrice
Châteauvillain, Elizabeth. See Elizabeth of Dreux
- 17 Châteauvillain, Jean
- 18 Châteauvillain, Simon
- 19 Châtillon-sur-Marne, Gaucher II
- 20 Châtillon-sur-Marne, Gaucher III
- 21 Châtillon-sur-Marne, Guy IV
- 22 Châtillon-sur-Marne, Hugh V
- 23 Choiseul, Agnes

- 24 Choiseul, Ida
- 25 Choiseul, Jean
- 26 Choiseul, Renard II
- 27 Clefmont, Simon IV
- 28 Courtenay, Alix
- 29 Crécy (-la-Chapelle), Beatrice
- 30 Dampierre, Helvide
- 31 Dampierre, Jeanne
- 32 Dampierre (-le-Château), Renard II
- 33 Dreux, Alix
- 34 Dreux, Elizabeth/Isabelle
- 35 Durnay, Jacques
- 36 Faucogney, Clemence
- 37 Garlande, Marie
- 38 Grandpré, Alix
Grandpré, Marie. See Marie of Garlande
- 39 Joigny, Helisent
- 40 Joigny, Pierre
- 41 Joinville, Elizabeth/Isabelle
- 42 Joinville, Geoffroy
Joinville, Guy. See Guy of Sailly
- 43 Joinville, Jean
- 44 Joinville, Simon
- 45 Montmirail, Gaucher
- 46 Montmirail, Jean I
- 47 Montmirail, Jean II
- 48 Montmirail, Marie
- 49 Nogent, Renier II
- 50 Nogent-sur-Seine, Elizabeth
- 51 Pierrefonds, Agathe
- 52 Possesse, Jean
- 53 Ramerupt, André
- 54 Ramerupt, Erard I
- 55 Roucy, Jean II
- 56 Sailly, Guy
- 57 Traînel, Anselm II
- 58 Traînel, Guy Gastablé
Traînel, Hermesend. See Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine
- 59 Vendeuvre, Humbeline
- 60 Venizy, Alix
- 61 Vignory, Gautier I
- 62 Vignory, Gautier II
- 63 Villehardouin, Geoffroy
- 64 Villehardouin, Jean

1 Aigremont, Alix (b. ca. 1230–d. 1302)

Heiress of Renard of Aigremont (1229–49) and Elizabeth of Bauffremont. In 1245 she married *Jean of Choiseul*, then about twenty. She witnessed his homage to the bishop of Langres for Aigremont and Choiseul castles (December 1246) and thereafter appeared in many of his acts. In 1289 the pope absolved her crusade vow because of her advanced age. She died in 1302, after fifty-seven years of marriage, at about seventy-two (assuming her marriage at about fifteen) and was buried in the chapter hall of Morimond. She had three sons (the second inherited Aigremont) and two daughters. Jean survived her by seven years. [Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 328, 347 (genealogical table); Faget de Castlejau, “Choiseul, 2,” 246–54; *Choiseul*, 69 n. 148, 73 n. 162, 73–74, nos. 123–124, 126.]

2 Auxonne, Beatrice (b. ca. 1205–d. ca. 1261) Genealogy 10

Daughter of Stephen II, count of Burgundy and Auxonne, and Beatrice, countess of Chalon-sur-Saône. She had two daughters by her first marriage to Haimo of Faucogney (d. 1253) which ended in divorce. In 1224, at about twenty, Beatrice married the seneschal *Simon of Joinville*, then about forty and widowed after a fourteen-year marriage to Ermengard of Montclair. Their first child *Jean of Joinville* was born in 1225; three more sons and two daughters followed during their nine-year marriage. The death in 1233 of Simon and his son *Geoffroy of Joinville* by his first marriage made Beatrice regent for Jean. She carried the title *domina* of Joinville and *senescalla Campanie* until 1239, when fourteen-year-old Jean assumed those titles while remaining under her custody through 1243 (see Chapter 7 n. 88). In 1241 she took the title of her dower castle at Vaucouleurs.¹ She died in her late fifties, about twenty-eight years after Simon. Her dowry of Marnay passed to her second son, Simon. [Lusse, “D’Etienne à Jean de Joinville,” 20, 26–27; Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 57, 61, 67, 70.]

3 Bar-sur-Seine, Hermesend (b. ca. 1140/45–d. 1211) Genealogy 2

Fifth child and only daughter of Petronilla of Chacenay and Guy, count of Bar-sur-Seine (d. 1147). Born in the early 1140s (her mother is mentioned from 1139), Hermesend was probably in her mid-teens when she married (ca. 1159) *Anselm II of Traînel*, butler of Champagne, then about thirty-three, who had been jilted out of his first marriage.² As lady of Traînel, she must have known Heloise, abbess of the nearby Paraclete (1130–64), who sponsored a priory of twenty nuns at Traînel (ca. 1142).³ Hermesend was in her forties when Anselm died (1184); by then her son had reached his majority and her daughter was married to a local lord. Four years later (1189) she married Thibaut of Briey, a widower of twenty-nine and younger brother of the Henry I, count of Bar-le-Duc (1174–90).⁴ Thibaut dowered her with his castle of Briey, its castellany, half of all his future acquisitions, and promised an additional castle and castellany (Saint-

Mihel) if he ever succeeded his unmarried brother.⁵ She had three more children in her mid-forties, a son and two daughters. When Thibaut succeeded as count (1190–1214), Hermesend, then about fifty, became countess of Bar-le-Duc. Thibaut divorced her in 1196.⁶

Hermesend lived the last fifteen years of her life on her original dower lands in Traînel. On her return, she arbitrated a bitter dispute between the nuns of the Paraclete and the monks of Vauluisant, two neighboring monastic communities founded in the 1120s and long patronized by the Traînel (see Chapter 4 n. 134). She continued to be called “lady of Traînel” both in letters patent and in the count’s registers of fiefs while her eldest son Anselm III and his wife Ida exercised lordship over Traînel.⁷ She died in 1211 in her seventies, leaving over 1,900*l.* in debts.⁸ Her tomb was placed in the center of the Paraclete’s chapter hall.⁹ She outlived her son Anselm III (d. 1208/10), whose widow Ida acted as lord of Traînel during the minority of Anselm IV. Hermesend’s son Henry II by her second husband succeeded to Bar-le-Duc (1214–39); her daughter Agnes married **Hugh V of Châtillon**. [Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1490–91; Poull, *Bar*, 127, 150–57; Evergates, “Aristocratic Women,” 98 (genealogical table), 99–101; Parisse, “Les trois mariages” and “Thiébaud,” 164–66.]

4 **Bar-sur-Seine, Milo IV** (b. ca. 1169–d. 1219) Genealogies 2, 3

Only child of **Petronilla of Bar-sur-Seine** and Hugh of Le Puiset (married in 1168). Milo was about six when his mother died and twenty-one when he succeeded to both Bar-sur-Seine (1189) and his paternal grandfather’s lordship of Le Puiset (1190). Milo seems not to have participated on the Third Crusade, but his wife, the widowed **Helisent of Joigny** (they married before 1197), acted in his absence on the Fourth Crusade (he returned by 1205). He went on the Albigensian Crusade (1209), and in 1219 both he and his only surviving son Gaucher perished on the Fifth Crusade.¹⁰ Milo was about fifty. Helisent later sold her dower (half of the county) to Thibaut IV (see Chapter 8 n. 10). [Scammel, *Hugh de Puiset*, 310–11; La Monte, “The Lords of Le Puiset,” 100 (genealogy); Dion, “Le Puiset,” 31–34; Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 110; Nesle, 2: 341; Belotte, “Bar-sur-Seine,” 23–27.]

5 **Bar-sur-Seine, Petronilla** (b. ca. 1150–d. ca. 1174) Genealogy 2

Heiress of Milo III, count of Bar-sur-Seine (1147–51), and **Agnes of Baudement** and named after her paternal grandmother (Petronilla of Chacenay). After her mother remarried in 1152, Petronilla was left at Bar-sur-Seine in the custody of her father’s brother Manasses, a cleric, who served as count of Bar-sur-Seine for seventeen years (1151–68). At about eighteen, Petronilla married Hugh of Le Puiset, then in his early twenties.¹¹ Manasses resumed his clerical career in the chapter of Langres, becoming dean (1168–79) then bishop of Langres (1179–93). Hugh exercised the lordship of Bar-sur-Seine during their marriage (1168–ca. 1174), then as guardian for

their son until Hugh died in England (November 1189). Petronilla was last mentioned in April 1174 in the company of her husband, her son **Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine** (1189–1219), and her daughters Helvide and Margaret.¹² She died in her mid-twenties after a seven-year marriage. [Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 109–10; Bouchard, *Nobility and the Church*, 397; Evergates, “Aristocratic Women,” 98, 101 (genealogical table 4).]

6 Baudement, Agnes (b. ca. 1134–d. 1204) Genealogy 2

Heiress of Guy, lord of Braine and Baudement (d. ca. 1135/45), and granddaughter of André of Baudement (seneschal of Thibaut II, 1111–33) and Agnes of Braine (d. 1149). Shortly before her mother’s death, Agnes married Milo III, count of Bar-sur-Seine (1147–51), by whom she had a daughter, the heiress **Petronilla of Bar-sur-Seine**. On returning from the Second Crusade, Milo took ill and entered Larrivour, where he died.¹³ Agnes and her mother-in-law, Petronilla of Chacenay, witnessed Thibaut II’s confirmation of Milo’s deathbed donation (1151).¹⁴ In 1152 Agnes married the twice-widowed Robert I of Dreux (third son of Louis VI), then about twenty-eight, who dowered her with his newly acquired castle and castellany of Dreux.¹⁵ She appeared frequently with Robert in his acts (1152–88).¹⁶ She actively sponsored construction of the new church of Saint-Yved of Braine, and after Robert’s death she had its stained glass imported from England (ca. 1194–1200). Her four sons and at least four daughters included **Elizabeth of Dreux**, who inherited Baudement. Agnes died at about seventy and was buried in a stone tomb in the choir of Saint-Yved. [Duchesne, *Dreux*, 17–19, 234–40; Evergates, “Aristocratic Women,” 98 (genealogical table 4), 101–2; Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 109; Caviness, *Sumptuous Arts*, 66–69, 73, 123–24, 228 plate 62a (Agnes’s tomb effigy); *Saint-Yved de Braine*, 15–21, genealogy, 16.]

7 Beaufort, Felicity (b. ca. 1177–d. 1243) Genealogies 5, 14

Only daughter of Simon (the Younger of Broyes) I of Beaufort (ca. 1150–87) and Agnes of Joigny.¹⁷ After her mother’s death and while still a young girl, Felicity consented to several of her father’s acts as heiress of Beaufort and half of Ramerupt.¹⁸ She married (ca. 1191) Hugh II, heir of Rethel (1198–1228), whose father dowered her with the castle of Bourcq (see Chapter 5 n. 79). They had four sons and four daughters during a thirty-seven-year marriage. In 1210 she mortgaged Beaufort to Countess Blanche, perhaps to pay Hugh’s debts.¹⁹ She later recovered Beaufort and assigned revenues there to her son Gaucher, archdeacon of Liège.²⁰ Her last act as lady of Beaufort (July 1243) settled her dispute with Chapelle-aux-Planches.²¹ If she married at about fourteen, she was born circa 1177 and lived to her mid-sixties. Beaufort passed to her second son Jean, count of Rethel (1243–51).

8 Bourbon, Mathilda (b. late 1160s–d. 1218)

Only daughter of Archambaud of Bourbon (d. 1169) and Alix of Burgundy (daughter of Marie of Champagne and Odo II, duke of Burgundy). She married Gaucher IV of Vienne, lord of Salins, at about fifteen (1183). His return from the Third Crusade in the early 1190s precipitated a violent conjugal quarrel, acts of violence, and Mathilda's flight to her grandmother's lands in Champagne, where she obtained a divorce in 1195 (see Chapter 5 n. 156). Within months she married the constable of Champagne, Guy II of Dampierre (b. ca. 1140–d. 1216), then in his fifties and apparently not previously married. Their twenty-year marriage produced seven children, including her heir at Bourbon (Archambaud VII, father of Countess Margaret of Champagne) and Guy's heir at Dampierre (their second son William, who married Margaret, countess of Flanders). In 1212 Mathilda's daughter by her first marriage, Margaret, and her husband William III of Fourcalquier brought suit to the king's court, claiming that Margaret had been dispossessed of her inheritance of Bourbon by her half brother Archambaud. Margaret's stepfather Guy initially had agreed to accept her as heiress of Bourbon but later reneged. Margaret lost the case; the royal court decided that a barony should not be divided, that a son (of either marriage) had precedence over a daughter, and that Margaret should receive a dowry suitable to her lineage (see Chapter 5 n. 16). She died in 1218, two years after her husband, at about fifty. [Chazaud, *Bourbon*, 189–97; Devailly, *Berry*, 368 (genealogy), 437; Savetiez, "Dampierre-Saint-Dizier," 115–25, 210–11.]

9 Bricon, Simon (b. ca. 1145–d. ca. 1215) Genealogy 3

Second son of Hugh of Bricon (d. 1147). He married Mathilda, heiress of Rochefort, probably in the early 1170s, since they had underaged children in 1178 (see Chapter 4 n. 93). Simon appears in a number of acts with his older brother Wiard Morhier but seems not to have exercised lordship over Bricon. He owed primary ligeance to the duke of Burgundy.²² If he was knighted at about fourteen (1159) and married in his mid-twenties, Simon was about sixty when he entered Clairvaux (ca. 1205) after about thirty years of marriage. His wife later came to the gate at Clairvaux, where in his presence she consented to his entry gift (see Chapter 7 n. 109). He died at about seventy (ca. 1215). [Roger, "Les Morhier," 90–91, 98–101; 110 no. 8; 118–19 no. 20.]

10 Brienne, Agnes (b. ca. 1118–d. ca. 1191) Genealogies 6, 14

Daughter of Gautier II of Brienne and Adelaide of Baudement.²³ She had two sons and two daughters in a twenty-year marriage to *Jacques I of Chacenay* (1138–58). As lady of Chacenay in 1165, she appeared with several local proprietors to witness the resolution of a dispute involving Mores.²⁴ She apparently never acquired a seal during the thirty-two years she

remained a widow.²⁵ In her early seventies, she made a deathbed testament in the presence of the abbots of Montiéramey and Bassefontaine and her two daughters (1191).²⁶ Her eldest son **Erard I of Chacenay** died on the Third Crusade about the same time. [*Chacenay*, 196–97.]

11 Broyes, Emeline (b. ca. 1180–d. 1249) Genealogies 5, 6

Daughter of **Hugh III of Broyes** and his second wife **Elizabeth of Dreux** (married ca. 1178). Emeline first appeared in January 1182 with her brother **Simon of Châteauvillain** and two half sisters.²⁷ At about fourteen she married Odo II of Champlitte (ca. 1194) and at twenty she appeared as *domina* of Champlitte (1200).²⁸ Odo's death in Constantinople on the Fourth Crusade (1204) left her a widow with a young daughter.²⁹ In 1205 at about twenty-five she married **Erard II of Chacenay**, then about twenty-one. They briefly considered divorce after twenty years of marriage (see Chapter 5 n. 150). Their thirty-one-year marriage produced five children. Widowed in her mid-fifties (1236), Emeline did not remarry. She died thirteen years later in her late sixties. She outlived her eldest son Huet (1236–47), who died without heirs, and saw her second son Erard III become lord of Chacenay (1247–53). [Poull, *Bar*, 107, 110; Evergates, *Documents*, genealogical table 3, and “Aristocratic Women,” 98 (genealogical table 4), 102.]

12 Broyes, Hugh III (b. ca. 1125–d. 1200) Genealogy 5

Eldest son of Simon I of Broyes-Beaufort (d. ca. 1132) and Felicity of Brienne (married in 1110). He and his brother Simon (of Beaufort) were still young children (*infantes, liberi*) in 1131. Hugh married Etiennette, fourth daughter of the count of Bar-le-Duc, who brought the castellany of Commercy as dowry (ca. 1144).³⁰ He seems not to have been a close companion of Henry I.³¹ After the death of his first wife, Hugh married **Elizabeth of Dreux** (ca. 1178), then in her mid-teens, and later dowered her with his castle of Arc. Aubry of Trois-Fontaines reports, without explanation, that Henry II demolished the castle of Broyes in 1190 before setting out on the Third Crusade.³² Hugh, then about seventy, did not join that expedition. He died in 1200 in his seventies and was buried at Clairvaux.³³ Three years later his eldest son, Simon II of Broyes, followed him to the grave. Hugh let **Simon of Châteauvillain**, his son by Elizabeth, inherit Châteauvillain. [Duchesne, *Dreux*, pt. 5, Broyes, 20–25, and *preuves*, 14–18; Poull, *Bar*, 106–7; Aubry of Trois-Fontaines, “Chronicon,” 864, 877.]

13 Chacenay, Erard I (b. ca. 1140–d. 1191) Genealogy 6

Second son of **Jacques I of Chacenay** and **Agnes of Brienne** (married ca. 1138). He succeeded to or usurped Chacenay after his older brother Thomas, lord of Chacenay (1158–79), took the monastic habit, leaving a very young son **Jacques of Durnay**. Erard accompanied Henry I to the Holy Land (1179), just as his father had thirty years earlier on the Second Crusade. His wife,

Mathilda of Donzy (known from 1182), appeared prominently in several of his letters but died before 1190, when Erard joined Henry II on the Third Crusade, leaving his nephew Jacques as *procurator terre*. Erard died at Acre in 1191 about the time his mother made her deathbed testament. His only son **Erard II of Chacenay** succeeded. [*Chacenay*, 202–22.]

14 Chacenay, Erard II (b. 1180s–d. 1236) Genealogies 5, 6

Only son of **Erard I of Chacenay** and Mathilda of Donzy. An infant when his father died at Acre (1191), he was still not knighted and lacked a seal in 1203.³⁴ In 1205 he married **Emeline of Broyes**, widow of Odo of Champlitte, who died on the Fourth Crusade.³⁵ She was in her mid-twenties and had a daughter, Oda. They had five children during their twenty-one year marriage.

Erard was known as a benefactor to local monasteries, including Clairvaux, but otherwise was unremarked until the succession crisis, when he achieved notoriety as the staunchest supporter of Erard of Brienne. Despite ecclesiastical sanctions (his appeal to Pope Honorius III failed to evoke sympathy), he was the last rebel to reconcile with Blanche.³⁶ He went on the Fifth Crusade (1219–20) with several other discontented barons and fought at Damietta. In March 1222 he did homage to Thibaut and, as a gesture of peace, endowed Blanche's new convent of Argensolles.³⁷ He was conspicuously absent from the count's Christmas council in 1224, which was attended by his cousin **Jacques of Durnay** (Chacenay), his brother-in-law **Simon of Châteauvillain**, his son-in-law Guy of Arcis, and his former allies in rebellion (Erard of Brienne, Clarembaud of Chappes, and Henry of Bar-le-Duc), but thereafter he was a loyal vassal and in 1236 stood surety for the marriage of Thibaut IV's daughter Blanche with the son of the duke of Brittany.³⁸ Erard and Emeline almost divorced after he sold her dowry to the Templars, perhaps to pay off his crusade debts, because it was earmarked as dowry for her daughter Oda by her first marriage (see Chapter 5 n. 150). Erard died at about fifty and was buried at Clairvaux; his epitaph is dated 16 June 1236.³⁹ Chacenay passed to his eldest son Huet (1236–47), who died without heirs, then to his younger son Erard III (1247–53). [*Chacenay*, 211–36.]

15 Chacenay, Jacques I (b. ca. 1117–d. 1158) Genealogy 6

Eldest son of Anseric II of Chacenay (1107–37) and Hubeline.⁴⁰ He succeeded in 1138 at about twenty, when his wife **Agnes of Brienne** first appeared. He lacked a seal in 1146, when they made a gift to Bassefontaine.⁴¹ He and his brother Anseric accompanied Henry of Champagne on the Second Crusade, but little else is known about him beyond his benefactions to several local monasteries. He died in 1158 at about forty. [*Chacenay*, 196–202.]

16 Champlitte, Beatrice (b. 1160s–d. 1217/19)

Daughter of Odo I of Champlitte, viscount of Dijon (d. 1187), and granddaughter of Count Hugh of Troyes. Her brothers Odo II (d. 1204) and William (first prince of the Frankish Morea) were leaders of the Fourth Crusade.⁴² In 1179 she was the second wife of a much older Simon III of Clefmont (1155–90), whose first wife died leaving him with two sons. Beatrice had three children before Simon and his oldest son from his first marriage died on the Third Crusade. She ruled Clefmont as a widow for six years until her remarriage in 1196; her second husband, Geoffroy of Deuilly (second son of Gérard II of Vaudémont, lord of Deuilly, 1195–1240), was about the same age or slightly younger. He exercised the lordship of Clefmont (1196–1200) for her oldest surviving son **Simon IV of Clefmont**. Beatrice and Geoffroy had one son in their twenty-one-year marriage.⁴³ She died in 1217/19 in her late fifties. Her dowry at Laferté-sur-Aube passed to Simon IV, who did homage for it and later mortgaged it to Thibaut IV.⁴⁴ [Flammarion, “Clefmont,” 382–87; Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 371 (genealogical table).]

17 Châteauvillain, Jean (b. ca. 1227–1314) Genealogy 5

Only son of **Simon of Châteauvillain** (d. 1259) and Alix of Pleurs. He inherited his mother's lands at Pleurs on returning from Louis IX's crusade,⁴⁵ and became lord of Châteauvillain after his father retired (1255). He married Jeanne, heiress of Luzy and Semur.⁴⁶ Jean was a generous benefactor to the church and funded chapels at Châteauvillain, Saint-Denis, and Andecy (founded ca. 1131 by his grandfather **Hugh III of Broyes**). In 1262 he acquired Semur from his cousin Heloise and thus became a baron in Burgundy and Nevers, with castles at Bourbon-Lancy, Luzy, and Uchon, all of which constituted a “barony.” Local tradition relates that Jean was among the crusaders whose eyes were gouged out by Muslims but whose sight was restored after he prayed at the convent of Cordeliers (ca. 1280), which he had founded in Châteauvillain. In 1282 he and his wife mortgaged most of her inheritance to the duke of Burgundy but recovered it within a year. In 1285 Jean, then almost sixty, distributed most of his lands to his children, but he outlived both his son and eldest grandson.⁴⁷ In 1314 when the nobles of Champagne drew up a list of grievances against Philip IV, Jean's name was placed first on the petition, in deference to his advanced age (he was in his eighties).⁴⁸ [Duchesne, *Dreux*, pt. 5, Broyes, 39–43, *preuves*, 34–36; Guenin, “Les origines féodales,” 248–65; Chizelle, “L'accession à la baronnie.”]

18 Châteauvillain, Simon (b. ca. 1185–d. 1259) Genealogy 5

Only son of **Hugh III of Broyes** by his second wife **Elizabeth of Dreux** (married ca. 1178).⁴⁹ Although his mother called herself lady of Châteauvillain, she probably resided at the nearby castle of Arc, as provided by her dower letter

(see Chapter 5 n. 80), after Simon did liege homage (ca. 1200) for the castle and castellany of Châteauvillain, one of his father's several castle lordships and long associated with Arc and other lands in the Aujon valley.⁵⁰ Simon held Châteauvillain from his eldest half brother until Thibaut III insisted on a liege homage (see Chapter 2 n. 16). In 1206 his mother declared that he had attained his majority, apparently at twenty-one.⁵¹

Simon might have been a signatory to the ordinance of 1212 regarding female successions,⁵² but little is known about him until the civil war over the succession, when he emerged as a leading rebel baron and close ally of the seneschal *Simon of Joinville*. Blanche captured Joinville and Châteauvillain castles in May 1218, ending the rebellion. Shortly afterward, Simon sold his property at Dancevoir, with lordship over the attached fiefs, to Longuay abbey (see Chapter 3 n. 97). Simon attended the count's 1224 Christmas council on the male succession to castles (see Appendix A). His wife, Alix of Pleurs, first appears at this time, when he was about forty, suggesting a late marriage (he was still single in 1219).

In the 1230s and 1240s Simon bought and sold properties in the southern reaches of the county and in Burgundy, and he held fiefs from the duke of Burgundy and the bishop of Langres (including the fortified residence of Courcelles). By 1250 his son *Jean of Châteauvillain* was liege for his mother Alix's fief of Pleurs. In 1255 Simon, then about seventy, resigned Châteauvillain to Jean, who was almost thirty.⁵³ Simon died in 1259 and was buried at Vaucclair, which he and his mother had founded in 1219.⁵⁴ His widow made her testament in 1261 and was buried with him by 1270.⁵⁵ [Duchesne, *Dreux*, pt. 5, Broyes, 35–39, and *preuves*, 31–33; Guenin, "Les origines féodales," 248–65.]

19 Châtillon-sur-Marne, Gaucher II (b. ca. 1118–d. 1148) Genealogy 7
Eldest son of Ermengard, heiress of Châtillon, and Henry, lord of Montjay (1117–35).⁵⁶ Gaucher first appeared with his parents at the foundation of Igny (1130). He later attended Thibaut II's court at Meaux (1134), where in the company of Dreux of Pierrefonds, he witnessed donations to Fontaines-les-Nonnes, and at Sézanne (1137). He was called variously "of Châtillon" and "of Montjay," after his two castles, although the latter was largely destroyed by the king in 1142.⁵⁷ He married Adele of Roucy by 1134.⁵⁸ A decade later at Fontevraud, he and his wife and eldest son gave land to the abbess Petronilla for the foundation of a monastery for men and a convent for women at Longueau.⁵⁹

Gaucher accompanied Henry of Champagne on the Second Crusade and died at Laodicia (1148). Perhaps his friendship with Louis VII's brother, Robert of Dreux, allowed his only son, Guy II, to marry Robert's daughter Adele of Dreux. A close royal tie continued under their son *Gaucher III of Châtillon* and their descendants through the next century.

[Duchesne, *Chastillon*, 1: 30–36, 2: 22–26; Mathieu, “Châtillon-sur-Marne,” 8–12, 24 (revision of *Nesle*, 1: 187, 190–92).]

20 Châtillon-sur-Marne, Gaucher III (b. ca. 1164/65–d. 1219) Genealogy 7
Second son of Guy II of Châtillon (d. 1170) and Adele of Dreux (married ca. 1161). He was about five or six when his father died (ca. 1178). Gaucher and his older brother Guy III (b. 1162–d. 1191) became familiars of Philip II on the Third Crusade.⁶⁰ At Guy’s death in Acre, Gaucher (then in his twenties) inherited Châtillon and Montjay by fraternal succession (a younger brother Robert, a canon at Beauvais, later became bishop of Laon, 1210–15). In 1193 he inherited Pierrefonds from *Agathe of Pierrefonds* but immediately sold it to the king to provide his sister a dowry in marriage to William IV of Garlande, another royal familiar (see Chapter 5 n. 128). Gaucher became seneschal of Burgundy in 1193 and butler of Champagne after 1204.⁶¹ In 1196 he married Elizabeth, heiress (in 1205) of the county of Saint-Pol.⁶²

Gaucher’s deeds in war occurred with the king in the Holy Land, then in Normandy, at Bouvines, and on the Albigensian Crusade. But he was also one of the staunchest supporters of the counts: he attended the marriage of Thibaut III and Blanche of Navarre in 1199 and was among the baronial pledges for Thibaut III and Blanche to the king; he attended the baronial council of 1212 that formalized female succession to castles; and he sat among the peers at Melun (1216) who rejected Erard of Brienne’s claims to Champagne. Before his death in October 1219, he appointed his cousin, Philip of Nanteuil, as guardian of his lands and executor of his testament (with the abbot of Igny and Haimo, master of the Temple in Paris).⁶³ His lands were divided between two sons: the oldest *Guy IV of Châtillon* took the ancestral Montjay and his mother’s county of Saint-Pol; *Hugh V of Châtillon* took Châtillon, Crécy, and the butlership, and in 1233 the county of Saint-Pol. Gaucher married in his early thirties, had two sons in a twenty-three-year marriage, and died in his fifties. Countess Blanche established a chapel at Crécy in his memory. His widow married (1228) Jean of Béthune, third son of William of Béthune, advocate of Artois, and died in 1240/47. [Duchesne, *Chastillon*, 47–69; Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 499–500; *Nesle*, 2: 68; Mesqui, “Crécy-en-Brie,” 77–79; Bur, *Formation*, 455 (genealogical table 34); Mathieu, “Châtillon-sur-Marne,” 24 (genealogical tables 1–2); Nieuw, *Un pouvoir comtal*, 152–55, 174–75.]

21 Châtillon-sur-Marne, Guy IV (b. ca. 1197–d. 1226) Genealogy 7
Eldest son of *Gaucher III of Châtillon* and Elizabeth, heiress of Saint-Pol. He inherited the Châtillon ancestral castle of Montjay and his mother’s county of Saint-Pol (1219–26), although she retained life residence. In 1221 at about twenty-four, Guy married Agnes of Donzy, heiress of the county of Nevers, who earlier had betrothed Louis VIII’s eldest son Philip.⁶⁴ In 1224

Thibaut IV forced Guy and his brother **Hugh V of Châtillon** to make all their castles renderable at his need, a requirement apparently evaded by their father. Guy attended the count's Christmas council of 1224, and in 1226 he followed Thibaut to Avignon, where he was struck by a stone and died. He was about twenty-nine. His wife died shortly afterward, leaving two infants, Yoland and Gaucher. The county of Saint-Pol reverted to their grandmother Elizabeth of Saint-Pol (d. 1240/47) and later passed to Hugh V of Châtillon. [Duchesne, *Chastillon*, 2: 38–44; Mesqui, “Crécy-en-Brie,” 79; Nieus, *Un pouvoir comtal*, 156–59.]

22 Châtillon-sur-Marne, Hugh V (b. ca. 1198–d. 1248) Genealogy 7

Younger son of **Gaucher III of Châtillon** and Elizabeth of Saint-Pol. In 1216, at about eighteen, he married Agnes of Bar-le-Duc, perhaps twenty-one, the daughter of Thibaut I of Bar-le-Duc and **Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine**.⁶⁵ Three years later he inherited his father's lands at Châtillon, the castle of Crécy, and the butlership of Champagne (without hereditary right).⁶⁶ Agnes died in 1225 in her thirties after a barren nine-year marriage.⁶⁷ Hugh remarried, to Marie of Avesnes, heiress of the county of Blois (1225–41). His new title allowed him to avenge Blanche's earlier slight of withholding the butlership, and he became a bitter enemy of Thibaut IV; in the late 1220s he enlarged his fortifications at Crécy without authorization and remained antagonistic toward the count during the 1228–30 baronial invasion of the county. Although they reconciled, Thibaut remembered that disloyalty and at Hugh's death reassigned the butlership to Jean of Thourotte, who became his trusted vice-regent of Champagne. In 1233 Hugh inherited his mother's county of Saint-Pol, which had reverted to her after his older brother **Guy IV of Châtillon** died. Hugh reached an agreement with the “peers” of the castle of Saint-Pol, formalizing their obligation to render castleguard (*estagium vel residentiam*) there (see Chapter 1 n. 130). In May 1247 he formally divided his lands: Châtillon and Saint-Pol went to his third son, Gaucher IV (see Chapter 8 at n. 65). About this time, in the mid-1240s, Hugh conducted an inquest on the fiefs of his fiefholders, the earliest such inventory written in French.⁶⁸ He died shortly afterward in his late forties. [Duchesne, *Chastillon*, 1: 69–76, 2: 38–47; Mesqui, “Crécy-en-Brie,” 77–80; Nieus, “Pairie et ‘estage,’” and *Un pouvoir comtal*, 156–66.]

23 Choiseul, Agnes (b. ca. 1234/35–d. 1300)

Fourth child and second daughter of **Renard II of Choiseul** and his second wife **Alix of Dreux**. She married Simon of Sexfontaines (ca. 1255/58) in her twenties and took Chauffourt as dowry (Simon held it in fief from her oldest brother Jean). Widowed a decade later (ca. 1263/65) in her mid-thirties with four children, she retained both her husband's property and her dowry. She remarried (ca. 1268), to Pierre of Lafauche, about her age, who had succeeded an older brother as lord of Lafauche (1260–70); he became

lord of Chauffourt and Sexfontaines in her name.⁶⁹ Agnes had two more children in her brief second marriage before being widowed again at thirty-five. Seven years later in her early forties, she married a third time (ca. 1277), to Jacques of Bayon (1270–90). She continued to hold her original dowry as well as the lordships of Sexfontaines and Lafauche, and retained wardship over her children. She died in her mid-sixties. [*Choiseul*, 123 n. 257; Faget de Casteljau, “Choiseul, 2” 153; Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 384 (genealogical table).]

24 Choiseul, Ida (b. ca. 1180/82–d. 1249/50)

Second daughter of Fulk II of Choiseul and Alix of Vignory. At about twenty (1200/1204) she married Pierre of Méréville (1193/96–1220) and had two sons. Widowed at about forty, after twenty or more years of marriage, she died almost thirty years later at about seventy. [*Choiseul*, 48 n. 94; Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 408 (genealogical table).]

25 Choiseul, Jean (1225–1309)

Eldest son of *Renard II of Choiseul* and his second wife *Alix of Dreux*. Still a minor at his father’s death (1239), he remained under his mother’s custody until he turned twenty-one (1246). In 1245 he married the heiress *Alix of Aigremont*, who appeared with him in many acts. In December 1246 he did two homages to the bishop of Langres, for his castle of Choiseul and for his wife’s castle of Aigremont.⁷⁰ At the same time, Jean and his mother mortgaged the castles to the bishop for 1,200*l.*, payable in three years (two of the bishop’s knights occupied the castles), and she mortgaged all her movable property for 500*l.*⁷¹ In 1250 Jean’s recurring financial difficulties forced him to sell land to the chapter of Langres for 2,000*l.* In response to the count’s inquest, he declared in letters patent that he held Balnot-sur-Laignes *en fié et en chasement* from the count (1251).⁷² He subsequently sold or mortgaged various properties to pay for his debts, depredations, and ransoms resulting from his military experiences in Lorraine. In 1264 he surrendered the castle of Aigremont to the bishop.⁷³ In 1272 he became constable of Burgundy. He was seventy-seven when his wife died in 1302. He died in 1309 at eighty-four and was buried with his wife at the entrance to the chapter house of Morimond. His three sons divided their parents’ properties. [*Choiseul*, 69 n.148; Poissonnier, “Les sires de Choiseul,” 25–27; Faget de Casteljau, “Choiseul, 2,” 246–52.]

26 Choiseul, Renard II (b. 1170–d. 1239)

Eldest of five children of Fulk II of Choiseul and Alix of Vignory. He married *Clemence of Faucogney* in his early twenties (1192).⁷⁴ He appeared as lord of Choiseul in 1200, acting with his widowed mother.⁷⁵ After Clemence inherited Faucogney from her brother (1205), Renard styled himself lord of Faucogney and lord of Choiseul. In the civil war of 1216–18, Renard

allied with his cousin Erard of Brienne, for which he was excommunicated (3 February 1218). He was widowed in 1219 in his late forties, after twenty-seven years in a childless marriage. In 1220 he married **Alix of Dreux**, about thirty-five, also widowed in 1219 and childless after a twenty-three-year marriage. Renard defended her previous dower rights (against the children of her former husband's first marriage) and dowered Alix with his castle at Choiseul and half of his current and future property (see Chapter 5 n. 76). By his testament, he asked to be buried with Alix at Morimond; he died in his late sixties (1239).⁷⁶ Alix retained custody of **Jean of Choiseul**, the eldest of their five children, who succeeded seven years later. [Faget de Casteljau, "Choiseul, 2," 147–55; *Choiseul*, 47–73 (catalog of acts); and Poissonnier, "Les sires de Choiseul," 16–18, 24–25.]

27 Clefmont, Simon IV (b. ca. 1183–d. 1238) Genealogy 10

Only son of Simon III of Clefmont (1155–90) and his second wife **Beatrice of Champlitte**. First noted as an infant in 1188 (see Chapter 4 n. 93), he was seven or eight when his father and older half brother, Robert Wicard III, died on the Third Crusade. He was about thirteen in 1196 when his mother married Geoffroy of Deuilly, who assumed the lordship of Clefmont until Simon succeeded at about seventeen (ca. 1200). At about the same time Simon married Hermesend, heiress of Hugh of Vendevre (d. 1198), and had five children during their twenty-six-year marriage (1200–26). Her inheritance of one-eighth of Vendevre, worth about 240*l.t.*, passed to their second son Odo.⁷⁷

In his thirties Simon was drawn into the war over the Champagne succession. Like other lords in the Bassigny, he held fiefs from the duke of Burgundy and bishop of Langres as well as the count of Champagne, and since Clefmont was not held in fief of Champagne, Simon took a calculated risk in supporting Erard of Brienne. Excommunicated with the other rebel barons in May 1217, he made his peace with Blanche in April 1219: he forfeited the viscounty of Montigny and the village of Ageville; he renewed his homage for three comital fiefs (his paternal castle of Is-en-Bassigny, his maternal property at Laferté-sur-Aube, and his wife's dowry at Vendevre); and he did a contingent liege homage for Clefmont.⁷⁸ Simon was in his mid-forties when his wife died (1226); three years later he married **Elizabeth/Isabelle of Joinville**, then about seventeen, by whom he had four more children during their nine-year marriage. He died in 1238 in his mid-fifties and was succeeded at Clefmont by his eldest son Simon V (1238–80); his second son inherited the maternal property (Vendevre), and the third took the monastic habit. Of Simon's second marriage, the eldest son inherited his mother's property (Montclair), the second became a canon, and the youngest married the heiress of Reynel. [Flammarion, "Clefmont," 382 (genealogical table), 387–92; Bouchard, *Nobility and the Church*, 319; Par-

isse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 371 (genealogical table); and Flammarion, “Au coeur du système féodale.”]

28 Courtenay, Alix (b. ca. 1162–d. 1217) Genealogy 12

Daughter of Pierre I of Courtenay and Elizabeth, heiress of Courtenay (married ca. 1150).⁷⁹ She became the second wife of newly widowed André of Montmirail (ca. 1177). Widowed herself by 1179, she married William I, count of Joigny (1177–1221), and had a son *Pierre of Joigny*. Divorced (1184/86) after five or six years,⁸⁰ she remarried before 1191 (perhaps by 1186/87), to Ademar III, count of Angoulême (1186–1202). Their daughter Isabelle (b. ca. 1188/89) married King John of England (1200). Widowed again after an eleven-year marriage, Alix returned to the castle lordship of La Ferté-Gaucher, the dower lands of her first husband.⁸¹ If Alix was about fifteen when first married and about seventeen when widowed, she would have been in her late teens when she remarried and had a son, and in her early twenties when divorced. After a lengthier third marriage ended in her mid-thirties, she remained a widow for the last seventeen years of her life and died in her mid-fifties. [*Nesle*, 2: 335–37; Vincent, “Isabella of Angoulême,” 176–78, 182–84.]

29 Crécy (-la-Chapelle), Beatrice (d. 1172) Genealogies 7, 8

Second daughter of Guy the Red, count of Rochefort (d. 1108), and the heiress-countess of Crécy, who held the castle in 1080 (it was a second marriage for both). Beatrice inherited Crécy when her brother, Hugh of Crécy, took the monastic habit (ca. 1118) in penance for killing Milo II of Bray-sur-Seine. By her first husband, Manasses of Tournan, Beatrice had three sons, including *Jean of Possesse* who succeeded to his paternal lands.⁸² By 1137/40 Beatrice had married Dreux of Pierrefonds (d. 1160), fourth son and heir of Nevel II of Pierrefonds after the deaths of two older brothers (the third son, Ansoul, became bishop of Soissons, 1152–58). Beatrice had two more children: Nevel III, who survived his father by one year and died childless at about twenty (1161), and *Agathe of Pierrefonds*, who inherited Pierrefonds. It is not certain how Crécy passed at Beatrice’s death: perhaps through her second husband’s sister, Aveline, whose daughter Adele of Roucy took it in marriage to *Gaucher II of Châtillon*.⁸³ Crécy remained with the Châtillon until 1290, when Gaucher V sold it to Philip IV in exchange for comital lands at Châtillon (see Chapter 8 n. 67). [*Nesle*, 1: 189–90; Mesqui, “Crécy-en-Brie,” 7–13; Bur, *Formation*, 454–55 (genealogical tables 33–34); Mathieu, “Châtillon-sur-Marne,” 25–26 (genealogical tables 2–3); Mathieu, “La famille de Garlande,” 73–74.]

30 Dampierre, Helvide (b. before 1172–d. ca. 1225) Genealogy 12

The third daughter of William I of Dampierre, viscount of Troyes and constable of Champagne (1133–72), and sister of Guy II of Dampierre (1168–

1216), who married *Mathilda of Bourbon*.⁸⁴ Shortly after 1185 Helvide, in her mid to late teens, married *Jean I of Montmirail*, then about twenty. She had three children by 1202 and three more by 1209.⁸⁵ As her husband became increasingly absorbed by spiritual matters after 1199, Helvide became more active in the material affairs of her family; between 1199 and 1208 she appeared jointly with Jean in at least eleven letters and added her seal to at least five of them (see Chapter 4 nn. 109–10). In 1208 she refused to consent to Jean's plan to sell extensive woodlands to merchants from Cambrai for 7,000*l.* to finance his journey on the Albigensian Crusade.⁸⁶ After the death of their eldest son (1210), Jean entered the nearby Cistercian monastery of Longpont, leaving Helvide, then in her thirties, with four underaged children. She assumed the lordship of Montmirail, sealing letters as *domina* of Montmirail and exercising sole lordship of Oisy until 1212, when her oldest surviving son *Jean II of Montmirail* attained his majority. According to the *vita* written to celebrate her husband Jean's conversion to an exemplary monastic life, Helvide was not at all pleased by his benefactions and subsequent abandonment of the family. One anecdote relates how Jean, after his profession, passed through Montmirail and announced himself to a servant of his former wife; but she, claiming to be indisposed, refused to meet or talk with him.⁸⁷

Helvide may have been the woman in the anecdote of the "dame d'Oisy" who intended to do homage to Jean of Béthune, bishop of Cambrai (1208–19), for the fief of Oisy. "I will be very pleased to kiss the most handsome prelate known in these lands," she is reported to have said. The bishop, on hearing these words, arranged for his bailiff to receive her homage. But Helvide refused and instead did homage to the count of Cambrai for Oisy, in effect transferring the *mouvance* of her fief. The event would have taken place around 1210, just after her husband Jean took the habit.⁸⁸

Helvide retained Montmirail as her dower castle, administered by her *preposita* (a *domina* Hermengart),⁸⁹ as well as the viscounty of Meaux until her death, perhaps in 1225.⁹⁰ Her seal depicts her seated in majesty as "lady of Montmirail" (see Chapter 4 n. 109). She was married about twenty years, was guardian for her son for eight years, and died in her fifties after a fifteen-year widowhood. She was buried at Vaucelles. [Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 650–56, 659–61 (catalog of her acts); Piétrisson de Saint-Aubin, "Beaumont-lez-Montmirail" (edition of several acts).]

31 Dampierre, Jeanne (b. ca. 1225/26–d. 1245)

Second daughter of William II of Dampierre (d. 1233) and Countess Margaret of Flanders (married in 1223).⁹¹ In November 1238 she was betrothed, contingent on ecclesiastical approval, to *Jean II of Roucy*, who had just divorced Elizabeth of Dreux, his childless wife of fourteen years.⁹² But the next year she instead became the second wife of Hugh III, count of Rethel (1228–43), just divorced from his wife of eighteen years.⁹³ Jeanne

was thirteen or fourteen and Hugh about forty-seven.⁹⁴ Jeanne's mother Margaret inserted in her marriage contract a restitution clause regarding Jeanne's 6000*l.* dowry, should Hugh die without heir, which he did five years later (see Chapter 5 n. 25). Jeanne's brother and mother then betrothed her to Thibaut II, count of Bar-le-Duc (1239–91); she was about twenty and he about twenty-four at the time of their marriage (1245).⁹⁵ Thibaut dowered her with 3,000*l.*, an annual rent of 2,000*l.*, and the castellany of Clermont-en-Argonne; Jeanne's brother provided her a dowry of 4,000*l.* and a 200*l.* rent.⁹⁶ Thibaut helped to recover the dower promised in her first marriage but retained by her husband's brother and successor at Rethel (see Chapter 8 n. 89). Jeanne died within months of her second marriage at about twenty. [Poull, *Bar*, 229–30.]

32 Dampierre (-le-Château), Renard II (b. 1170s–d. 1234).

Son of Renard I of Dampierre (1163–90) and Euphemia (married by 1163). Descendants of the eleventh-century counts of Toul and Astenois, the Dampierre became barons of Champagne after Emperor Frederick I transferred *mouvance* over their castle to Count Henry I (1162). Renard was about twenty when he married Helvide, the widow of Henry of Rethel, castellan of Vitry (d. 1190).⁹⁷ She carried the title *castellana* of Vitry and appeared in several acts as co-actor with Renard, who administered the castellan's office (1190–1203) during her son Hugh's minority.⁹⁸ Shortly after she died, Renard took the cross with Thibaut III; he led a contingent of eighty-four knights on the Fourth Crusade but avoided the main expedition to Constantinople by traveling directly from Italy to Acre. Near Antioch he was ambushed, captured, and taken to Aleppo, where he spent the next three decades in captivity until he was ransomed by the Hospitallers in 1231.

Renard's return home was traumatic. His sons had alienated, and the monks of Montiers-en-Argonne had usurped, much of his property. Vigorously contesting the alienations made in his absence, he obtained a sizable compensation in recognition of his rights.⁹⁹ Gravely ill by April 1234, he died shortly after in his mid-sixties. His life was highly atypical. Married at about twenty to a young widow with a child, he had at least two sons and a daughter during a ten-year marriage. Widowed at about thirty, just before departing on crusade, he spent his thirties, forties, and fifties in captivity, returning home in his early sixties. His step son Hugh, castellan of Vitry, predeceased him (1203), as did his eldest son, Renard III, lord of Dampierre (b. ca. 1192, d. ca. 1230).¹⁰⁰ His second son, Anselm, succeeded to Dampierre (1234–37). [Barthélemy, "Le comté d'Astenois et les comtes de Dampierre-le-Château," 409–16, and "Chartes de départ"; Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 60–63; Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 1: 38–46 (with genealogical table).]

33 Dreux, Alix (b. ?1184–d. 1258/59)

One of four daughters (and eight children) of Robert II, count of Dreux and Braine (1188–1218) and Yoland of Coucy (married in 1184). Her brothers were Robert III, count of Dreux (1218–34); Peter, duke of Brittany by marriage; Henry, archbishop of Reims (1227–40); and Jean, count of Maçon through marriage (1228–39). In 1196 at about twelve, Alix married Gaucher IV of Vienne, lord of Salins and Bracon, who was recently divorced from *Mathilda of Bourbon*. They had no children during their twenty-three-year marriage. She was about thirty-five when her husband died (1219) and kept her dower of Bracon. Within a year she married *Renard II of Choiseul*, then about fifty and recently widowed after a twenty-seven-year childless marriage. Renard dowered her with his castle at Choiseul and half of his current and future possessions, for which she did homage and became *femina ligia* of the bishop of Langres (see Chapter 5 n. 76). Alix and Renard engaged in a protracted dispute over the dower lands due from the estate of her first husband, which were claimed by his sole heir, Margaret of Salins (see Chapter 5 n. 16); they settled in 1225 for 2,000*l.*, but since payment was still outstanding in 1237, they accepted instead the lordship of Traves (which passed to their third son in 1258/59). Alix had three sons and two daughters by her second marriage, including *Agnes of Choiseul*. At Renard's death (1239), Alix became regent (1239–46) for their oldest son *Jean of Choiseul*. Financial difficulties led her to borrow 500*l.* from her sister Philippa, countess of Bar-le-Duc.¹⁰¹ She died in 1258/59 at about seventy-four and was buried at Morimond with her husband. [Faget de Casteljau, "Choiseul, 2," 149–53; *Choiseul*, 62 n. 132, 183–86 (catalog of her acts); Evergates, "Aristocratic Women," 98 (genealogy), 102–3; Bouchard, *Nobility and the Church*, 279, 316 (Alix is called Adelaide); Van Kerrebrouck, *Les Capétiens*, 361.]

34 Dreux, Elizabeth/Isabelle (b. ca. 1162–d. ca. 1229/39) Genealogy 5

One of four daughters and four sons of Robert I of Dreux and his second wife *Agnes of Baudemont* (married in 1152). Elizabeth was the uterine half sister of *Petronilla of Bar-sur-Seine*. When Elizabeth married in 1178, perhaps in her mid-teens, she took her mother's inheritance of Baudemont castle as her dowry. Her husband *Hugh III of Broyes*, who had just lost his wife of thirty-four years, was perhaps in his fifties.¹⁰² Count Henry I had opposed the marriage in a letter to the pope, complaining that a *linea affinitatis* would invalidate the marriage. The bishop of Troyes invited Elizabeth's father Robert, count of Dreux, to send a *nuncio* to discuss the case; since Robert failed to respond, Alexander III empowered the prelate of Meaux to hear the case if it was brought to him, but that apparently did not happen.¹⁰³

In 1197, after nineteen years of marriage, Hugh dowered Elizabeth with

the old castle (perhaps only a tower) of Arc-en-Barrois and its castellany, which Hugh specified should pass to their son *Simon of Châteauvillain*.¹⁰⁴ She and Hugh last appeared together in 1200, when they both sealed a letter of donation for Clairvaux.¹⁰⁵ For the rest of her life she used the Châteauvillain title, from the castle that her son, Simon held in fief from Thibaut III.¹⁰⁶ Elizabeth did not remarry but remained an active lord of her lands.¹⁰⁷ In 1211 she and Simon sold Baudement castle to Countess Blanche (see Chapter 6 n. 42). In 1224 she helped her daughter *Emeline of Broyes* recover her dowry (as established in Elizabeth's dower letter) being reserved for Emeline's daughter but secretly sold by her second husband (see Chapter 5 n. 150). In 1228, perhaps in the last year of her life, Elizabeth made a generous donation to Clairvaux for an annual feeding and clothing of eighty paupers.¹⁰⁸ If she was born circa 1162, Elizabeth would have married in her mid-teens (1178); she had two children in a twenty-one year marriage, and was widowed in her late thirties (1200). She died three decades later in her late sixties (ca. 1229).¹⁰⁹ [Duchesne, *Dreux*, bk. 1, *Dreux*, 61 and pt. 5, *Broyes*, 21–24, and *preuves*, 16–19; Lewis, "Fourteen Charters of Robert I of Dreux," 158–59; Evergates, *Documents*, genealogical table 3; Van Kerrebrouck, *Les Capétiens*, 310.]

35 Durnay, Jacques (b. ca. 1170s–d. 1248) Genealogies 2, 3, 6

Son of Thomas of Chacenay (1158–79), who took the monastic habit, and still a minor at his father's death.¹¹⁰ His uncle *Erard I of Chacenay* inherited (or usurped) Chacenay. Jacques witnessed a number of Erard's acts, and Erard appointed him custodian of Chacenay before leaving on the Third Crusade.¹¹¹ But Jacques never possessed Chacenay. He apparently became lord of Durnay by collateral inheritance from his paternal aunt Huguette, lady of Durnay.¹¹² He married Agnes of Rochefort (niece of *Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine*) by 1190 (Gérard, the eldest of his two sons, was married by 1206). In 1210 Jacques followed Jean of Brienne to the east and appeared as marshal of Jerusalem in Jean's first act as king of Jerusalem (June 1211). He spent most of the next decade in the Levant except for brief trips home (1213–14, 1217–18). Since he was absent from Champagne when his wife inherited one-fourth of Bar-sur-Seine in 1219, his son Gérard paid the relief for that share.¹¹³ On returning home, Jacques purchased his brother-in-law's share of Bar-sur-Seine, thus acquiring half of the old lordship. But Thibaut IV forced him to sell both shares in exchange for other property that would constitute a "barony" (see chapter 8 n. 96). Jacques attended the Christmas council of 1224, but by 1229 he had entered Clairvaux, where his son Gérard visited him in 1244.¹¹⁴ Jacques spent nineteen years at Clairvaux before he died in his late seventies. He was survived by Gérard and a daughter. [*Chacenay*, 179–80; Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 131–32, 511; Mayer, *Die Kanzlei*, 739–40].

36 Faucogney, Clemence (b. ca. 1180–d. 1217/19)

Eldest of two daughters of Gilbert III, viscount of Vesoul (1157–ca. 1190), and his second wife. In 1192, in her early teens, she married **Renard II of Choiseul** (1192–1239), then in his early twenties. Thereafter she appeared in many of his acts. In 1205 she inherited Faucogney after the death of her childless half brother Haimo (1158–1205), heir of Gilbert's first wife, Sybil of Faucogney. Clemence died at about forty, after a twenty-five-year marriage. In the absence of children, Faucogney passed to her sister Beatrice, and Renard remarried (see Chapter 6 n. 106). [Faget de Casteljau, "Choiseul, 2," 147–49, 153, and "Géographie, histoire et généalogies," 164.]

37 Garlande, Marie (b. ca. 1196/97–d. 1249/59) Genealogies 8, 10

Second daughter (of four children) of William IV of Garlande (d. 1216) and Alix of Châtillon (married in 1193).¹¹⁵ Marie and her two sisters inherited their father's lands after the early death of her brother Thibaut, and in August 1217, by royal order, they divided his properties.¹¹⁶ Marie married Henry IV, count of Grandpré (1212–29), perhaps in 1212 and certainly by 1217, and identified herself as countess of Grandpré for the rest of her life. Widowed in 1229 in her early thirties, she contracted to marry **Geoffroy of Joinville**, the seneschal **Simon of Joinville's** son by his first wife, while Marie's infant daughter **Alix of Grandpré** was betrothed to Simon's eldest son, **Jean of Joinville**, by his second wife. Simon assigned Marie a temporary dower on his son's behalf (the castle of Doulevant and ten villages of its castellany) on the understanding that at Simon's death she was to have Joinville itself, *ad usus et consuetudines Campanie*, that is, her husband's main residence and half of his possessions, for which she did homage to Thibaut IV. Her second marriage lasted only months before she obtained a divorce from papal commissioners acting with the archbishop of Reims; no reason for the divorce was ever mentioned (see Chapter 5 n. 156). Geoffroy died shortly afterward. By 1235 Marie was married a third time, to Anseric IX of Montréal, and thereafter styled herself countess of Grandpré and lady of Montréal in acts with her husband. She was at least ten years older than Anseric, and had three more children in her late thirties.¹¹⁷ Widowed again (1246), she died a few years later (1249/59). If she was in her mid to late teens at her first marriage and in her early thirties when first widowed (1229) after perhaps a fifteen-year marriage, she died in her fifties. [Nesle, 1: 217–19 (with genealogical table); Douët d'Arcq, *Collection des sceaux*, 1: 116–17; Petit, *Histoire*, 5: 496–97.]

38 Grandpré, Alix (b. 1225–d. 1261) Genealogies 8, 10

Third child and only daughter of Henry IV, count of Grandpré (1212–29) and **Marie of Garlande** (married 1212/17). She was an infant in August 1230 when her widowed mother contracted her marriage with **Jean of Join-**

ville, born in 1225 to the seneschal *Simon of Joinville* and his second wife, *Beatrice of Auxonne*. In 1231 Marie's mother obtained the seneschal's reaffirmation and the count's guarantee of Alix's betrothal in order to protect Alix, who was being raised in the Joinville household until marriage (see Chapter 5 n. 154). Alix was about twelve or thirteen and Jean about fifteen when they married in 1240; she had her first children (Geoffroy in 1247, Jean in 1248) at nineteen or twenty and four more in her twenty-one-year marriage. She died in 1261 at about thirty-four. [Lusse, "D'Etienne à Jean de Joinville," 19–20, 27–28.]

39 Joigny, Helisent (b. ca. 1167–d. ca. 1226) Genealogies 2, 5

Daughter of Renard IV, count of Joigny (1137–72) and Adele of Nevers (countess of Joigny, 1161–72, d. 1192), who was probably Renard's second wife. Helisent married Jean I of Arcis-sur-Aube (1170s–d. 1190) at an undetermined date and had a son, Jean II of Arcis (b. ca. 1186, d. 1222).¹¹⁸ Widowed in 1190 in her early twenties, she married *Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine* (1189–1219) by 1198; she was about thirty and he about twenty-nine. They jointly enfranchised the townsmen of Bar-sur-Aube (1198) and appeared together in several important acts, including the foundation of a hospital in Bar-sur-Seine. During Milo's absence on the Fourth Crusade, she confirmed the acts of their fiefholders.¹¹⁹ After Milo's return she continued to appear jointly with him, especially preparatory to his departure on the Fifth Crusade. With the death of Milo and their son Gaucher within weeks of each other on that crusade, the lordship of Bar-sur-Seine passed collaterally to Milo's sisters, his closest heirs; Helisent retained her dower until 1225, when she sold it and her community property to Thibaut IV (see Chapter 8 n. 10). In 1225 she endowed anniversaries for her sons Jean (II of Arcis) and Gaucher.¹²⁰ She last appeared in 1226 with three other noblewomen donating two large copper pots to Clairvaux for preparing food for the poor.¹²¹ She survived all three children from her second marriage of twenty years or more.¹²² Her second widowhood lasted at least six years, and she died in her late fifties. [Nesle, 2: 334, 342x; Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 158–59; Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 110–11.]

40 Joigny, Pierre (b. ca. 1180/84–d. 1222)

Only son of William I, count of Joigny (1177–1221), and *Alix of Courtenay* (married in 1179, divorced ca. 1184). In 1208 his father assigned him a 300*l.* rent.¹²³ By that date his father had married a Beatrice of unknown lineage and had another son, William II, then about four years old.¹²⁴ When the old count died in December 1221 after a forty-four-year rule, Pierre was in his late thirties and married but without children. In late December or early January, the knights and townsmen of Joigny took oaths to Countess Blanche that Pierre would render the castle at her need (see Chapter 2 n. 71). Pierre ruled about four months (January–April 1222); his

wife Elizabeth predeceased him. His half brother William II (1225–48) succeeded after three years under his mother's custody. [*Nesle*, 2: 333–38.]

41 Joinville, Elizabeth/Isabelle (b. ca. 1212–d. ca. 1270) Genealogy 10

Daughter of the seneschal *Simon of Joinville* (1204–33) and his first wife Ermengard of Montclair (married in 1207, d. ca. 1221). After her father's remarriage (1224) and the birth of *Jean of Joinville*, Elizabeth married (1229), at about seventeen, the recently widowed *Simon IV of Clefmont*, then in his mid to late forties. Her father gave her the lordship of Colombé-la-Fosse as dowry; her husband dowered her with the castle of Is-en-Bassigny. After her brother *Geoffroy of Joinville* died (1233), she acquired half of her mother's castle at Montclair by collateral inheritance and thereafter styled herself "lady of Is and Colombé" and "lady of Montclair and Is" (see Chapter 6 n. 127). Her nine-year marriage (1229–38) produced four children: the eldest Guy inherited her mother's lordship of Montclair; Simon became a canon at Langres; and Geoffroy took the minor property of Millières. Widowed in her late twenties, she apparently did not remarry. She was guardian of her eldest son for at least ten years, until he took Montclair in 1249, but she retained her dower lands at Is through her entire thirty-year widowhood.¹²⁵ As the half sister of the seneschal Jean of Joinville, she ranked among the most prominent women of her time. She died in her late fifties. [Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 66, and catalog nos. 390, 332, 462; Flammarion, "Clefmont," 388–89.]

42 Joinville, Geoffroy (b. ca. 1209–d. ca. 1233) Genealogies 8, 10

Only son of the seneschal *Simon of Joinville* and his first wife Ermengard of Montclair (married in 1207). He was about nine when sent as a hostage to Countess Blanche as penalty for Simon's support of *Erard I of Ramerupt* and presumption in claiming the seneschalcy by hereditary right.¹²⁶ At the same time Geoffroy's mother agreed, in the event of Simon's death overseas, to retire to her dower lands and let Geoffroy come into his inheritance at fifteen (in 1224), should he wish it (see Chapter 7 n. 87). Instead, Geoffroy inherited his mother's lands at Montclair (by 1221) and his father remarried and produced a second family, including a son Jean, born when Geoffroy was about sixteen (1225). In 1230 Geoffroy, then about twenty-one and regarded as his father's principal heir, married *Marie of Garlande*, widow of Henry IV of Grandpré, who was in her early thirties and guardian for her underaged son. Simon dowered Marie with the castle and castellany of Doulevant, in the event that Geoffroy predeceased Simon; but if Geoffroy survived his father, Marie would exchange Doulevant (to be divided among Simon's other heirs) for half of Joinville itself with *mouvance* over its attached fiefs, in accordance with the dower custom of Champagne. Marie's future children by Geoffroy were designated heirs to Joinville, and Marie did liege homage to Thibaut IV for her dower. Geoffroy did two liege

homages: for his inheritance at Joinville and the seneschalcy of Champagne (“when it falls to him after his father’s death”), and for his wife’s dower at Grandpré and wardship over her children there.¹²⁷ Had Geoffroy and Marie stayed married, he would have inherited Joinville and Marie would have had life use of Joinville as her dower, forcing Simon’s second wife and her young children to relocate to Doulevant. Within months of their marriage, however, Marie obtained a divorce from the archbishop of Reims, apparently against Geoffroy’s wishes; his father promised to obtain his consent to the divorce by either appearing before the archbishop in person or by sending a representative with a sealed letter of consent (see Chapter 5 n. 156). Geoffroy died within the next two years, at about twenty-four, predeceasing his father by several months; his mother’s inheritance at Montclair passed to his sister *Elizabeth of Joinville*. Under different circumstances Geoffroy would have inherited his father’s castle of Joinville, the seneschalcy of Champagne, and his mother’s lands at Montclair, making him a preeminent personage of the county. They passed instead to his younger half brother *Jean of Joinville*. [Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 66; Lusse, “D’Etienne à Jean de Joinville,” 19.]

43 Joinville, Jean (b. 1225–d. 1317) Genealogy 10

Eldest son of *Simon of Joinville* and his second wife *Beatrice of Auxonne*. The death of his older half brother *Geoffroy of Joinville* (1233) left Jean heir apparent to Joinville. Betrothed to *Alix of Grandpré* in 1230 (he was five, she was two or three), he married her in 1240 (he was fifteen, she about twelve or thirteen.) The two sons from their twenty-one-year marriage (1240–61) both predeceased him.¹²⁸ Jean’s mother remained a strong presence in his life as regent and *senescalla Campanie* until he assumed the title lord of Joinville and seneschal of Champagne at fourteen (1 May 1239). On that day he sealed two letters: in one, he did liege homage to the count and promised not to marry the count of Bar-le-Duc’s daughter without license; in the other, he allowed his mother Beatrice, lady of Vaucouleurs, to retain custody over all his lands for four more years, that is, until Christmas 1243, when he would be eighteen (see Chapter 7 n. 89). Jean was knighted and began to cohabit with Alix in 1245.¹²⁹ His mother gave Vaucouleurs to Jean’s younger brother Geoffroy and retired to her castle at Marnay. But she continued to enjoy substantial dower revenues from the Joinville properties, at Jean’s expense, as he recalled in his memoirs (see Chapter 5 n. 123).

Louis IX’s crusade (1248–54) propelled Jean into the royal circle, and thereafter he appeared prominently with the king. He negotiated the marriage contract for Louis IX’s daughter Isabelle with Thibaut V (April 1255), he testified before a papal commission gathering material for the canonization of Louis IX (1282), and he wrote an account of Louis’ crusade laced with memorable anecdotes revealing the king’s character (1305). Jean’s

role as seneschal of Champagne remained essentially ceremonial, but he served on the High Court in the 1270s. He had recurring financial difficulties and contentious relations with local monasteries. He even brought suit against one of his fiefholders, a noble-born woman, because he refused to accept the homage of her nonnoble husband for her fief (see Chapter 2 at n. 217).

Jean was thirty-five when his first wife died (1260). He quickly married Alix, heiress of Reynel (1261–88), and had six children during their twenty-seven-year marriage. Widowed again at sixty-three, he did not remarry. He died twenty-nine years later at ninety-two, having outlived both sons of his first marriage and the firstborn son of his second (Jean, who took his mother's inheritance of Reynel, 1288–1301, died without issue). Joinville passed to his fourth son Anselm (1317), who already had inherited his brother's lordship of Reynel. [Simmonet, *Essai*, 141–233; Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 68–177; Lusse, “D’Etienne à Jean de Joinville,” 26–41.]

44 Joinville, Simon (b. ca. 1185–1233) Genealogies 10, 11

Fourth of six sons and two daughters of Geoffroy IV of Joinville (seneschal 1188–90) and Helvide of Dampierre (granddaughter of the seneschal André of Baudement, 1111–33) and still an infant in 1188. Simon's two older brothers joined the Fourth Crusade, leaving Simon to administer the Joinville property (William, the third son, was archdeacon of Châlons).¹³⁰ After his brother Robert died in Apulia (1203), Simon became lord of Sailly; but after Geoffroy V (seneschal, 1190–1203) died at Krak, Simon became lord of Joinville and seneschal of Champagne, and Sailly passed to the younger *Guy of Sailly*.

Simon married Ermengard, heiress of Montclair, in his early twenties (1207) and dowered her with half of his properties (1209).¹³¹ That same year he left on the Albigensian Crusade and his brother William was elected bishop of Langres (1209–19).¹³² As the conflict over the comital succession heated up in 1214, the brothers Simon and William colluded against the regent countess: the bishop reclaimed *mouvance* over Chaumont, while the seneschal asserted a hereditary right to the seneschalcy. Despite their settlement with Blanche, Simon actively opposed her during the ensuing war.¹³³ Blanche detached his brother Guy, who did liege homage for his inheritance and then forced Simon to redistribute their father's properties because, Guy argued, Simon had succeeded collaterally and thus the properties were subject to partible division among the brothers. At that point Simon renounced his homage to Blanche (he later “restored” it) and turned over Joinville castle to the rebel barons (1216).¹³⁴ Blanche seized the castle (June 1218) and imposed a severe peace: she recognized his eventual hereditary right to the seneschalchy and he renewed his homage; but he also surrendered Joinville to his brother the bishop and

delivered his son Geoffroy to Blanche as a hostage before leaving for the Holy Land.¹³⁵

Simon was about thirty-five on his return and at his wife's death (ca. 1221). Their son **Geoffroy of Joinville** inherited her lordship of Montclair. In 1224 Simon married **Beatrice of Auxonne**, recently divorced with two daughters by Haimo of Faucogney. **Jean of Joinville** was born within a year, and three more sons and two daughters followed. In 1226, on their return from Avignon, Thibaut IV granted Simon hereditary right to the seneschalcy.¹³⁶ Four years later, in his mid-forties, Simon arranged a double marriage for the eldest son by his first wife: Geoffroy, his designated successor to both Joinville and the seneschalcy, married **Marie of Garlande**, the widowed countess of Grandpré, while Simon's five-year-old son Jean was betrothed to Marie's infant daughter **Alix of Grandpré**. Geoffroy's death shortly after being divorced by Marie made Jean the heir of Joinville. Within months Simon himself died, leaving his widow Beatrice as Jean's guardian. Jean's brother Geoffroy later took the castle of Vaucouleurs (dower of Simon's first wife).¹³⁷ His younger brother Simon took the maternal dowry at Marnay, then married an English heiress, entered the circle of King Henry III, and spent the rest of his life in England.¹³⁸ [Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 46–67; Lusse, "D'Etienne à Jean de Joinville," 18–26; Evergates, *Documents*, xxix (genealogical table 2).]

45 Montmirail, Gaucher (b. ca. 1123–d. 1153) Genealogy 12

Younger son of Helias of Montmirail and Adelaide of Pleurs. Born in the 1120s (perhaps 1123), he was an infant when Bernard of Clairvaux played with him at Montmirail, probably shortly after his paternal uncle Gaucher entered Clairvaux.¹³⁹ He may have accompanied Henry of Champagne on the Second Crusade. He died at a tournament in his thirties, still unmarried (1153), waiting for his parents to vacate Montmirail (his mother held it in dower until ca. 1166). He was buried at the Cistercian monastery of Longpont.¹⁴⁰ [Mathieu, *Montmirail en Brie*, 50–51, 54–55; Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 129–30.]

46 Montmirail, Jean I (b. ca. 1165–d. 1217) Genealogy 12

Only son of André of Montmirail (see Chapter 8 n. 47) and Hildiard of Oisy. He lost his mother at about twelve (ca. 1177). His father quickly remarried, to **Alix of Courtenay**, daughter of Louis VII's youngest brother Pierre. But André died within the next year or two; Jean's stepmother remarried and placed Jean at the royal court, where he became a fast companion of Philip II, of the same age. At about twenty, Jean assumed his father's lordships and married **Helvide of Dampierre**, sister of the constable of Champagne.¹⁴¹ He joined Philip II on the Third Crusade, then inherited substantial properties from his maternal uncle, Hugh of Oisy, viscount of Meaux and castellan of Cambrai, who died on that expedition.¹⁴² On

returning home, Jean found himself sole heir of substantial maternal and paternal inheritances (Montmirail, Oisy, and La Ferté-Gaucher), viscount of Meaux, and castellan of Château-Thierry and Cambrai. In the 1190s he served the king in Normandy and, like his uncle Gaucher, took his pleasure at tournaments. He later recalled, to his regret, that he once had spent over 1,000*l.* at a single tournament and had been forced to sell property (including his wife's dower lands) to support his extravagant lifestyle.¹⁴³ In the groundswell of enthusiasm preceding the Fourth Crusade, Jean turned away from knightly concerns to spiritual ones (he was not at Écry). He donated much to monasteries and was particularly touched by the sight of lepers, for whom he established a leper house. He built a convent (Amour-Dieu) in Montmirail for his eldest daughter Elizabeth, who shared his spiritual interests and took the veil there (1203). After the death of his eldest son (1210), Jean left his wife of twenty-five years and five children to enter Longpont (Cistercian), perhaps under the influence of its abbot, Gaucher of Oulchy (1200–1219, later abbot of Cîteaux). Jean practiced an exemplary monastic life until his death in 1217 at fifty-two. His tomb became a site of miracles, and the monks drew up a record of his accomplishments and a *vita* to support his canonization (ca. 1230).¹⁴⁴ In 1253 Jean's remains were transferred to a large tomb erected by his youngest daughter, *Marie of Montmirail*, depicting him as both a monk and an armed knight.¹⁴⁵ [Mathieu, *Montmirail en Brie*, 60–82; Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*.]

47 Montmirail, Jean II (b. ca. 1191–d. 1240) Genealogy 12

Second son of *Jean I of Montmirail* and *Helvide of Dampierre*. Mentioned in 1202, he was in his teens when his older brother William died and his father took the habit (1210). In 1212 (perhaps at twenty-one) he assumed the lordship of Oisy, while his mother retained Montmirail in dower. In 1215 he supported Prince Louis (VIII)'s expedition to England with a contingent of twenty knights. He succeeded to Montmirail in 1218, perhaps as co-lord with his mother, who continued to use the title *domina* of Montmirail until her death (1225). In 1221 he married the widowed Elizabeth, countess of Chartres (1218–56, succeeding her childless brother Thibaut VI), and acted as count of Chartres until his death in his late forties. Since their twenty-year marriage produced no children, his properties passed to his younger brother Matthew (1241–63), then to their youngest sister *Marie of Montmirail*. [Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 512–82; Mathieu, *Montmirail en Brie*, 86–87.]

48 Montmirail, Marie (b. ca. 1205–d. 1272) Genealogy 12

The sixth child of *Jean of Montmirail* and *Helvide of Dampierre*, born after 1202 (perhaps ca. 1205). She became the third wife of Enguerran III of Coucy (1190–1242) probably in 1219 in her mid-teens (he was about thirty-seven).¹⁴⁶ In a marriage arranged by her mother, Marie received Condé-en-

Brie as dowry and the castle of Saint-Gobain as dower. She had three sons and two daughters in her twenty-three-year marriage and was widowed at about thirty-seven (1242). Twenty-one years later, at about fifty-eight and as sole survivor of her five siblings, she inherited the combined properties of her parents (Montmirail, Oisy, La Ferté-Gaucher, and the viscounty of Meaux). That entire inheritance passed to her second son, Enguerran IV of Coucy (b. ca. 1230, d. 1311), since her oldest son Raoul III had died in 1250.¹⁴⁷ In 1271 Marie was granted permission to be buried next to her father at Longpont.¹⁴⁸ She drew up her testament and died on 20 September 1272, after a thirty-year widowhood, at about sixty-seven. Her tomb next to her father's at Longpont was inscribed "daughter of a most worthy knight and most devoted monk Jean, former lord of Montmirail, and mother of Enguerran [IV] of Coucy."¹⁴⁹ Marie's husband already was buried there, and her son would join them in 1311. [Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 583–617; Mathieu, *Montmirail en Brie*, 101–3; Barthélemy, *Coucy*, 407, 415 n. 203, 451–52.]

49 Nogent, Renier II (b. ca. 1155–d. 1237)

Eldest son of Bartholomew II of Nogent and *Humbeline of Vendevre* (married in 1153). Mentioned from 1175, he was married by 1182. His early years were marked by violence against the chapter of Langres, whose village he burned, and he seems to have gone on the Third Crusade.¹⁵⁰ The strategic location of his castle permitted Renier to forge ties with the most powerful regional lords while retaining his independence. He held fiefs from the count of Champagne, the duke of Burgundy, the bishop of Langres, the counts of Franche-Comté and Bar-le-Duc, and the lord of Châteauvillain. Although he remained loyal to Blanche during the civil war, his eldest son, André, sided with the rebel barons. At the end of the conflict, Renier was forced to exchange Andelot, where the countess intended to build a fortress, for lands at Ageville and Cohons for his sons.¹⁵¹ In 1228 the bishop of Langres accused him of building a new fortification on episcopal lands.¹⁵² He mortgaged Ageville to the Hospitallers for 200*l.* in 1231, and another village to the provost of Langres cathedral in 1232.¹⁵³

Renier retained the confidence of Thibaut IV until the 1230s, then became fatally compromised by financial difficulties and his support of Alix of Cyprus.¹⁵⁴ He was in his seventies at the time, having ruled his castle lordship for almost a half-century since 1182, and resigned or was about to resign his lordship (1231) to André, who had earned the enmity of Thibaut IV during the civil war.¹⁵⁵ Thibaut besieged Nogent castle in August 1233, conquered it by October, and confiscated it after a judgment in his court; he rebuilt the castle as a comital castellany center and in 1235 granted the townsmen a charter of liberties (see Chapter 2 n. 83). Renier's sons made peace with the count, but the lords of Nogent disappeared (see Chapter 6 n. 40). Renier was married almost fifty years to a Mahaut, with whom he

had seven children. He died in 1237 at about eighty.¹⁵⁶ [Jolibois, *La Haute-Marne*, 390–91; Wilsdorf-Colin, “A la frontière de l’évêché de Langres,” 175–81; Faget de Casteljau, “Nogent-en-Bassigny,” 62–67.]

50 Nogent-sur-Seine, Elizabeth (b. ca. 1134–d. ca. 1199)

Heiress of Milo I, lord of Nogent-sur-Seine (ca. 1130–47), who died on the Second Crusade while crossing the Meander River.¹⁵⁷ She was married but without children in 1146 when her widowed father decided to go on crusade; his four nephews, in addition to Elizabeth and her husband, witnessed his sale of property to the Paraclete before his departure.¹⁵⁸ Elizabeth’s husband, Gérard of Châlons, acted as lord of Nogent (1147–71) in her name. She appears once during her marriage: in 1164 at the court of Henry I in Provins, Elizabeth and her second son, Milo II, consented to the resolution of a dispute between her husband and the monks of Vauluisant.¹⁵⁹ In 1186 Milo II (1171–86) and his youngest brother Jean, a knight, both died, perhaps in the same incident; neither left heirs.¹⁶⁰ Elizabeth took Milo II’s widow Elvide to the court of Countess Marie at Provins where she made a substantial public offering to the Paraclete “for the remission of her sins and for those of her father, her mother, her husband Gérard, and her sons Milo and Jean.”¹⁶¹ All the men—her father Milo I, her second son Milo II, and her youngest son Jean—were buried in the Paraclete’s chapter hall.¹⁶²

Elizabeth apparently entered the Paraclete after the death of her husband in 1171 but returned to Nogent in 1186 after Milo II died; she remained there until 1198, when she sold the lordship to Thibaut III and reentered the Paraclete.¹⁶³ There, she sealed a letter as “I Elizabeth of Nogent, called former lady of Nogent.”¹⁶⁴ She was buried at the Paraclete in a separate tomb and commemorated as “Elizabeth, dedicated to God, lady of Nogent.”¹⁶⁵ If she was only twelve and recently married when first mentioned in 1146,¹⁶⁶ she would have been in her mid-thirties when widowed after a marriage of twenty-five years and retired to the Paraclete (1171); she would have been in her fifties in 1186 when she lost her two younger sons (and perhaps returned to Nogent), and in her sixties in 1198 when she sold her lordship to Thibaut III and returned to the Paraclete. [Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 2: 1031–44; Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 189–90 (with genealogical table) and “Aristocratic Women,” 97–99.]

51 Pierrefonds, Agathe (b. ca. 1145/50–d. October 1192) Genealogy 7

Second child of Dreux of Pierrefonds (d. 1160) and *Beatrice of Crécy* (d. 1172). First mentioned in 1155 with her older brother Nevel consenting to her father’s gift.¹⁶⁷ She became heiress of Pierrefonds in her mid-teens after her brother Nevel III’s death (1161). In 1164 she married Conon, count of Soissons (1157–82).¹⁶⁸ During her eighteen-year marriage, Agathe jointly authored and sealed letters with her husband.¹⁶⁹ After Conon’s

death, she ruled her inheritance of Pierrefonds for a decade (1182–92), holding the castle in fief from the bishop of Soissons, before joining the nuns at Saint-Jean-aux-Bois. In her acts as a widow, she called herself “heir-ess” and “lord” of Pierrefonds; her seal reads “Seal of Agathe, lady of Pierrefonds.”¹⁷⁰ Since she had no children, Pierrefonds passed collaterally to her cousin **Gaucher III of Châtillon**, who sold it to Philip II, using the proceeds for his sister’s dowry. Widowed in her late thirties after an eighteen-year childless marriage, she ruled her inheritance for ten years before taking the veil shortly before her death in her late forties. [*Nesle*, 1: 187–92 (with genealogical table); Mathieu, “Châtillon-sur-Marne,” 13, 25 (genealogical table 2: revision of *Nesle*); Brunel, “Ambleny,” 17–19.]

52 Possesse, Jean (b. ca. 1134–d. ca. 1192) Genealogy 8

Third son of Manasses of Tournan-Possesse (d. ca. 1140) and **Beatrice of Crécy** (d. 1172). He was about ten in 1144 when he and his two brothers witnessed their mother’s foundation of an anniversary for Manasses.¹⁷¹ Jean witnessed several of Henry I’s acts between 1158 and 1164, while his older brother Guy II was lord of Possesse (ca. 1149–62).¹⁷² After Guy II mortgaged Possesse castle to Henry, Jean inherited the rest of Possesse (1163–65) before deciding, in his early thirties, to become a Cistercian monk. He made substantial benefactions with his younger brother Hugh’s consent: arable, fishing and pasture rights to five nearby Cistercian houses,¹⁷³ and the entire village of Morcourt, except knights’ fiefs, to the Templar house at La Neuville-lèz-Châlons (see Chapter 3 n. 72). At Possesse, again with Hugh’s consent, Jean endowed a hospital for travelers and the poor,¹⁷⁴ and allowed the monks of Montiers-en-Argonne to fish in the fishponds there one day each week.¹⁷⁵ Jean had entered Clairvaux by 1166, when Henry’s court heard the case of Possesse castle (see Chapter 1 n. 135). He spent at least twenty-six years at Clairvaux: he arbitrated disputes between monasteries,¹⁷⁶ and as cellarmaster he appeared in witness lists directly after the abbot and prior.¹⁷⁷ [Mathieu, “La famille de Garlande,” 74–75; Veyssière, “Le personnel de l’abbaye de Clairvaux,” 67, no. 251.]

53 Ramerupt, André (b. ca. 1147–d. 1189) Genealogy 14

Fourth son of Gautier II, count of Brienne (1125–58), probably by Gautier’s second wife, Adelaide of Baudement (heiress of André of Baudement). He was a knight in 1168.¹⁷⁸ He married the heiress **Alix of Venizy** (1167) and in 1176 inherited his father’s half-share of Ramerupt, which he held in fief from his older brother Erard II, count of Brienne (1158–91). He died on the Third Crusade, in his early forties, along with his brother and perhaps his eldest and otherwise unknown son Gautier. In 1195 his widow married Gaucher, younger brother of William I, count of Joigny (1177–1221), but had no children during that twenty-five-year marriage. In 1211 she sold her dower from her first husband, twenty-two years after his

death and sixteen years after her remarriage.¹⁷⁹ André's second son **Erard I of Ramerupt** inherited both Ramerupt and Venizy. [Arbois de Jubainville, "Les premiers seigneurs de Ramerupt," 446–47; Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1227–28; Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 196–98; *Nesle*, 2: 334, 340s.]

54 **Ramerupt, Erard I** (b. ca. 1182–d. 1243) Genealogy 14

Son of **André II of Ramerupt** and **Alix of Venizy**. He was about seven when his father died, about thirteen when his mother remarried, and twenty-one when he was knighted (1203).¹⁸⁰ By 1211 he was married to a Helisent with three children.¹⁸¹ Erard's material assets paled in comparison to those of his cousin Jean, count of Brienne, a prominent crusader who had married the heiress of Jerusalem (1210). Perhaps that example encouraged Erard after his wife's death to go east to marry Henry II's daughter Philippa (1213), who was then sixteen or seventeen, in order to claim the county of Champagne as her inheritance. After a royal court of peers at Melun decided against them in July 1216, Erard pursued a military option; ultimately he failed against a determined Countess Blanche and the king, but his settlement propelled him into the highest level of regional barons (see Chapter 2 n. 64). His mother died in 1221, when Erard was about forty.

In 1229, on the eve of the war with the northern barons, Thibaut IV bought off Erard's loyalty with a 200*l.t.* fief, but Erard had to surrender his castles of Ramerupt and Venizy and obtain oaths from all the knights of those castles to support the count against his enemies.¹⁸² Erard died in 1243 at about sixty; his wife followed him soon afterward. Their thirty-year marriage produced two sons (who died in 1249 and 1250 on Louis IX's crusade) and six daughters: one predeceased him, a second became a nun, and the remaining four divided Ramerupt equally (see Chapter 8 nn. 31–32). [Arbois de Jubainville, "Les premiers seigneurs de Ramerupt," 447–51; Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1228; Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 197–98.]

55 **Roucy, Jean II** (b. ca. 1197–d. 1251)

Only son of Eustachia, heiress of Roucy and the viscounty of Mareuil, and Robert of Pierrepont and Montaigu. His widowed mother inherited the county of Roucy collaterally from her brother Jean I (1190–1201), who had inherited it from an older brother Raoul.¹⁸³ In 1212 she divided her lands, giving Roucy to Jean II and Mareuil (her maternal inheritance) to his sister Elizabeth (d. 1218).¹⁸⁴ Jean was about twenty-one when he married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Robert II of Dreux, and dowered her with Mareuil (which he inherited from his childless sister).¹⁸⁵ Jean's eighteen-year marriage remained childless and ended in divorce in 1236, when he was in his late thirties (see Chapter 5 n. 145). He contracted to marry **Jeanne of Dampierre** but, perhaps unable to obtain a dispensation, instead married Marie of Dammartin, who bore him two children. Jean ranked among the highest barons of Champagne and was close to Thibaut IV. He died in Flanders, in

his mid to late fifties, aiding his mother-in-law. [Melleville, "Travail historique," 216–21; Sars, *Le Laonnois féodale*, 3: 124–26.]

56 Saily, Guy (b. ca. 1186–d. 1248) Genealogies 10, 11

Fifth son of Geoffroy IV of Joinville (seneschal 1188–90) and Helvide of Dampierre. He received Saily in 1204 from his older brother *Simon of Joinville*, who succeeded their oldest brother Geoffroy V as lord of Joinville and seneschal (1204–33).¹⁸⁶ Guy later became dissatisfied with his inheritance because Joinville and the seneschalcy passed to Simon through collateral inheritance (*caducum*) from their older brother Geoffroy V (rather than as a direct paternal inheritance), and thus the inheritance should have been shared equally among the brothers. Arbitration by their brother William, bishop of Langres (1209–19), awarded Guy half of the Joinville lands in Champagne (but not the imperial lands) and a 40*l.* rent.¹⁸⁷ Blanche exploited the rift between the brothers, for at the time Simon the seneschal, in complicity with his brother the bishop of Langres, was conducting himself in a treasonous manner. In 1215 Guy did homage directly to the countess (rather than to his brother) for his castle of Donjeux.¹⁸⁸ In 1221 he did liege homage for the castle of Jully-sur-Sarce, the inheritance of his second wife, Petronilla (of Chappes).¹⁸⁹ Guy sat with his brother the seneschal at the Christmas council of 1224 that promulgated partible inheritance among the sons of barons (see Appendix A). He died in his early sixties. Since Guy held three castles—his wife Petronilla's (Jully-sur-Sarce) and two of his own (Saily, Donjeux)—each of his three sons inherited a castle.¹⁹⁰ Saily passed successively to a son, grandson, great-grandson, then to an only daughter. [Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 221–23.]

57 Traînel, Anselm II (b. ca. 1127–d. 1184) Genealogy 2

Eldest son of Anselm I (1109/22–51). He forged a lifelong bond with Prince Henry on the Second Crusade and became part of a close group of crusade companions who formed the core of Henry's administration. As butler (1152–84), Anselm witnessed more than 150 comital acts (often with his brother Garnier), and he seems to have served as adviser to Countess Marie during Henry's pilgrimage to the Holy Land (1179–80). Anselm's brother Milo, abbot of Saint-Marien of Auxerre (1155–1202), frequently visited Troyes during this period. As the most important baron between Troyes and Sens, Anselm was a key figure in relations between the counts and the archbishops of Sens, especially during the episcopacy of Henry I's brother William (1168–75). Anselm and the archbishop jointly founded the frontier community of Villeneuve-sur-Vanne, where Anselm constructed a fortress that he later held jointly from the count and the king.¹⁹¹

Anselm's marriage to Geoffroy III of Donzy's daughter Alix (ca. 1153) became a cause célèbre because Anselm failed to consummate the mar-

riage (see Chapter 5 at n. 9). In 1159, in his early thirties, Anselm married the very young *Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine*, sister of his crusade companion Milo III of Bar-sur-Seine (d. 1151). Their twenty-five-year marriage produced two children. He died in his mid-fifties and was buried at Vauluisant, which his father had helped to found (1127) and which served as a family burial site. His widow remarried and survived him by a quarter century. [Defer, "Traînel," 277–86; Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 125; Lalore, "Traînel," 185–87, 208–25; Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1490–91, and genealogical table 16; Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 205–7 (with genealogical table), and "Aristocratic Women," 91.]

58 Traînel, Guy Gastablé (b. ca. 1140–d. ca. 1225)

Nephew of Anselm I of Traînel and brother of Garnier, bishop of Troyes (1193–1205). As a young man, Garnier witnessed the marriage of his cousin *Anselm II of Traînel* with Alix of Donzy (ca. 1153) and later, as a monk at Preuilly, testified about it (1217). Guy was perhaps lord of Le Plessis-Gâtébled, which was carved out of the Traînel properties in the mid-twelfth century. He held a comital fief, for which he owed six weeks castleguard in 1178; he inherited his brother's fief by 1190, and by 1204 he held a fief from Henry of Chennegy, lord of Saint-Mesmin.¹⁹² In 1207 he represented Countess Blanche in obtaining the king's promise not to construct a new village in the region of Dixmont.¹⁹³ Guy made several benefactions to Vauluisant and the Paraclete, where his daughter became a nun.¹⁹⁴ He took the habit at Preuilly after his wife Comitissa died (ca. 1207).¹⁹⁵ He was there in 1213, when he testified about the consanguineous relationship between *Erard I of Ramerupt* and Philippa, and in 1217, when he testified about Anselm II of Traînel's marriage (see Chapter 7 nn. 107–8). In 1225 his son Anselm, a squire, confirmed Guy's donation to Vauluisant.¹⁹⁶ If Guy was about thirteen in 1153, he might have been in his mid-sixties when he entered Preuilly and in his mid-eighties when he died there (1225). [Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1144–45, genealogical table 16]

59 Vendevre, Humbeline (b. ca. 1140–d. ca. 1205)

Daughter of Hulduin I of Vendevre (1119–61) and Emeline of Chappes (married by 1121). She married Bartholomew II of Nogent (1140–80) by 1153 and had five sons and two daughters during her twenty-five-year marriage. Within a year of her husband's death, she married Gérard of Vaudémont (his second marriage), had another son, and traveled with her husband to Compostella in 1188. She was widowed again ten years later (1189/90). If she was about fourteen when married, she was about thirty-nine when widowed, forty when remarried, fifty when widowed again, and sixty-five when she died. [Faget de Casteljau, "Nogent-en-Bassigny," 60–61; Poull, *Vaudémont*, 3–23.]

60 Venizy, Alix (b. ca. 1153–d. 1221) Genealogy 14

Heiress of Anselm of Venizy and Isabelle of Nangis.¹⁹⁷ By 1167 she had married **André of Ramerupt**, who took her title of Venizy in addition to Ramerupt.¹⁹⁸ After his death (October 1189 at Acre), Alix remained a widow for six years before marrying (1195) Gaucher of Joigny (d. ca. 1237), the younger brother of William I, count of Joigny (1177–1221). Gaucher managed her inheritance,¹⁹⁹ which subsequently passed to her son **Erard I of Ramerupt**. By her testament of January 1220, she bequeathed 20*l.* in annual revenues from her own properties to several religious houses.²⁰⁰ She died at Pougy in the presence of Oda of Noyers, widow of Renaud II of Pougy (d. 1206).²⁰¹ Her first marriage of twenty-two years was followed by six years as widow and a second (childless) marriage of twenty-five years, for a total of forty-seven married years. If she married at about fourteen, she died at about sixty-eight. [*Nesle*, 2: 340s.]

61 Vignory, Gautier I (b. 1170s–d. 1229) Genealogy 15

Third son of Bartholomew of Vignory (ca. 1150–91). Succeeded after his father and older brother Guy, then about thirty, died at Acre on the Third Crusade (another brother died young). Born in the 1170s, Gautier was married by the mid-1190s to Isabelle, heiress of Laferté-sur-Amance, and had four children by 1202.²⁰² He took the cross at Écry in 1199, following the example of his father and grandfather, and in 1202 confirmed many acts in anticipation of the Fourth Crusade.²⁰³ He returned to Champagne by 1204.²⁰⁴

Gautier continued his father's close ties to the counts of Champagne. Countess Blanche induced him to convert his town (*burgus*) of Vignory to a comital fief (1204) while continuing to hold the castle and outer walls from the count of Burgundy (see Chapter 2 n. 37). He sat on the baronial council that dealt with female successions to castles (1212) and served as pledge for the good conduct of his powerful neighbor, the seneschal Simon of Joinville (1214).²⁰⁵ He built two small, renderable fortresses on the Blaise River in support of Blanche during the civil war.²⁰⁶ He was one of the few barons from the eastern border zone not compromised by Erard of Brienne during that conflict. Little is known about him in the 1220s, except that he attended Thibaut IV's council dealing with male successions (1224) and stood surety for the marriage of count's daughter in 1226 (see Chapter 5 n. 13). Anticipating his death in 1228, he obtained Thibaut's consent to transfer his wife's dower at Vignory to his eldest son's promised bride, the niece of Anselm of Possesse (see Chapter 5 n. 129). He was succeeded by his eldest son **Gautier II of Vignory**. His second son Guy inherited the maternal lordship of Laferté-sur-Amance. His third son already had died, and the fourth was a canon at Langres. If Gautier married in the mid-1190s at about twenty, he took the cross in his mid-twenties when he had a wife and small children, and died in his mid-fifties (1229). [*Vignory*, lxxxiii-

lxxxviii; Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 20; Bouchard, *Nobility and the Church*, 380 (genealogical table), 383.]

62 Vignory, Gautier II (b. ca. 1196–d. 1262) Genealogy 16

Eldest son of *Gautier I of Vignory* and Isabelle of Laferté-sur-Amance, and the first eldest son in four generations to succeed to Vignory. Born in the late 1190s, perhaps in 1196,²⁰⁷ he was in his thirties when he inherited Vignory (1229), the same year he married Bertha, sister of the duke of Lorraine and widow of the count of Kibourg.²⁰⁸ In the 1230s, for reasons not apparent, Gautier sold a number of properties to monasteries and converted his village and fortress of Melay to a fief held from the bishop of Langres.²⁰⁹ He and Bertha jointly sealed at least nine letters in the 1230s, including a mortgage of their village of Guindrecourt-sur-Blaise to Montier-en-Der.²¹⁰ In January 1237 they made a *conventio* with Montier-en-Der over the new village of Champcourt, which they reported to Jean of Thourotte and Guy of La Brosse, *custodes Campanie*.²¹¹ Perhaps Gautier's most memorable deed was to fulfill his father's pledge to a marriage contract after Odo III of Burgundy refused to marry Thibaut's daughter Blanche: Gautier executed the contract's penalty clause by transferring *mouvance* of his castle to Thibaut, thereby bringing Vignory fully into Champagne (see Chapter 5 n. 13). Little is known about Gautier's three wives; only Bertha, who died by 1242, sealed letters patent with him. He was survived by his third wife, Isabelle of Sancerre, who initially retained her dower (the castle, town, and half the castellany of Vignory); their only daughter, Jeanne (1262–1311), wife of Stephen of Chalon-sur-Saône, also did homage to the count for it.²¹² [*Vignory*, lxxxviii–xciv; Bouchard, *Nobility and the Church*, 380 (genealogical table), 383–84.]

63 Villehardouin, Geoffroy (b. ca. 1155–d. ca. 1218) Genealogies 4, 16

Oldest son of Villain of Arzillières/Villehardouin (d. 1170) by his second marriage to Dameron, and thus half brother of *Jean of Villehardouin* and uncle of Geoffroy of Villehardouin, prince of the Frankish Morea.²¹³ In the fief roll for Troyes, Geoffroy appears as an ordinary knight owing castle-guard (ca. 1178).²¹⁴ His first wife, Berengaria of Villemaur, brought him property at Villemaur, which his son sold to Blanche (1219). In 1189 their oldest daughter was married and their younger daughter Alix took the veil at Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains, where she later became abbess (1234–49). Geoffroy led an obscure life until his mid-thirties, when Countess Marie appointed him marshal (1185). That opportunity arose because his (half) sister Adeline's son, the marshal Erard of Aulnay (1181–85), died excommunicate shortly after tangling with the canons of Saint-Etienne of Châlons.²¹⁵ Helia, the sister of Geoffroy's wife, was married to Milo I Breban, the count's treasurer (and perhaps briefly marshal).

As marshal of Champagne (1185–1204), Geoffroy was familiar with the

military disposition of the county as depicted in the rolls of fiefs (see Chapter 2 n. 36). He accompanied Henry II on the Third Crusade and apparently was captured with him at the siege of Acre, but he returned to Champagne by 1194. After he and many Champenois took the cross in 1199, he became intimately involved with the logistical preparations for the Fourth Crusade; thereafter his life became inextricably tied to that expedition and, after the conquest of Constantinople, the settlement of the Latin Empire. Appointed marshal of the Latin Empire (1204-ca. 1208), he remained in Greece to write his memoirs. He died before 1218.

Geoffroy had three children by his second wife, Chana of Lézinnes: Erard I (marshal, 1223–26), Geoffroy (who died in 1219), and Dameron, a nun at Foissy where Geoffroy's sister Haye also was a nun. Geoffroy was about thirty when he became marshal, in his forties when he took charge of preparations for the Fourth Crusade, in his fifties when he wrote his memoirs, and in his early sixties when he died. [Longnon, *Recherches*, 45–131, summarized in *Les compagnons*, 26–32.]

64 Villehardouin, Jean (b. ca. 1148-ca. 1216) Genealogies 4, 16

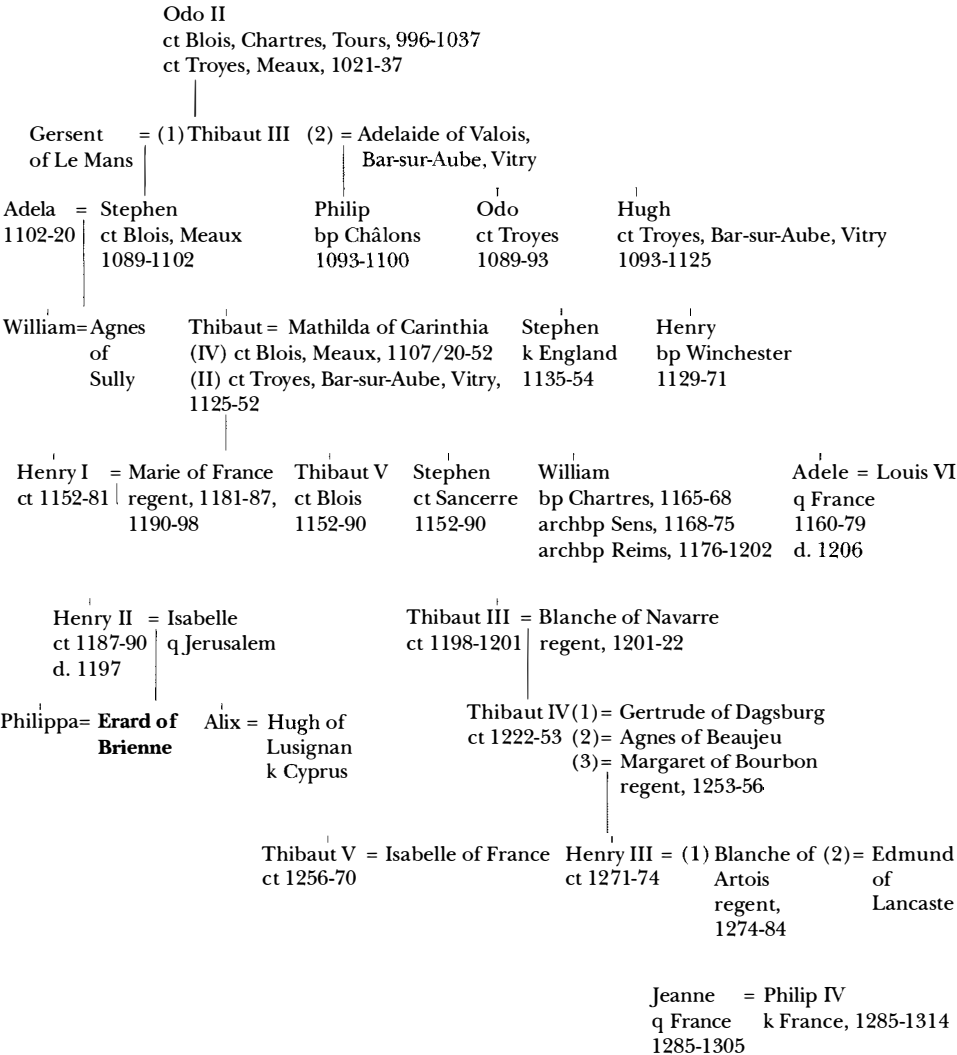
Son of Villain of Arzillières/Villehardouin (d. 1170) by his first wife.²¹⁶ He appeared as a knight of Brandonvillers (1177), then as Jean of Villehardouin owing three months castleguard (1178).²¹⁷ Jean acted as guardian of the constable Guy II of Dampierre's lands during the Third Crusade.²¹⁸ From 1197 he first appears as "lord," perhaps after constructing a fortified residence. He seems to have stayed home during the Fourth Crusade, despite the fact that his half brother, the marshal *Geoffroy of Villehardouin* (1185–1204), and his own son Geoffroy took the cross. In 1212 Jean helped to prepare the draft articles regarding female successions to fortifications and probably sealed the final document as well.²¹⁹ By that time Geoffroy the marshal was retired in Greece writing his memoirs of the Fourth Crusade, and Jean's son Geoffroy was prince of the Morea (1209-ca. 1226). Late in 1214 Jean and his wife, Celine of Briel,²²⁰ took the cross in preparation for a voyage to visit their son Geoffroy, prince of the Morea in Greece; in 1216 at Corinth, Jean sealed the donation of his son and daughter-in-law Elizabeth (of Chappes) to Clairvaux.²²¹ Jean died soon after in his late sixties, slightly older than Geoffroy the marshal who died about the same time. Jean's second son had predeceased him and his daughter had been widowed by a local knight; his eldest son Geoffroy ruled the Morea (d. 1226/28) for another decade. [Longnon, *Recherches*, 20–26.]

Appendix E. Genealogies

The genealogies here are intended to be illustrative rather than complete. A **boldface name** indicates an entry in the Prosopographical Register (Appendix D).

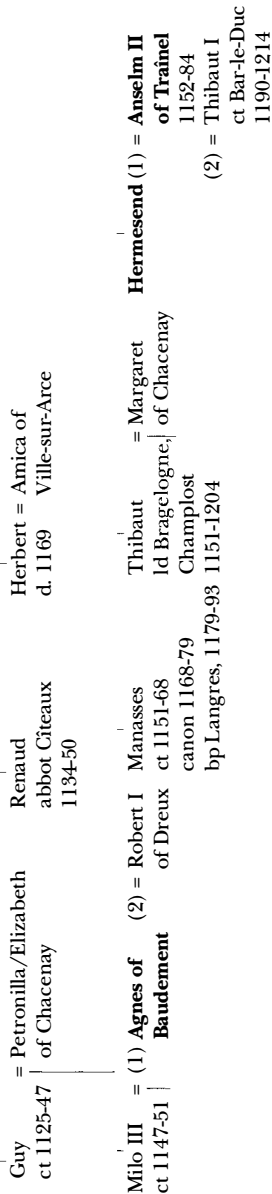
Abbreviations: archbp (archbishop), bp (bishop), ct (count), ctess (countess), k (king), ld (lord: *dominus*), q (queen), vct (viscount).

1. The Counts of Champagne
2. Bar-sur-Seine
3. Bricon and Rochefort
4. Briel-sur-Barse
5. Broyes-Beaufort-Châteauvillain
6. Chacenay
7. Châtillon-sur-Marne
8. Garlande-Tournan-Possesse
9. Gondrecourt
10. Joinville
11. Jully-sur-Sarce and Sailly
12. Montmirail
13. Nogent-l'Artaud and Jaucourt
14. Ramerupt
15. Vignory
16. Villehardouin



1. The Counts of Champagne, 1021–1285

Milo II
ct ca. 1085-1124



Petronilla = Hugh of Le Puiset
1168-74
ct Bar-sur-Seine
1168-89

Petronilla = Guy of Chappes
of Champlost ld Jully-sur-Sarce
d. 1236 d. 1221

Agnes = Philip of
of Plancy
Bragelogne

Milo IV = (2) Helisent (1) = Jean I of
ct 1189-1219 | of Joigny Arcis-sur-Aube
d. ca. 1226 ca. 1178-90

Margaret = Simon I
of Rochefort
d. 1219

Helvide = Guy of Sennecey
d. 1220

Jean II
of Arcis-sur-Aube d. 1197
1200-1222

Gaucher = Isabelle
d. 1219 of Courtenay

Beatrice = Simon II
of Rochefort

Genealogy 3

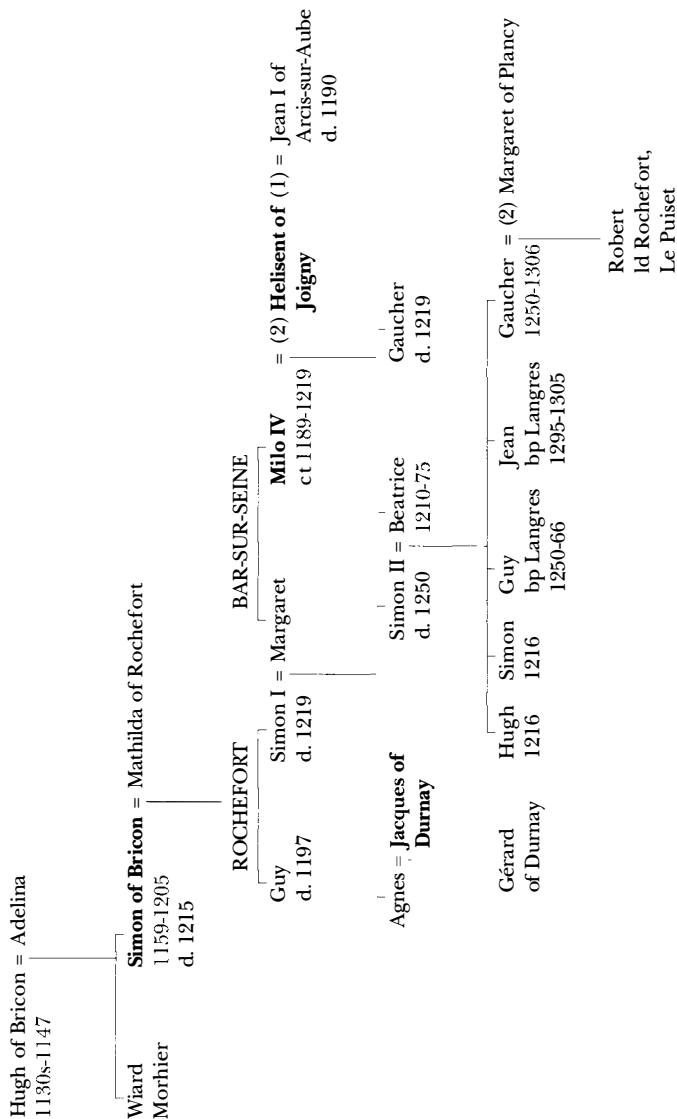
Agnes = **Jacques** Colin of
of **Durnay** Sennecey

Gérard
of Durnay
1215-48

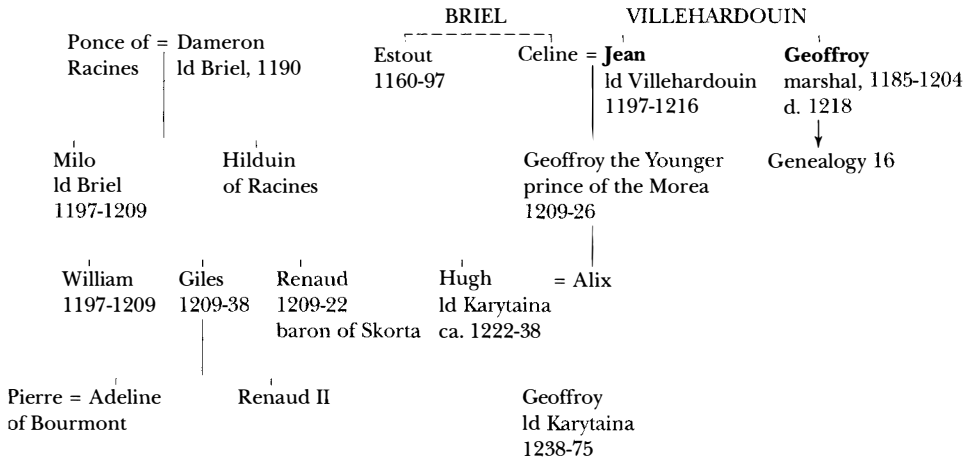
Laurence = Ponce of
Cuiscaux

Hugh = Agnes of
Mont-Saint-Jean

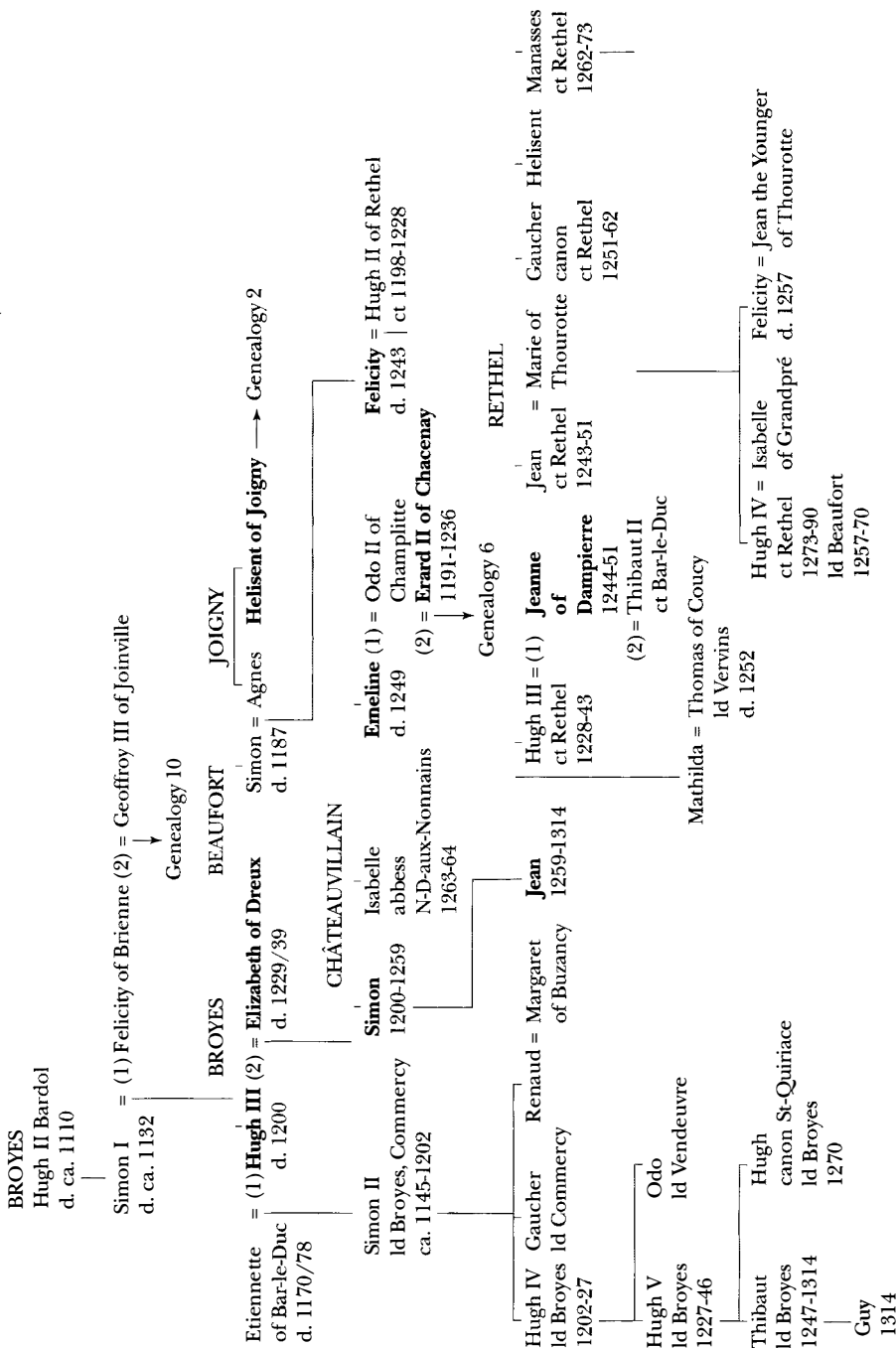
2. Bar-sur Seine



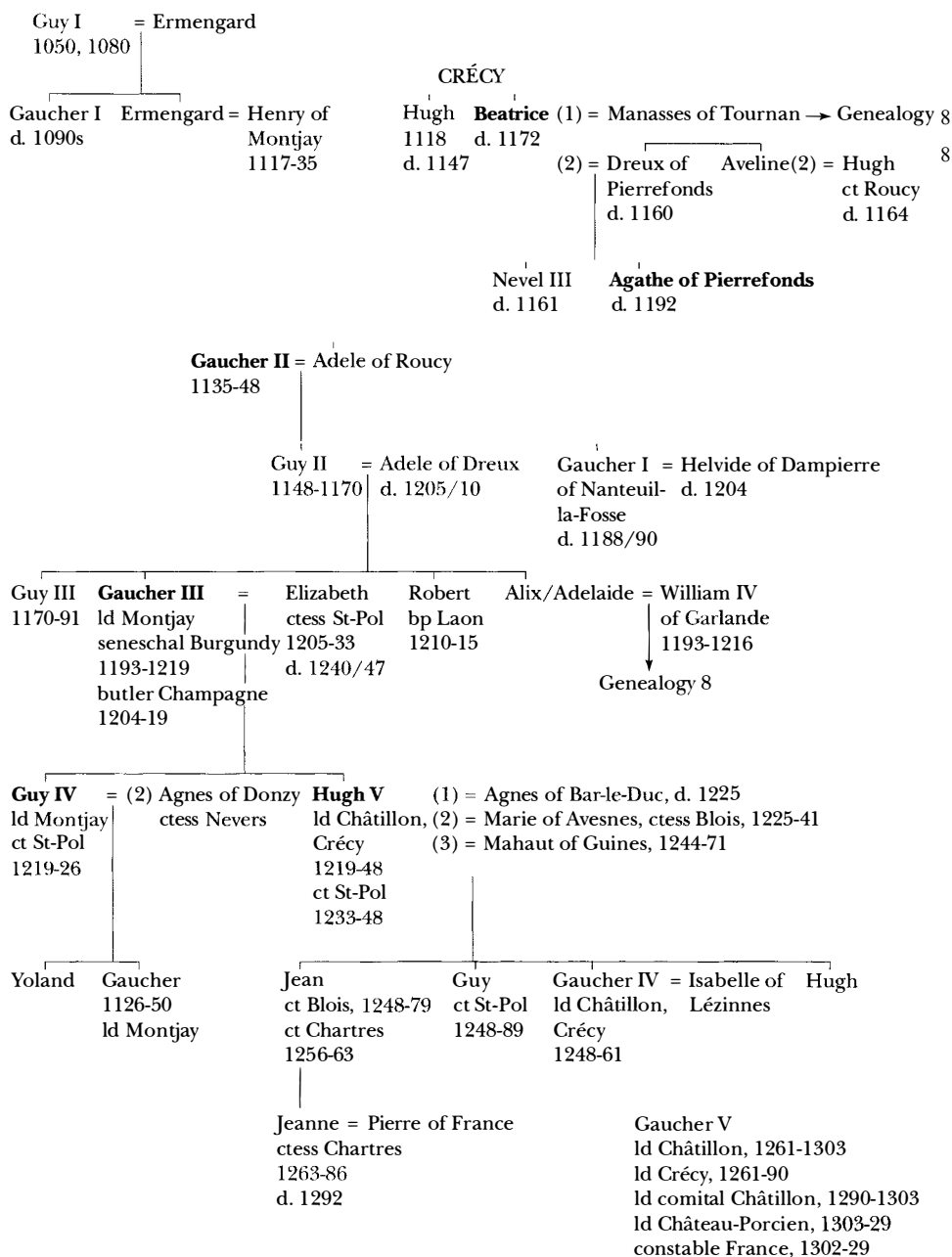
3. Bricon and Rochefort

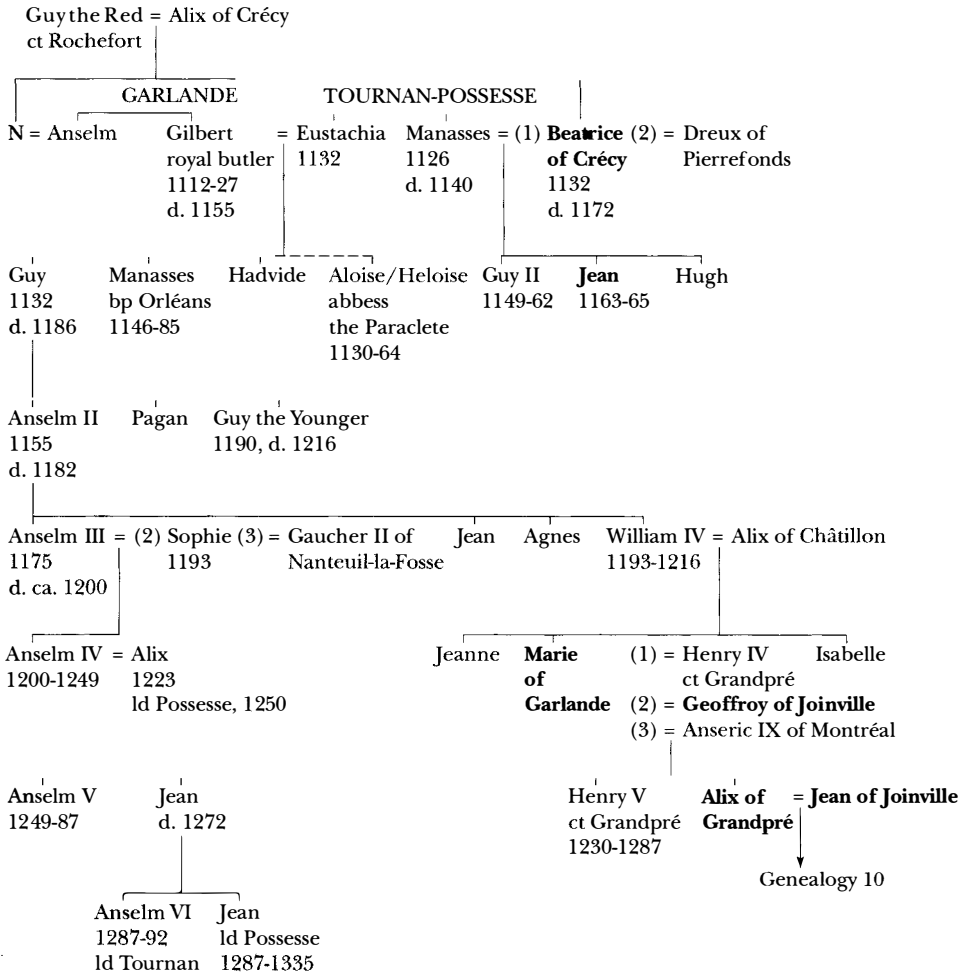


4. Briel-sur-Barse

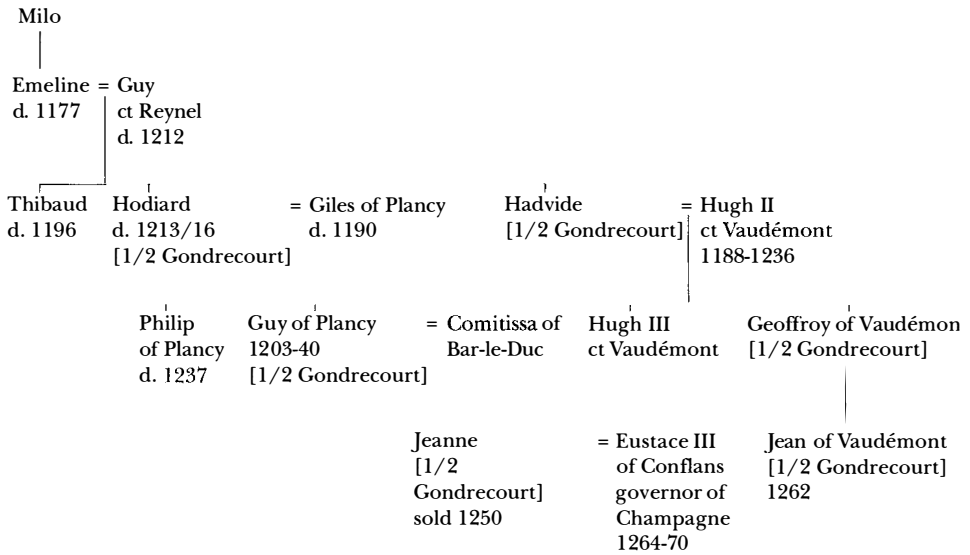


5. Broyes-Beaufort-Châteauvillain

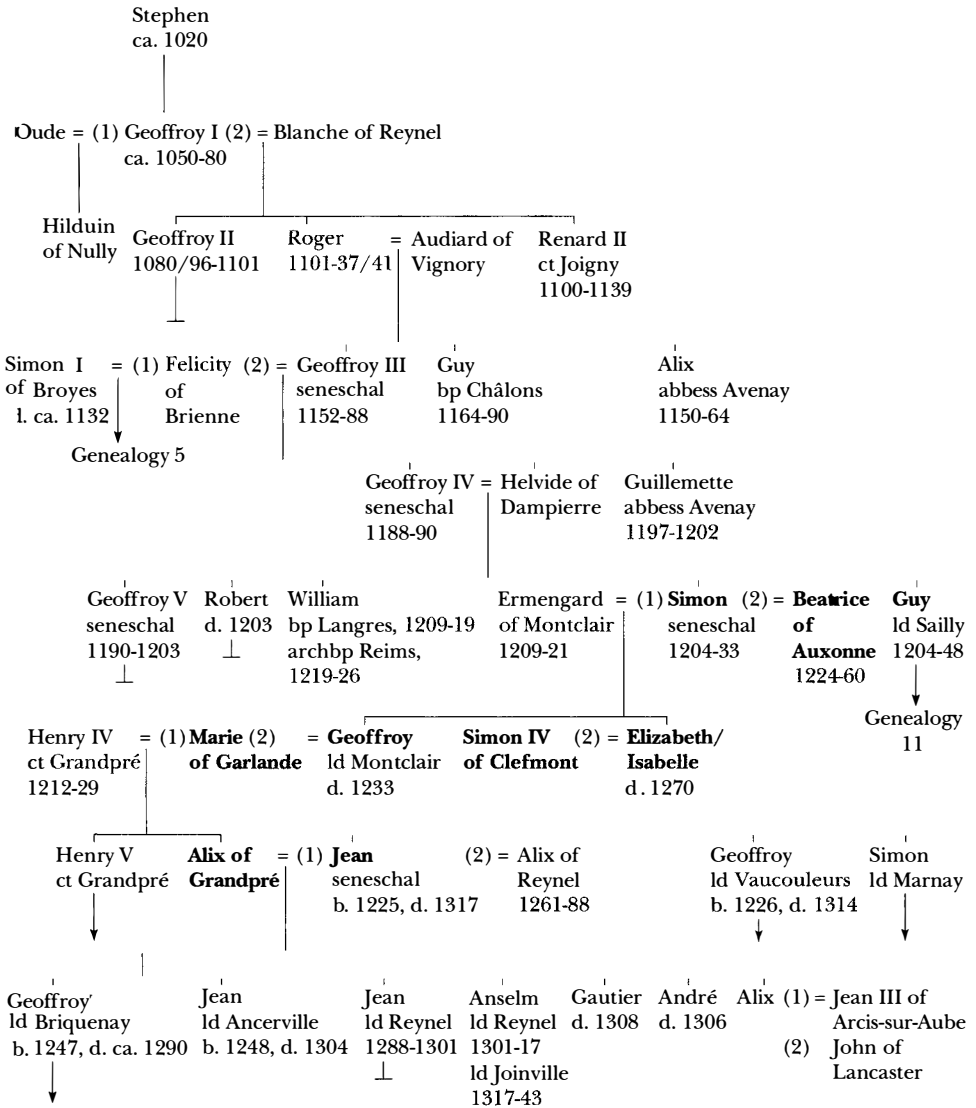




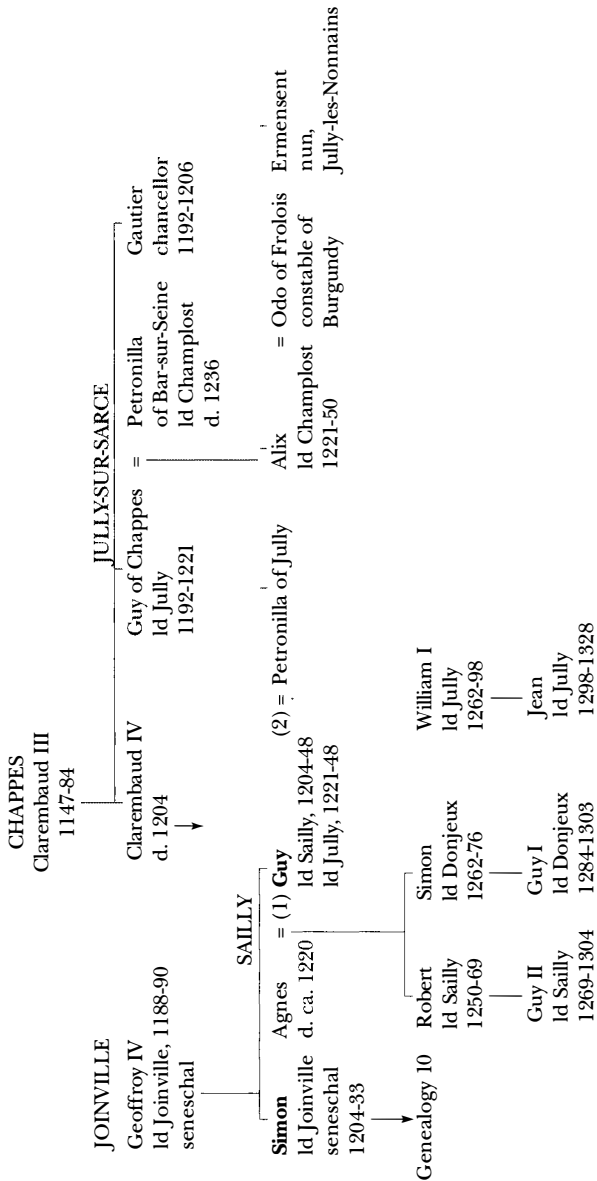
8. Garlande-Tournan-Possesse



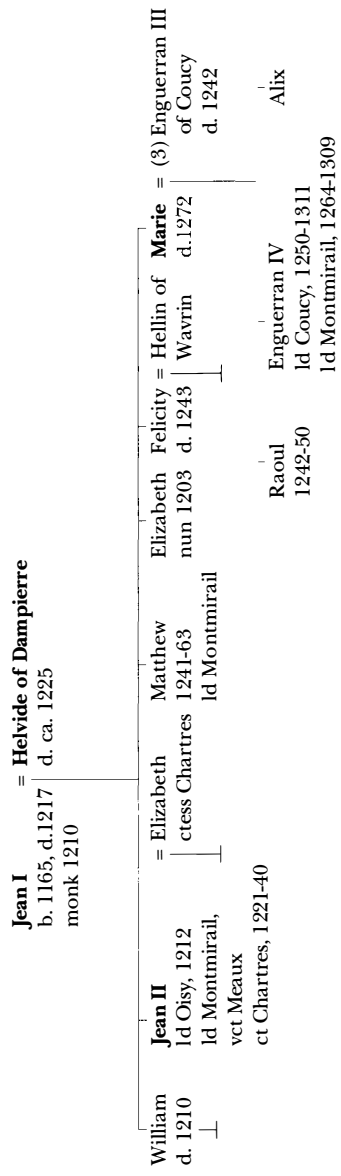
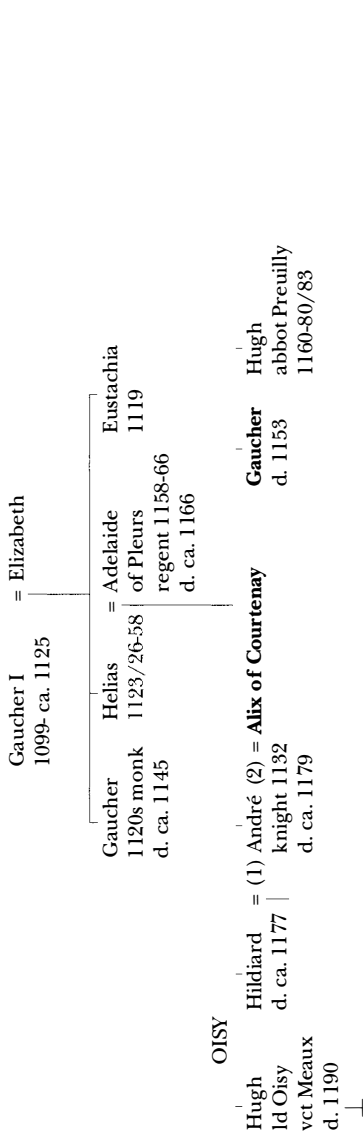
9. Gondrecourt



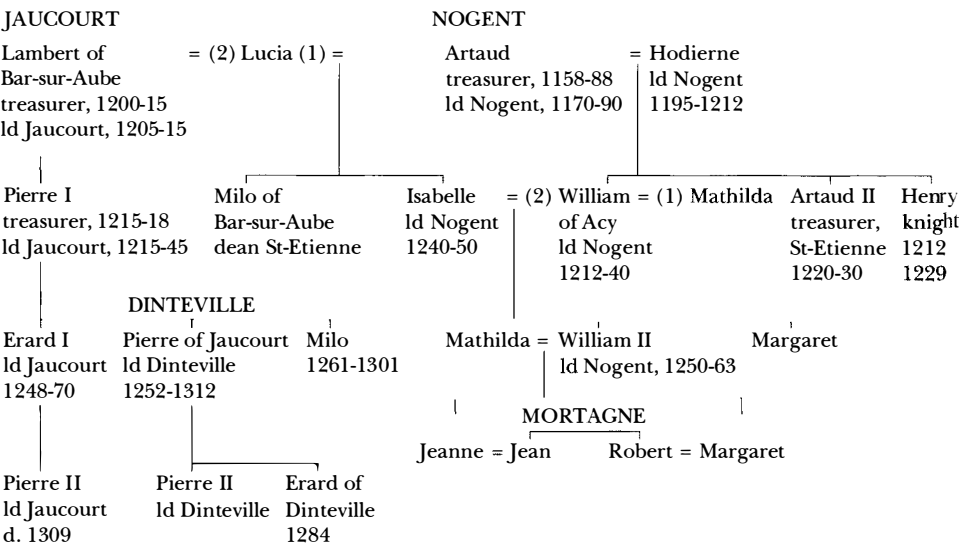
10. Joinville



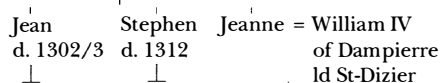
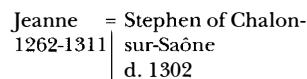
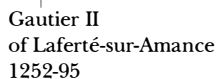
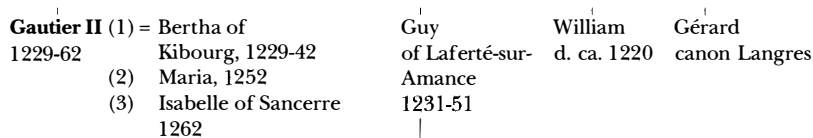
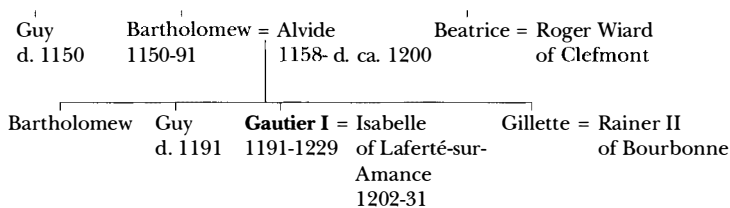
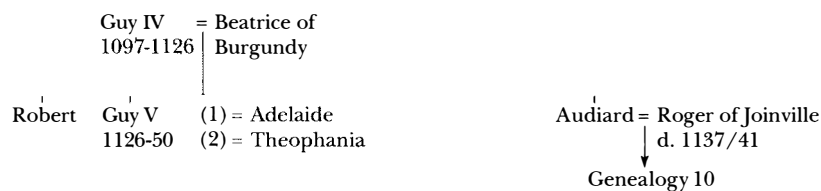
11. Jully-sur-Sarce and Sully



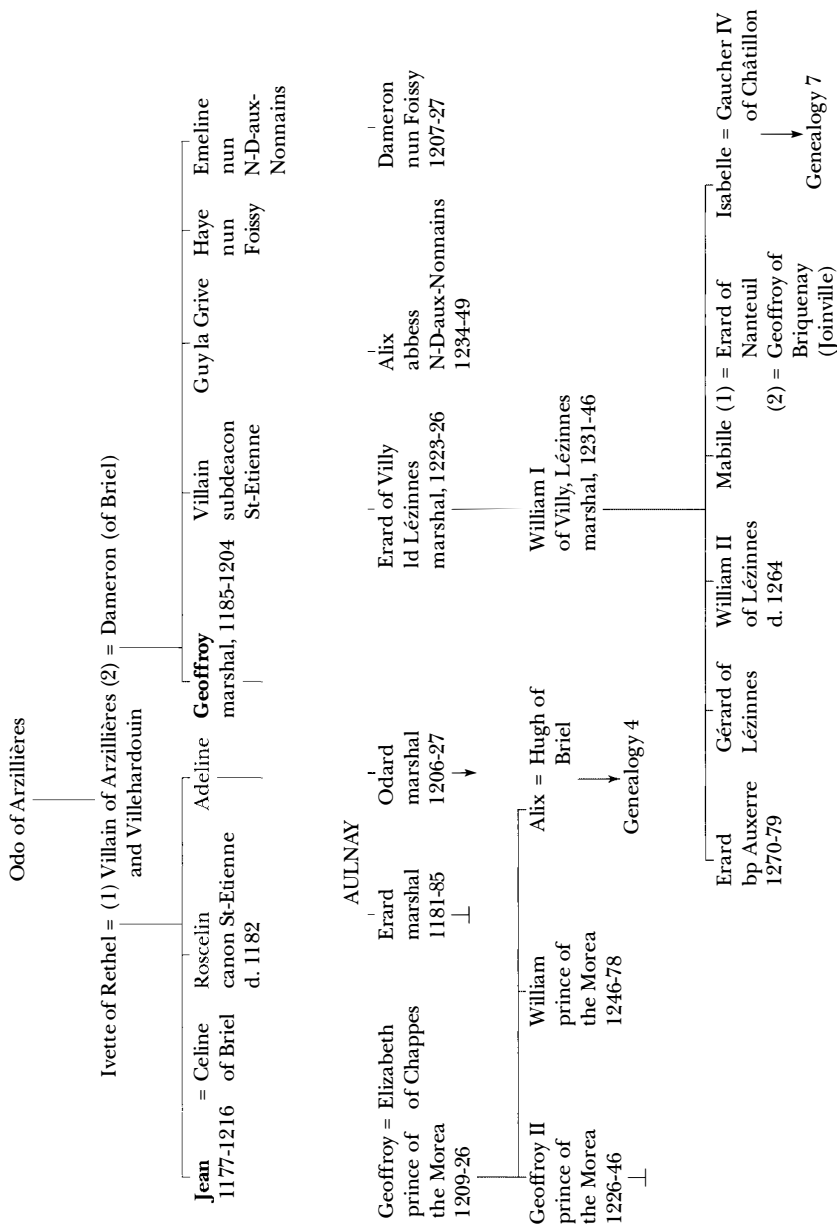
12. Montmirail



13. Nogent-l'Artaud and Jaucourt



15. Vignory



16. Villehardouin

Abbreviations

*	Entry in Appendix D (Prosopographical Register).
=	Edition or copy of the same document.
>	Copy from the original document.
AD	Archives Départementales (Aube, Marne, Haute-Marne).
AN	Archives Nationales (Paris).
BM	Bibliothèque Municipale (Provins, Troyes).
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris).
BEC	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes</i> .
CB	<i>The Cartulary of Countess Blanche of Champagne</i> (edition of CR 3, in preparation).
CHM	<i>Les Cahiers Haut-Marnais</i> .
CR	Cartulary-Register of the counts (CR 1-CR 8).
GC	<i>Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa</i> , 16 vols. Paris, 1739–1877.
LB	<i>Littere Baronum: The Earliest Cartulary of the Counts of Champagne</i> . Ed. Theodore Evergates. Medieval Academy Books, no. 107. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
LP	Liber Principum (LP 1, 2, 3), BNF, Cinq Cents de Colbert, vols. 54–56, copy of the lost original.
<i>l., s., d.</i>	<i>libra, solidus, denarius</i> .
<i>l. par., prov., tour.</i>	<i>libra parisiensis, libra provinensis, libra tournacensis</i> : money of Paris, Provins, Tours.
<i>lt.</i>	<i>libratus terre</i> : annual revenue (generally one-tenth of a property's value) expressed in money of Provins.
MSA	<i>Mémoires de la Société académique d'agriculture, des sciences, arts et belles-lettres du département de l'Aube</i> .
MSM	<i>Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture, commerce, science et arts du département de la Marne</i> .
NRCB	<i>Nouvelle revue de Champagne et de Brie</i> .
n.s.	New style. For most scribes in Champagne, the new year began with Easter; documents drawn up between 1 January and Easter carried the previous year's date (old style, o.s.). Thus a document dated February 1212 is rendered here February 1213, n.s. In case of doubt, old style is retained.

<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina.</i> Ed. J. P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844–64.
<i>RCB</i>	<i>Revue de Champagne et de Brie.</i>
<i>RHDFE</i>	<i>Revue historique de droit français et étranger.</i>
<i>RHF</i>	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France.</i> Ed. Dom Bouquet et al. 24 vols. Paris, 1734–1904.

Notes

Introduction

1. Bur, *La formation du comté de Champagne* (1977), deals with the period before 1150, while my earlier study (1975) is limited to the *bailliage* of Troyes.

2. I refer to “aristocracy” rather than “nobility” (*noblesse*), despite a long tradition in France. In this regard I agree with the recent regional historians, notably Lemesle (*La société aristocratique dans le Haute-Maine*, 1999) and Duhamel-Amado (*Genèse des lignages méridionaux*, vol. 1, *L’aristocratie languedocienne*, 2001). Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain*, 1–9, makes some pertinent remarks.

3. Schmidt-Chazan, “Aubri de Trois-Fontaines.”

4. *Littere Baronum*, 5–8.

Chapter 1. Forming the County and a Regional Aristocracy

1. Bur, *Formation*, 174–89, and Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, 48–54, trace the rise of the episcopal lordships. Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, provides a broader comparative framework. See also Bautier, “Les diplômes royaux,” 165–71 (Langres).

2. Bur, *Formation*, chaps. 2–3, and LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 63–67.

3. Meaux and Troyes initially passed to Thibaut III’s younger brother Stephen (1037–48) and his son Odo III (1048–66), then reverted to Thibaut III following Odo III’s relocation to England (Dunbabin, “Geoffrey of Chaumont,” 109–10).

4. Thibaut III of Blois married Adelaide ca. 1060. In 1077 she inherited Bar-sur-Aube and Vitry from her brother Simon of Crépy (d. ca. 1100), who took the habit. Her third son, Philip, became bishop of Châlons (1093–1100). See Bur, *Formation*, 216–17, 230.

5. Hugh, born ca. 1075, was about four when he witnessed his first act (Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 1: 493–94, nos. 55–56, dated 1077/79: *qui tunc puer erat*). He was about fourteen when his father died (1089) and about eighteen when he succeeded his brother Odo as count of Troyes (1093). He married Constance of France at about twenty (1195) and was divorced in his late twenties (1104). The date of his remarriage is uncertain (probably before 1114, when Ivo of Chartres counseled him against taking the monastic habit because of his marital responsibilities). His son Odo “the Champenois” probably was born in the early 1120s (see n. 19 below). Hugh was about fifty when he left for the Holy Land to become a Templar (1125) and about fifty-five when last mentioned in Jerusalem (1130) witnessing an act of the patriarch (Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre*, 347–48, app. 1). For Hugh’s rule, see Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 2: 63–143, and Bur, *Formation*, 259–78.

6. The scribes at Molesme, who knew Hugh from his many visits, called him variously *comes Trecensis* and *comes Campanie* (*Molesme*, 2: 229, no. 245, 1093–1100; 2: 26–28, no. 19, 1104). The identification of “Champagne” with southern Cham-

pagne, specifically with the county of Troyes, was made in 1082 when Hugh's older brother Odo, who may have been associated in rule with his parents, was called *comes Campanie* (*Actes de Philippe Ier*, 240, no. 106). To Bernard of Clairvaux and the chroniclers, Hugh was "count of Champagne," and to the cardinal legate who confirmed the foundation of Cheminon, Hugh was "count of all Champagne" (*Cheminon*, 45–46, 1110: *concedente Hugone comite totius Campanie*). The bishop of Troyes used the same phrase (AD Aube, 20 H 8, 1119: *Hugo comite toti Campanie dominante*). See Bur, *Formation*, 272, and Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 2: 409.

7. When quoted by his scribes, Hugh identified himself as *Ego Hugo comes Trecensis*, as in the foundation charter for Molesme's priory, which he established in his castle at Isle-Aumont, *cum consilio baronum eorum*; he licensed the monks to acquire anything held from him in *feodo* (Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 405–7, no. 74, 1097 = *Molesme*, 2: 417–18, no. 453). Hugh used the same title in his grant of privileges to Saint-Loup of Troyes, where he appeared with his wife Constance and his brother Philip, bishop of Châlons (Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 407–9, no. 75, ca. 1100: all three made crosses on the document in the presence of several prominent laymen, including Hugh of Payns). Hugh was once called "count of Troyes and Bar-sur-Aube" and twice "count of Vitry" (Bur, *Formation*, 262–63).

8. Hugh's undated donation of the village of Sermaize to Saint-Claude survived to June 1238, when a monk of the priory at Sermaize presented the document to Jean of Épernay, bailiff of Vitry, perhaps for confirmation or resealing. Jean remarked that the seal disintegrated in his hand (*cera putredinem*), so he had the document copied, then sent both the original and the copy to the chancery. In 1271 both the original document (*Layettes*, 1: 30–31, no. 25) and the copy of 1238 were copied into the *Liber Principum* (LP 1, fols. 117r–118v, copy of the original; LP 3, fols. 243r–244v, copy of the bailiff's copy of 1238, which omits several witnesses). The authenticity of Hugh's original act has been questioned because he appears as "count of Champagne," some witnesses seem improbable, and the script may date to the late thirteenth century (*Layettes*, 1: 30 n. 1). But Arbois de Jubainville (*Histoire*, 4: 881–82, note b) accepts its authenticity, as does Lesort ("Les chartes de fondation du prieuré de Sermaize"), who edits the three related confirmations by Hugh's brother Philip, bishop of Châlons (1094), their mother Adelaide of Valois (1094), and Pope Eugenius III (1148). Lusse, "Deux villeneuves," 79–85, concludes that the document contains later interpolations.

9. Bur, *Formation*, 357. Hugh fought a small war against Erard I, count of Brienne, who had burned down several of Montier-en-Der's villages after trying to reimpose the commuted castleguard and carting service (*Montier-en-Der*, 269–73, no. 134, 3 May 1114; Bur, *Formation*, 363 n. 86, 366, 370).

10. Urban II wrote to Philip, bishop of Châlons, asking that his brother Hugh take the priory of Saint-Vanne of Verdun under his protection (GC, 10: *instr.*, 158, no. 12, 1096). According to the monks of Saint-Germain, *comes Hugo, qui temporibus suis terram suam strenue gubernavit et ecclesias suas amplificando valde pacificavit* (Quentin, *Cartulaire général*, 2: 42–43, no. 39, 1104).

11. Lemaignier, *Recherches sur l'hommage en marche*, 157 n. 4, notes the rarity of written homages in Champagne and Burgundy before the thirteenth century. One example is the *conventio* made by Albert of Mercy, bishop of Verdun (1156–63), with his advocate, Garnier of Sampigny, who became the bishop's *homo ligius* for the newly built tower at Hattonchâtel, which he held as a *feudum* (Parisse, "Pratiques féodales," 293, no. 2, 1158). For the *convenientiae* from southern France and Catalonia, see Bonnassie, "From the Rhône to Galicia," and Débax, "Le cartulaire des Trencavel" and *La féodalité languedocienne*, 60–71.

12. For Isle-Aumont, see n. 7 above. In 1110 Hugh founded Cheminon, *consilio*

et assensu baronum meorum (AD Marne, 17 H 8, no. 6 = *Cheminon*, 43–45); see Chassel, *Sceaux et usages de sceaux*, 21, fig. 6 (photograph of the document and Hugh's seal, inscribed: *Quod mandat scripto firmat comes Hugo sigillo*).

13. Selected family histories are in Chapter 8. See also Bur, *Formation*, 230–79, 234 (map).

14. The term “castle” covers a variety of structures. The monastic scribes who furnish all the written references to castles in the early twelfth century, although not consistent, usually distinguished a lordly residence (*dongio*, *castellum*) from a walled town (*castrum*, *oppidum*) and a tower (*fortericia*). I use “castle town” to indicate a walled town that included a lordly residence and tower; the count's castle towns became administrative centers of his castellanies. Bur, *Formation*, 231–79, reviews the origins of the comital castle towns. See also Bur, *Le château*, esp. 23–26.

15. Guy IV of Vignory was named among Hugh's *magnates* (Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 410–11, no. 77, ca. 1100 = *Molesme*, 2: 31–32, no. 21). Roger of Joinville, Milo II of Bar-sur-Seine, and Anseric II of Chacenay were listed among his *homines* (*Molesme*, 2: 226–27, no. 242, ca. 1113).

16. See n. 149 below.

17. *Montiéramey*, 38–41, no. 23, 1121 and 1122: the brothers Roscelin and Hulduin, co-lords of Vendevre, mortgaged their castle to Hugh for 300*l.* (*castrum et honorem suum quam comes Hugo Trecassinus pro CCC libris in vadimonio habebat*). Thus when the abbot of nearby Montiéramey asked the count for use of the castle's pastures, waters, and woods, Hugh sought the consent of the family (Hulduin's wife, Roscelin's wife, two sons, and four daughters). The brothers redeemed their castle within one year.

18. Hugh's chaplain Albert might have drafted the instrument he sealed (*sigillavit*) for Marmoutier (AD Aube, 20 H 5, 1118 = Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 420–21, no. 87), but there is no evidence for an organized writing bureau under Hugh.

19. Odo was born in the early 1120s and was in his mid-teens in 1137 when he appeared with his wife Sybil, niece of Josbert of Laferté, viscount of Dijon (LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 393–95, 570–74). She died in 1177 and Odo died ca. 1187 in his sixties. They left two sons: Odo II of Champlitte, who died on the Fourth Crusade, and William of Champlitte, the future prince of the Frankish Morea (Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 209–12). Hugh of Payns, founder of the Templars, appeared among Hugh's barons from ca. 1100; see Barber, “The Origins of the Order of the Temple,” and *The New Knighthood*, 8–19.

20. Thibaut, born ca. 1092, was knighted and took the comital title in 1107 at about fifteen; he shared lordship over his father's lands with his mother Adela until 1120, when she retired to Marcigny (LoPrete, “The Anglo-Norman Card of Adela of Blois,” “Adela of Blois,” and *Adela of Blois*, 549–50). For Thibaut's rule, see Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 2: 168–417, and Bur, *Formation*, 281–307.

21. Hugh of Roucy, Hugh of Rethel, and Henry of Châtillon-sur-Marne attended Thibaut's court at Vitry in 1126 (Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 2: 22). Arnold, count of Reynel, admitted at Sézanne in 1127 that he had infeudated (*feodaverat*) property to the knight Garnier of Ambonville (*Montier-en-Der*, 311–13, no. 162). The counts of Rethel and Grandpré joined the lords of Châtillon-sur-Marne, Montmorency, Pierrefonds, and Vendevre at Thibaut's court at Sézanne in 1137 (Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 2: 24).

22. Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, 6: 42, bk. 11, chap. 5.

23. Thibaut is conventionally viewed as a rival of his younger brother Stephen for the English succession in 1135 (Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, 30–35). LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 390–98, portrays Thibaut more as an ally of Stephen,

arguing that Thibaut already had made a strategic investment in his eastern lands by that date.

24. Henry I renewed his father's franchise to immigrants "from Lorraine and diverse parts" who settled at Wassy (*Ordonnances*, 6: 314–16, 1156).

25. That is the thesis of Bur, *Formation*, 292–307. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 401, argues rather that Stephen and Adela had fostered the fairs from the late eleventh century.

26. Mesqui, *Provins*, 187, no. 1, 1137.

27. See n. 111 below.

28. André of Baudement gave the Templars what he had at Baudement (lands, tenants, the bridge over the Marne and its tolls) and all the revenues from the town (*castrum*), excluding only the fortress (*firmitas*) and the fiefs of his knights (*casamentum suorum militum*); he acted with the consent of Thibaut, *a quo totum movebat* (*Templiers de Provins*, 101–3, no. 81, 1133). André had attended Count Hugh since 1103 (Clarius, *Chronicon*, 263–64, no. 9; "Saint-Pierre," 4–5, no. 3, April 1104) and later became Thibaut's seneschal (1111–33). In 1142 André and his son Guy accompanied his daughters Mathilda and Halwide to become nuns at Jully ("Jully-les-Nonnains," 261–62). See also Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 3: 25; Bur, *Formation*, 431–32; and LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 332 n. 89. Baudement passed successively to Guy (d. 1135), his daughter *Agnes of Baudement, and granddaughter *Elizabeth of Dreux.

29. Alix/Aelaidis, widow of Guy of Braine, acted in the presence of her relatives and the castle nobles (*nobiles castri*) of Braine; the count consented, *quia de feodo meo descendebat* (*Saint-Yved-de-Braine*, 353–55, D 1, probably 1135).

30. It is not known why Anseric II of Chacenay, on the advice of Bernard of Clairvaux, placed his castle in Thibaut's hand. Bernard asked the count to show mercy because Anseric was ready to submit to the count's judgment; Thibaut seems to have returned the castle shortly afterward (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, 8: 476, no. 517, 1125).

31. In 1127, for example, he summoned Arnold, count of Reynel, to answer charges of abusing an advocacy (see n. 21 above).

32. The three barons from southern Champagne who witnessed Thibaut's homage to the duke of Burgundy in 1143 (Guy of Bar-sur-Seine, Odo of Vendevre, and Josbert of Laferté-sur-Aube) were identified as his men (*homo suus*), suggesting that they had done homage to him just as he did homage to the duke (see n. 46 below).

33. In his grant to the Templars, the count allowed *barones mei . . . ceterique homines mei dederint de meo feodo, unde servitium meum non amitam* (*Temple*, 6, no. 9, ca. 1127, at Provins).

34. Homage (*hominium*) is rarely mentioned before 1150 in either Champagne or Lorraine (Parisse, *La noblesse en Lorraine*, 1: 530–42). One example is the homage of Robert, viscount of Saint-Florentin, to the abbot of Saint-Germain of Auxerre for the right to collect safeguard taxes from the abbey's village (Quantin, *Cartulaire générale*, 2: 433–35, no. 281, 1147). The "fidelity" that Helias, lord of Montmirail, gave to the abbess of Faremoutiers for his wife's dowry sometime before 1144 may have been intended to preclude the kiss of homage (see Chapter 5 n. 37). In Picardy, *hominium* appears in 1155 (*Homblières*, 144–46, no. 71). Ganshof, "Note sur l'apparition du nom d'hommage," finds tentative references to homage in the late eleventh century but concludes that it was a relatively new, invented term when Pope Pascal II used it in a letter to Anselm of Canterbury in 1102 (*ne quis omnino clericus hominium facit laico*). Hudson, *Land, Law, and Lordship*, 16–21, finds few mentions of homage in Anglo-Norman England. Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne*, offers an extended study of homage in southern France. In Catalonia, *hominium* is recorded from the time of Count Alfons I (1162–92) and illustrated by the thir-

teenth-century illuminations in the *Liber feodorum maior* (Kosto, “The *Liber feodorum maior*,” esp. 18–19).

35. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, 8–38.

36. Thibaut’s reply, reported by Suger, to the king’s improper request for an army to help suppress the commune of Poitiers (1138) located in Queen Eleanor’s lands (Suger, *Oeuvres*, 1: 166).

37. Bur, *Formation*, 423–60.

38. Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, 6: 174–77, bk. 11, chap. 43.

39. *Molesme*, 2: 321–23, no. 173A, ca. 1125 (photograph of AD Côte-d’Or, 7 H 748).

40. *Molesme*, 2: 419–20, no. 456, ca. 1125–51 = “Molême,” 263: *Hec carta Trevis coram prefato comite et baronibus suis relecta et confirmata est . . . comes Theobaldus proprio sigillo confirmavit*. In 1136 the abbot of Prémontré brought a prewritten notice to Vertus, where in the presence of the count’s chaplain, his son Henry’s tutor, and several officials, *comes Teobaudus hanc cartulam sigilli sui auctoritate confirmari precepit* (AN, K 22, no. 9, missing pendent seal).

41. According to a notice of 1133, the nuns acquired half of the mill of Crevecoeur: *hoc concessio facta est apud Pruvinum in presentia comitis Theobaldi et Mathildis comitis, uxoris ejus, et per manum etiam ipsius comitis, qui comes . . . sigilli sui auctoritate corroborari precepit* (*Paraclet*, 62–63, no. 45: the count’s chaplain Raoul sealed it).

42. Mesqui, *Provins*, 187, no. 1, 1137; witnesses include *Radulphus, capellanus comiti Teobaldo, qui hanc cartam sigillavit*, and *Guillelmus, clericus comitis Teobaldi, qui hanc scripsit*. In 1140 William wrote two documents at Coulommiers (*Guillelmus clericus meus scripsit*) for the chaplain Raoul to seal (*Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 122–24, no. 91 = *Monuments historiques*, 247–48, no. 447; and *Molesme*, 2: 451, no. 558 = Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 427, no. 95). See also Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 2: 416–17.

43. Pacaut, *Louis VII*, 42–46; Bur, *Formation*, 290–92; Evergates, “Louis VII and the Counts of Champagne,” 110–11; and Sassier, *Louis VII*, 112–13, who argues that the royal invasion occurred in 1142 rather than 1143. Most troubling was the king’s attempt to challenge Thibaut’s succession to Hugh’s lands. The Chronicle of Tours reports for 1143: *Rex vero dedit Vitriacum castrum Odoni Campaniensi, nepoti comitis Theobaldi, qui patrocinium suum ei abstulerat* (*RHF*, 12: 472–73). Guy, bishop of Châlons (1143–47), states in an undated act that he was confirming an earlier sale by Bertran of Vitry (1138) already approved by Thibaut because *postea vero Odo Campaniensi cum Vitriacum possideret ad cujus casamentum hec pertinet* (Barthélemy, “Eudes le Champenois,” 514, 517); that is, Odo had acquired Vitry and the *mouvance* of its fiefs.

44. According to Orderic Vitalis (*Ecclesiastical History*, 6: 256–59, bk. 12, chap. 21), Louis VI in 1119 complained: *Tedbaldus comes homo meus est, sed instinctu avunculi sui [Hugh] contra me nequiter erectus est*. That was about the time that Henry I of England had the barons do homage (*hominium*) to his son William (Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, 6: 302–3, bk. 12, chap. 26). In a letter to Suger and Raoul of Vermandois in 1149, Thibaut referred to the regalia of Chartres that he held in fief from the king (*RHF*, 15: 507–8, no. 65: *quod regale Carnotensis episcopatus de rege in feudum teneo cum alio feudo meo*).

45. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, 7: 978, no. 39, 1128 = *PL*, 182: 146–47: *De casamento quod tenetis, hominium quod debetis reverenter ei et humiliter offeratis*. There is no evidence that Hugh had done homage for Bar-sur-Aube; the earliest known homage by a count to a bishop of Langres was in 1214 (see Chapter 2 n. 51). Arnaud of Fleury, writing ca. 1124, used the same expression, *hominium debitum*, in reference to what Louis VI expected from Henry I of England in 1109; but Henry, said the

writer, *denegabat facere hominium* (Clarius, *Chronicon*, 148). Arnaud also cites two brothers, co-lords of the castle of Escorailles, who did homage (*hominium fecerant*) to the abbot of Miremont in 1105 (*ibid.*, 144). Thibaut's homage of 1128 would have occurred the same year that the castellans of Flanders did homage to the new count of Flanders, as described by Galbert of Bruges (Rider, *God's Scribe*, 88–93, concludes that Galbert's description of their *hominium* was a composite model of a homage as he understood it, not what he witnessed on that occasion).

46. Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 466, no. 1: *fecit hominium et cognovit . . . et comitatus Trekarum totus et ipsas Trecas de feodo ducis tenebat*. The text is preserved in an inventory of the ducal archives made in 1272–84 (AD Côte d'Or, B 10423, fol. 67r) and described as an “escrit cyrographes” written “en un ancien escrit senz seel li fiez de Champagne” (Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, 31 n. 1). See also Lemarignier, *Hommage en marche*, 156–60; and Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 5. Suger reported that Louis VII, on becoming king in 1137, traveled with Thibaut II to Langres, where he received *hominii et fidelitatis totius patrie*, which is to say, from all the castle lords within the episcopal lordship (Suger, *Oeuvres*, 1: 164–67).

47. Bur, *Formation*, 305–7, 461–99.

48. Montiéramey, 20–65, nos. 16–39; *Montier-en-Der*, 43; *Saint-Loup*, 43; *Saint-Nicaise*, 483–84.

49. Pontigny, 397–99; “Vauluisant,” 2: 875–76; *Clairvaux*, nos. 1–22 (dated) plus perhaps fifty-nine undated acts of Geoffroy, bishop of Langres (1138–62).

50. *Molesme*, 1: 20–27. Molesme was founded in 1075 by Robert, a noble-born Champenois. As former prior of Montier-la-Celle in Troyes and Saint-Ayoul in Provins, Robert was well-connected with the counts and barons of Champagne, who generously supported his monastery and its Cistercian progeny.

51. Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie en Lorraine médiévale*, Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, Barthélemy, *La société dans le comté de Vendôme*, and Lemesle, *La société aristocratique dans le Haut-Maine*.

52. See Chapter 3.

53. *Saint-Nicaise*, 218–19, no. 44, 1121. For Cheminon, see n. 12 above. Earlier Hugh and Constance had allowed Molesme to have the entire fief (*totum feodum*) of Gosbert, marshal of Rosnay (*Molesme*, 2: 74, no. 65, 1093–96). Pierre, count of Dommartin, obtained Hugh's consent in donating the land he held from Hugh as a *beneficium* (*Molesme*, 2: 144, no. 148, 1089–1125).

54. *Montier-la-Celle*, 201–2, no. 192, 1089; Chapter 3 at n. 47.

55. *Montiéramey*, 23–24, no. 18, 1100, in the count's *aula* in Troyes, in the presence of several barons, Hugh and Constance *dederunt possidendum si quis ei* [Montiéramey] *de eorum beneficio sive miles sive serviens aliquid dedit vel dare voluerit*. Hugh granted a similar license to Molesme's priory of Isle-Aumont in 1097 (see n. 7 above). In Normandy, consent to future alienations of fiefs is known from the late eleventh century (Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, 180–82).

56. *Avenay*, 2: 72–73, no. 4, 1103: *quicumque comitis feodo feodatus* (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 96).

57. *Molesme*, 2: 321–23, no. 173, 1108.

58. Thibaut II's act states that *si quis vero, vel miles vel alius, quilibet daret eis aliquid, seu vineam seu terram seu aliud quidlibet de casamento suo vel feodo, hic etiam laudavit eis et concessit*; among the witnesses was his chaplain Letrad, *qui etiam scripsit* (*Pontigny*, 180, no. 112, 1125–32). Countess Adela did the same earlier (LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 507, no. 105). The counts of Brienne and Bar-sur-Seine and the lord of Chacenay allowed Molesme to acquire *de casamentis eorum et feodis* (*Chacenay*, 8–9, no. 10, 1103). A scribe at Molesme quoted Hugh II of Broyes: *si quis ex militibus suis vel aliis, quos fortuna extulit, donum ex ejus feodo ecclesie facere voluerint, ipse concessit* (*Molesme*, 2:

34–35, no. 24, 1089–1104). Hugh of Vendevre allowed anyone holding a *beneficium* from him at Fouchères to donate it to Molesme, *sine sui licentia* (Molesme, 2: 33–34, no. 23, after 1075). The lord of Choiseul allowed any knight holding a benefice from him to donate it to Molesme (Molesme, 2: 36–38, no. 26, 1084). The count of Joigny allowed the nuns of Notre-Dame of Joigny to acquire freely from his fiefs (Quantin, *Cartulaire général*, 2: 34–35, no. 34, ca. 1080).

59. The widowed Milo I of Nogent-sur-Seine, on whose lands the Paraclete's oratory was built, allowed the nuns to acquire property from *milites de feudo suo* (Paraclet, 70–71, no. 52, 1146). Anseric II of Chacenay and his wife Hubeline, who provided most of the initial property for the Cistercian abbey of Mores, granted the monks permission *acquirere de casamentis ejus ab his qui tenebant ab eo* ("Mores," 45, no. 2, pancarte of ca. 1152 recording earlier gifts). They also licensed Clairvaux to acquire *quicquid ab hominibus qui ab eo* [Anseric] *tenebant quandocumque posset adquiri* at Fontarce (Clairvaux, 11–16, no. 7 [24], pancarte of 1135). Parisse, "La petite noblesse," 466–69, observes that knights in the twelfth century proved generous benefactors to the monasteries founded by the barons.

60. Clairvaux, 11–16, no. 7, pancarte of 1135: [1] *concessit quicquid de feodo ejus vel jam adquisisse vel in futurum adquirere possent ab his qui ab ipso tenere videbantur*; [7] *quecumque de feodo suo* [Josbert of Châtillon-sur-Seine] *ab heredibus in futurum possent adquirere*; [18] *quidquid ipse* [Clarembaud I of Chappes] *tenebat et quidquid ab hominibus qui ab eo tenebant quandocumque posset adquiri*.

61. I translate *miles* as knight rather than warrior or soldier in the full knowledge of its multiple meanings and changing social contexts over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Flori, *L'essor de la chevalerie*, reviews the use of the term by twelfth-century narrative writers who developed a concept of knighthood in which *milites* were conceived as far more than "warriors." Barthélemy, *Mutation*, 200–222, also rejects viewing the *milites* primarily as warriors.

62. Molesme, 2: 223–24, no. 239, 1103; Molesme, 2: 118, no. 116, ca. 1125; Clairvaux, 38–42, no. 18 [13], 1147.

63. Richard, "Châteaux, châtelains et vassaux," 444, draws the distinction in Burgundy between castle knights and allodial knights ("chevaliers alleutiers") of the countryside. Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 50–58, notes the same in Lorraine. During Bernard's abbacy, the monks of Clairvaux rarely identified their benefactors (except the counts) by title. The two earliest references in their cartulary to knights are entirely incidental: two *milites castelli* who happened to witness a donation (Clairvaux, 38–42, no. 18 [13], 1147), and two brothers who would consent to a donation, *postquam milites facti sunt* (Clairvaux, 71, no. 45, 1147–62). The first knight identified by placename near Clairvaux was Landricus, *miles de Firmitate*, in 1163/64 (Clairvaux, 128–30, no. 106 [3]). Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 114, cites other references to knights in the retinues of their lords.

64. Nevel acted with his wife Helvide, son Ranger, other unnamed sons, and his daughter and son-in-law, in the presence of three *oppidi milites* (Molesme, 2: 161–62, no. 177, 1075–1125). The *milites casati* of the bishop of Châlons also had expendable resources: at his encouragement, they made donations to the new order of Templars at Neuville-au-Temple, whose foundation the bishop had supported (AD Marne, 53 H 6, nos. 1–2, 1132, 1134). The knight Hugh gave allodial property to Montier-en-Der (Montier-en-Der, 249–50, no. 118, 1088).

65. Molesme, 2: 209, no. 224, 1075–1125; 2: 209–10, no. 225, 1075–1125.

66. Molesme, 2: 68–69, no. 58, 1075–1125. The knight Raoul gave Montier-en-Der both his fief (with his lord's consent) and his inherited allod (Montier-en-Der, 263–64, no. 129, ca. 1095–ca. 1129).

67. Coincy, fols. 14v–15r, 1153: act of Henry I establishing the market but retaining for himself one-half of the market taxes and fines.

68. Stenton, *The First Century*, 84–114, designated them “honorial barons.” See also Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 264–65.

69. Erard I, count of Brienne: *in presentia baronum suorum* (Montier-en-Der, 191, no. 62, 1104/14); *laudante uxore sua et infantibus et proceribus et clientibus suis* (Montieramey, 45–46, no. 26, 1136); a decade earlier those *proceres* were called his *optimates* (Montier-en-Der, 281–82, no. 141, 1125). For the *nobiles castri* of Braine, see n. 29 above.

70. Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3: 216–17; 6: 26–27 and n. 2. See Chibnall, “Feudal Society in Orderic Vitalis.”

71. See Chapter 8 (“Lineages Without Castles”).

72. See also the remarks in Evergates, “Nobles and Knights,” 12–17, and Van Luyn, “Milites et barones,” who notes the diversity of the knights in the century before 1150.

73. Flori, *L'essor de la chevalerie*, shows how the twelfth-century narrative writers who described knighthood as an *ordo* oversimplified its meaning. Constable, “The Orders of Society,” exposes the various schemes of social classification.

74. See Chapters 4–5.

75. For Anolz, see n. 111 below. Earlier a certain Adelicia donated the *beneficium* (one-third of a church) that she held from Hugh of Pleurs (Molesme, 2: 227–28, no. 243, 1076–1114).

76. Duchesne, *Dreux*, pt. 5, Broys, *preuves*, 12–13, 1131: *de cujus feodo terra movebat*.

77. “Jully-les-Nonnains,” 212, 1133. Rochuis, lady of Champlost, gave Dilo *in extremis* a grain rent she held *de feodo* from the archbishop of Sens ca. 1150; her sons recognized that donation only in 1190 (Molard, “Testaments,” 231–32, no. 2). Agnes, daughter of Gérard of Les Ormes, gave the Paraclete land and woods she held *de feodo* (Paraclet, 18–21, no. 10, 1157).

78. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 5–324, recounts Henry’s rule.

79. Evergates, “Louis VII and the Counts of Champagne.”

80. See *Anselm II of Trânel and Chapter 8 n. 34 (Geoffroy III of Joinville). The Pougy are of obscure origin, perhaps distantly related to the comital family (Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 193–95; Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 2: 1185). Henry appointed Odo of Pougy’s brother Manasses as first provost of Saint-Etienne of Troyes (1159–80), and Marie named him bishop of Troyes (1181–91).

81. William had drafted and sealed Thibaut II’s documents since 1137 (see n. 42 above). He accompanied Henry on the Second Crusade, appeared in Henry’s retinue in 1149–51, and then carried the title of chancellor (AD Aube, G 3107 = “Saint-Pierre,” 22–23, no. 16, 20 February 1152: *Guillemus medicus et cancellarius scripsit et recognovit*), in which capacity he often presented (*per manum*) the count’s sealed letters to the beneficiaries. He last appeared in 1179 (Arbois de Jubainville, “Recueil,” 311–13, no. 35).

82. The new residence must have been completed by 1157; in Saint-Etienne’s foundation charter of that date, Henry I states that the chapel was built *juxta domum meam* (Chapin, *Les villes de foires*, 279–82, no. 1). Saint-Etienne itself might have been partially roofed by 1159, when an act was said to have taken place *publice Trevis in ecclesia Beati Stephani* (Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 449, no. 123). Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1597–1600, 1655–56, describes the buildings and reproduces a sketch of the palace and Saint-Etienne made shortly after its demolition in 1791; Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*, plate 38b, is a better photograph.

83. The authorization for sixty canons might date from the enlargement of the chapter in 1173 to handle the count’s growing administrative work (Corbet, “Les collégiales comtales de Champagne,” 99).

84. Pastan, “Fit for a Count,” 365–67, explains the significance of Saint-Etienne’s size.

85. Benton’s “Recueil” of 732 comital acts includes 500 from Henry I and 200 from Marie and Henry II, for a total of 700+ comital acts between 1152 and 1198. The chancery of the counts of Flanders drew up about 59 percent of the comital acts by the end of the twelfth century (Prevenier, “La chancellerie,” 41).

86. The care with which the count’s business was handled is indicated by the naming of the scribe who recorded the minutes of the act, in addition to the names of the witnesses, in the final sealed document (Benton, “Written Records,” 279–80). Tock, *Une chancellerie épiscopale*, describes the practices of a northern French episcopal chancery (Arras), including its control of language. One qualification is in order: we know about the count’s acts prepared for and preserved by ecclesiastical institutions; whether the letters presented to laymen would reveal another side of Henry’s governance is an open question.

87. See Appendix B.

88. Longnon dated it to ca. 1172 on the basis of several names in it, even though he thought it anticipated the count’s pilgrimage (Henry left after the birth of Thibaut on 13 May 1179; Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire* 3: 106–7). A better fit would be ca. 1178, after Henry had taken the cross and made the agreement with his brother William, archbishop of Reims, regarding the *mouvance* of episcopal castles (see n. 144 below), but before Henry’s departure in May 1179. Benton, “Written Records,” 283, also concluded that the inquest occurred in the late 1170s.

89. Jamison, *Catalogus Baronum* (Norman Italy); Bisson, “Feudalism in Twelfth-Century Catalonia”; and Keefe, *Feudal Assessments* (Normandy and England).

90. Nieuws, “Féodalité et écriture,” compares the earliest registers of fiefs in France and Germany.

91. Viscounts oversaw roads and markets, whereas castellans were primarily military commanders (Bur, *Formation*, 442–58).

92. These responsibilities were ascribed to the provost of Laferté-sur-Aube in 1199 (*Layettes*, 1: 210–11, no. 511). The provost’s district (*prepositura*) coincided with the castellany; see the fief roll for the castellany of Sézanne, where the treasurer Artaud’s fief was identified as being in *prepositura de Sezannia* (*Feoda* 1, no. 1749). Bur, *Formation*, 438–41, collects what is known about the early provosts.

93. Bur, *Formation*, 281–82 n. 4, cites earlier references.

94. Accounting by castellany was well established by 1175, when Henry prohibited the tenants of knights living in his own castellanies (*castellariis*) of Troyes, Isle, Saint-Florentin, and Ervy, as well as in the baronial castellanies of Chappes and Chacenay, from settling in his franchised village of Chaource (*Montiéramey*, 79–80, no. 53: erroneously dated 1165; see also Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 42–43). Countess Blanche’s dower consisted of seven *castellaria*, including their domain lands, fiefs, and custody of churches (*Layettes*, 1: 204, no. 497, 1199; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 40).

95. Robert of Torigni, *Chronicle*, 349–53, describes the procedure in Normandy. See Keefe, *Feudal Assessments*, 4–10, and Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, 250–53.

96. Stephen of Provins, canon of Saint-Etienne of Troyes and provost of Saint-Quiriace of Provins, might have been the Stephen “of Alinerra” who was learned “in both Latin and French” (Benton, “The Court of Champagne,” 11–12 [558–60]).

97. The rolls of ca. 1178 must have resembled the rolls of 1249–50, the earliest now extant (see Chapter 2 n. 124 and Figure 1). In England, the earliest extant financial account (pipe roll of 1130) as well as the earliest lists of fiefs (1163), were in roll form (Keefe, *Feudal Assessments*, 13). In Flanders the earliest financial

account, the *Gros Brief* of 1187, consists of rolled parchment strips, sewn end to end, containing extracts from reports sent to the chancellor (Verhulst and Gysseling, *Le Compte Général*, chap. 1); the provost-chancellor of Saint-Donatien was in charge of the *brevia et notationes de redditibus comitis* (Lyon and Verhulst, *Medieval Finance*, 16).

98. Indirect evidence suggests this: in 1178 Henry increased the revenues of the treasurer (Stephen of Provins, the chancellor), granting him the tax on all wax imported to or exported from Troyes and Bar-sur-Aube, perhaps in recognition of the increased responsibility entailed by custody of the rolls (BNF, Collection de Champagne, vol. 151, no. 1, 1178, original). In 1190 Henry II apparently followed his father's example by depositing his own rolls in Saint-Etienne (see Chapter 2 n. 36).

99. Chancery scribes ca. 1190 referred to the original rolls of ca. 1178: *Feoda* 2, nos. 2217 (*sicut in brevis est*), 2292 (*ut in brevi*), 2325 (*ut in scripto*), 2412 (*sicut in scripto*). See Geoffroy of Villehardouin's letter (Chapter 2 n. 36).

100. The old rolls disappeared after 1250 (see Appendix B).

101. Henry I's inquest resembles the one prepared by Saint-Germain-des-Prés ca. 1176–82 (*Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 308–14, nos. 222–23: *Ista sunt feoda*). See also the contemporary list of fiefs (*Hoc est capud breve feudorum*) prepared for the bishop of Elne (Catafau, "Un inventaire des fiefs").

102. *Milites castellarie* refers to knights who owed military service at the count's castle: *Talis est consuetudo Musterioli quod si guerra erga illud castellum emerit, omnes milites castellarie venient illuc stare* (*Feoda* 1, no. 1285). Similarly for knights of the castellany of Provins (*Feoda* 1, no. 1643).

103. Only two entries refer to homage (*Feoda* 1, no. 770: *Robinus de Faloise fecit homagium*; no. 667: *Radulphus de Acri. Fecit hominum . . . sed illud feodum nunc tenet per advocationem*). Later registers noted when testimony was sworn and homage done (see n. 157 below).

104. Based on 2,039 listed fiefs. A close analysis of 283 fiefs in the six southern-most castellanies yields the same distribution: 47 percent liege homage, 47.4 percent simple homage, and 5.6 percent contingent homage (Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 68).

105. *Feoda* 1, no. 73: *ligius post comitem Burgundie*. Itier of Maunoy held a fief from Saint-Germain-des-Prés in addition to his comital fief (*Feoda* 1, no. 343; *Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 312, ca. 1176–82).

106. *Feoda* 1, nos. 62, 69, 76, 80.

107. Gislebert of Mons (*Chronicon*, 108, chap. 68) notes that Baldwin V of Hainaut did homage to the bishop of Liège for his county in 1171.

108. Benton, "Recueil," 1154c (for Henry I's statement: *in curiam domini mei Remensis archiepiscopi veni, ipsa scilicet die qua sibi hominum feci*). For his other homages, see nn. 142, 144 below.

109. Fiefs assigned on toll revenues were worth 3*l*–5*l* (*Feoda* 1, nos. 321, 681–83, 738, 823, 868, 941, 1180, 1193). Fiefs assigned on wine revenues brought six to ten *modii* of wine (*Feoda* 1, nos. 743, 771, 846, 854, 899); those assigned on grain revenues yielded about four *modii* annually (*Feoda* 1, nos. 742, 772, 780, 784, 853, 956, 1164). In Burgundy, too, fiefs for castleward were of small value (Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, 101), as were contemporary fiefs in England (Harvey, "The Knight and Knight's Fee").

110. I prefer "fief-rent" as the more inclusive term because it includes in-kind rents, which, like cash payments, consisted only of revenue, without any right over the property itself. One of the very few fiefs described as a cash disbursement from the treasury's general funds (*de bursa*) was held by William IV of Garlande, the younger brother of Anselm III, lord of Tournan and Possesse (*Feoda* 2, no. 2286, ca.

1200: *Crevit comes feodum de triginta libris de bursa*). A fief in 1250 consisted of XV *libratas terre et XV libras in bursa* (Rôles, no. 1237).

111. Sczaniecki, *Essai sur les fiefs-rentes*, 2–7; Lyon, *From Fief to Indenture*, 15–16; Bournazel, *Le gouvernement capétien*, 106–7; and Heirbaut, “The Fief-Rente,” esp. 16–26. In Champagne, Thibaut II made the earliest grants of fief-rents, essentially pensions, to important laymen: he gave Gautier of La Roche-Vanneau, constable of Burgundy, a 10*l.* revenue from the fairs of Bar-sur-Aube in *casamentum*, which Gautier’s second wife and widow, Anolz (aunt of Bernard of Clairvaux), gave to Jully-les-Nonnains in 1128 when she took the veil in the presence of Thibaut II, Bernard, and other family members (*Jully-les Nonnains*, 208–10, no. 3, 28 March 1128 = “Jully-les-Nonnains,” 257–58). The count gave his nephew Archambaud of Sully a 120*l.* fief-rent (*libras pruvinensis monete singulis annis in feudum*), which Henry I renewed and Archambaud then mortgaged to Henry for 500*l.* (*LB*, 86–87, no. 46, 1158).

112. Fief-rents were located primarily in the castellanies of Châtillon-sur-Marne, Oulchy, Château-Thierry, Meaux, Coulommiers, Montereau, Sézanne, and Vertus (Bur, *Formation*, 395, and M.-Cl. Hubert, “Recherches sur les frontières,” 106), suggesting that Thibaut II may have used fief-rents in Brie before introducing them in Hugh’s lands after 1125. The counts continued to grant fief-rents for garrison duty in their castles (see Chapter 2 n. 27).

113. Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, 101–2.

114. See n. 121 below.

115. *Feoda* 1, no. 1731: *Ogicort et nemus quod comes dedit ei*. A scribe noted ca. 1190 that Jean still lived (*vivit*).

116. See Chapter 3 nn. 30–31.

117. *Feoda* 1, no. 1176: *inde habuit sexaginta libras quas debuit ponere in feodo comitis*. *Feoda* 1, no. 1089: *ipse habuerunt pariter centum libras pro emendo feodo* (Pierre, apparently the younger brother, held his half of the fief from Guy; at Guy’s death ca. 1190, Pierre assumed the entire fief).

118. *LB*, 85–86, no. 45, 1179.

119. As Henry’s letter for the monks of Beaulieu explains, he gave them a field at Baroville in exchange for their field at Rosnay, which he gave to Philip of Verricourt. Clairvaux later acquired a number of properties at Baroville, including apparently Beaulieu’s field there and the count’s letter, which they copied into their cartulary (*Clairvaux*, 54–55, no. 27, 1154). Henry apparently did not give Philip a sealed letter with the fief in 1154. Philip still held that fief ca. 1178, owing six months castleguard at Rosnay (*Feoda* 1, no. 226). Nothing further is known about the Verricourt family (Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1736).

120. Henry granted Matthew a *feudum* assigned on the tolls of Rebais, payable each year during the fairs of May (CR 3, fol. 85r, 1174 = *CB*, no. 330). His son Jean of Beaumont must have returned Henry’s letter to the chancery when he exchanged that 25*l.* fief-rent for a fief worth 60*l.* on becoming the count’s liegeman (CR 3, fol. 121r–v, January 1215, n.s. = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 51 = *CB*, no. 227). The earliest comital letter to accompany a grant of fief is Henry’s letter of 1170 granting Gérard of Beauchery a tax-free house in the market of Saint-Ayoul in Provins (Benton, “Recueil,” 1170f); that fief was listed in the fief roll for Provins (*Feoda* 1, no. 1566). The giving of title deeds with fiefs began earlier in Picardy; in 1140 two brothers proved their right to a fief *per scriptum* (*Homblières*, 105–6, no. 46A).

121. Henry gave his treasurer Abraham of Provins (1169–79) the fruit stalls in the old market of Provins in *augmento casamenti* (AN, S 5162, no. 25, 1178 = Arbois de Jubainville, “Recueil,” 316–17 = *Templiers de Provins*, 85–86, no. 57). Perhaps he was the Abraham del Chrochet listed in the roll for Provins (*Feoda* 1, no. 1607).

Bernard of La Grange-Bléneau is listed in the same roll (*Feoda* 1, no. 1582), probably for what Henry granted him in the market at Saint-Ayoul *in augmento casamenti sui quod de me tenebat* (Arbois de Jubainville, “Recueil,” 292–93 = *Templiers de Provins*, 57, no. 20, letter dated 1165 in the cartulary copy but perhaps by error since the chancellor Stephen, who witnessed the act, took office in 1175).

122. See Chapter 3 nn. 47–48.

123. Table C.2A.

124. Table C.2B.

125. Henry of Rethel, castellan of Vitry (d. ca. 1190): *mansionem per annum* (*Feoda* 1, no. 358); Clarembaud III of Chappes: *debet estagium pro vicecomitatu* (*Feoda* 1, no. 1886).

126. *Feoda* 1, no. 379: *Erardus de Alneto, ligius et estagium toto anno*. Erard died in 1185 after being excommunicated by the chapter of Châlons for his depredations (Longnon, *Recherches*, 152–53, no. 8; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 98). See also Robert, “La maison d’Aulnay,” 171–72.

127. Table C.2A. See *Geoffroy of Villehardouin.

128. *Montier-la-Celle*, 270–72, no. 228, 1178; the bishop of Troyes licensed the monks *celebrent divina officia et militibus in eodem castello manentibus et uxoribus eorum nec non et famulis eorum*. For Saint-Flavit, see Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1784–85. The chaplain of the castle of La Ferté-Milon obtained the same right to serve *dominus castri et milites feodati qui tenentur ratione feodorum suorum facere stagium pro custodia castri, necnon et familie tam domini quam dictorum militum* (Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, fols. 89v–90v, January 1212, n.s.).

129. *Feoda* 1, nos. 330–54: twenty-seven named fiefholders owing service at Villemaur, including the garrison commander Manasses of Villemaur; Gérard, viscount of Villemaur; Erard I of Chacenay; and the three sons of Clarembaud III of Chappes.

130. Nieu, “Pairie et ‘estage,’” 41–42. The *concordio* (1230s) between Hugh (V of Châtillon), count of Saint-Pol, and his *pares* begins: *si predictus comes et uxor ejus estagium seu residentiam faciebant in castello memorato, ipsi et uxores ibidem secum residentiam facerent per dies quadraginta; et si uxor ipsius comitis ibidem presens non erat, neque eorum uxores presentes esse tenerentur*. See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, 7: 573–74 (*stagium*) for citations to castleguard *cum uxore* in 1214, 1223, 1233, and 1244.

131. Saint-Etienne, fols. 30v–31r, 1157: *amicorum meorum atque baronum assensu*.

132. *RHF*, 16: 119, no. 365, 1165, letter to the king, who planned to meet Henry II of England at Gisors on 11 April (Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 71–73).

133. See *Jean of Possesse.

134. See Chapter 8 n. 117.

135. Arbois de Jubainville, “Document sur l’obligation de la résidence” = Arbois de Jubainville, “Recueil,” 294–95, no. 19; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 91.

136. *Monuments historiques*, 314–15, no. 634, 1171.

137. Arbois de Jubainville, “Document sur l’obligation de la résidence,” and Bur, *Formation*, 402, read this case as the count’s attempt to enforce a residence requirement on a castle lord. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 318–19, correctly rejects that reading, without however understanding that the issue at hand was the collateral inheritance of a castle mortgaged to its lord (Henry is quoted as citing *redemptio mea de feodo meo*).

138. See n. 17 above.

139. *Anselm II of Traînel received Neuilly and half the town of Oulchy (where the count had a castle) as dowry from his first marriage ca. 1153 (Sassier, *Recherches*, 88–89); he sold both to Henry ca. 1170 (see Chapter 5 n. 9). In 1177 Henry granted

the townsmen of Oulchy a charter of liberties (Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 467–68, no. 148). If Neuilly did not have a castle before its first mention in the 1230s (*Hommages* 2, no. 5223), Henry acquired only land at Neuilly (M.-Cl. Hubert, “Recherches sur les frontières,” 52–53).

140. Jean Hubert, “La frontière occidentale,” and “L’églises de Rampillon.”

141. The castles were: Belrain, Bourmont, Cornay, Dampierre (-le-Château), Gondrecourt, Lafauche, Possesse, Raucourt, and Reynel. For a summary of events, see Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 47–65; Heinemeyer, “Die Verhandlungen an der Saône im Jahre 1162”; Bur, *Formation*, 405–8; Bur, “La frontière entre la Champagne et la Lorraine,” 247–51, 242 (map), and Bur, “Recherches sur la frontière,” 147–51.

142. According to Hugh of Poitiers (*Chronicon*, 525), Henry swore to Frederick that, if Louis VII did not accept the settlement to be arranged by a mixed commission of barons and prelates, *ego iureiurando iuravi quod ad partes illius transibo et quicquid de fisco regis in feodum habeo imperatori tradens, ab illo deinceps teneo*. Henry subsequently told the king that he would do homage to the emperor (*hominium illi feceret*) for all the land that Henry held from the king (*totam terram quam de feodo regis tenuerat*). Hugh of Poitiers thus suggests that Henry previously had done homage to the king. The next year, in a letter to Louis VII, the emperor called Henry *fidelis meus* (*RHF*, 16: 691).

143. Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, 125–32, and Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 76–81. John of Salisbury, who was residing at Saint-Remi of Reims, describes the events there (*The Letters*, 2: 382–87, no. 22, October 1167). Alexander III recounts the subsequent events (*PL* 200: 798–800, no. 896, 22 March 1172). The count’s clash with the archbishop may also have prompted his acquisition of Neuilly and Oulchy (see n. 139 above).

144. At Lateran III, on 13 April 1179, Alexander III confirmed the archbishop’s rights and possessions (including a number of castles), his *dominium* over the city of Reims, his privilege of crowning the kings of France, and *feodum quod ab ecclesia tua nobilis vir comes Campanie habere dinoscitur, pro quo, salve fidelitate regis, tibi tenetur ligum hominum facere, videlicet Vitriacum, Virtutum, Regitestum, Castellionem, Sparacum, Rociacum, Fimas, Branam, et comitatum Castellionem Pocianis cum castellaniis eorum, et alias possessiones, et castra que idem comes [Henry] in propria persona tenet vel alii tenent de ipso* (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 466–67, no. 2). The significance of this act was first understood by Bur, *Formation*, 408–15, and Bur, “La frontière entre la Champagne et la Lorraine,” 251–53. Innocent IV confirmed the act in 1205 (*PL*, 215: 641).

145. Gislebert of Mons, *Chronicon*, 224–26, chap. 147, notes the ties between the aristocratic families of northern Champagne and the county of Hainaut.

146. Sassier, *Recherches*, 197–201. These events may have coincided with the usurpation of the county of Langres by the bishop’s advocate; see Wilsdorf-Colin, “Aux confins du royaume,” 57–64.

147. ANJ 1035, no. 3, 1207 (Quantin, *Recueil*, 28, no. 59 = CB, no. 4): *quesivi ab hominibus meis de cuius feodo Mailliicum esset, et ad suggestionem eorum tunc Mailliicum cepi de Maria, comitissa tunc Campanie* [ca. 1184], *postmodum de comite Henrico* [II, 1187–90], *postmodum de comite Theobaldo* [III, 1198–1201], *postremo vero de domina mea Blancha nunc comitissa Campanie*. See Sassier, *Recherches*, 197–207.

148. The archbishop of Lyon and the count of Forez reached a similar settlement in 1173: all fiefs west of the Loire would move from the count, all fiefs east of the Loire would move from the archbishop (*Bourbon*, 1: 6, no. 12).

149. Bishop Gautier of Langres (1163–79) obtained a papal confirmation of episcopal castles on 30 March 1170: *Confirmamus pretere in perpetuas ejusdem ecclesie possessiones . . . castrum Choseolum, castrum Granceium, . . . castrum Barrum super Sequa-*

nam, castrum Chacenaium (Langres, 36–39, no. 5). That confirmation repeated the list of the bishop's twenty-one castles in a papal confirmation of 5 March 1107 (Langres, 34–36, no. 4 = GC, 4: *instr.*, 153 = PL, 163: 181). The count's roll of fiefs for Bar-sur-Aube lists all three castle lords among Henry's fiefholders without naming their fiefs (*Feoda* 1, nos. 62, 63, 76, ca. 1178). Hugh of Le Puiset, acting count of Bar-sur-Seine (1168–89), appears to have transferred the *mouvance* of Bar-sur-Seine to Henry (see Chapter 8 at n. 7). See also an undated list that names the same castles as being held by the count of Champagne from the duke of Burgundy (Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, 31). Richard dates that list to ca. 1143, but it might well belong to the 1160s or 1170s, coincident with the re-sorting of *mouvances* in the area. Those conflicting lists confirm the ambiguity of *mouvance* in the southern borderlands in the late twelfth century.

150. Marie's rule is described in Evergates, "Aristocratic Women," 76–79, and Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 1–12, 70–75.

151. See Chapter 7 n. 45.

152. Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship*, 11, plate 1 (drawing of the tomb). See also Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 311–19.

153. See n. 147 above. Homages were done routinely, even if not recorded. William of Rosières, for example, added his own allodial properties to his fief, then did homage for the enhanced fief (*Feoda* 3, no. 2537, ca. 1190: *quicquid habebat de allodio apud Trevis possuit in augmentationem feodi et fecit tamen hominum domine comitis*).

154. PL, 216: 980–81, no. 11, 1213 (verbatim report of the papal inquest): *Guido de Capis, juratus, dixit quod presens fuit apud Sezanniam quando comes Henricus fecit jurari terram Theobaldo, fratri suo; nam et ipse juravit*. Seven other barons confirmed Guy's testimony, but the count's treasurer, Lambert of Bar-sur-Aube, said that he did not take the oath (*non juravit*) although he was at Sézanne at the *juramentum terre* in 1190.

155. In December 1213 Innocent III wrote that, according to what he had heard, when Henry II left for the Holy Land, his "barons and knights" swore (*prestare corporaliter juramentum*) to accept his brother Thibaut as count if Henry did not return, and that after Henry's death [in 1197] they swore loyalty and homage (*fidelitatem et homagium prestiterunt*) to Thibaut III (PL, 216: 940–41). In 1233 Pope Gregory IX restated that report but conflated the events of 1190 and 1198 by stating that Henry's "barons and knights" had sworn to accept Thibaut III as count if Henry II failed to return, and *terris suis receptis ab ipso, fidelitatem et homagium prestiterunt* (*Layettes*, 2: 247–48, no. 2233, 17 April 1233). If Gregory IX was correct, the barons and knights not only swore oaths in 1190 but also did homage to Thibaut for their fiefs, which might explain why the fief rolls of 1190 (but not those of 1178) refer to homage.

156. It is impossible to determine the exact year of the new inquest: when a clerk noted that "the countess seized a fief, and the count has it [in his hand]" (*Feoda* 1, no. 973: *Avene Aliotri quas comitissa saisivit et comes habet eas*), we can conclude that he was writing during Henry II's rule (1187–90) in reference to an action taken during Marie's regency (1181–87). Emendations to Henry I's rolls varied by castellan: almost all the original entries in the rolls for Oulchy, Château-Thierry, and Châtillon-sur-Marne were corrected, compared to only half of those in the roll for Troyes. For example, the entry for Jeremiah of Verpillières in Henry I's roll for Ferté (*Feoda* 1, no. 31) was emended ca. 1190 for his widow (*Uxor ejus fecit*); the new roll for Ferté reads: *Uxor Jeremie de Verpillieris, sicut in brevi est* (*Feoda* 2, no. 2117).

157. *Feoda* 1, no. 699: *Fecit hominum Henricus de Sorciaco* (for the fief of Milo of Sorcey); no. 763: *Ralph of Ecry fecit hominum*; no. 31: *uxor ejus* (Jeremiah of Verpillières) *fecit* [homagium]. *Feoda* 2, no. 2266: *Domicella Aeliz de Brotieres fecit homagium de*

feodo de Charmes. The recipient of a new fief would receive it *quando illi fecit homagium* (*Feoda* 2, no. 2310).

158. *Feoda* 1, no. 1000: *comitissa saisivit*; no. 1003: *rediit ad comitem*; no. 1279: *obiit sine herede*. *Feoda* 3, no. 2699: *mortuus est sine herede, feudum excidit comiti*. Fiefs mortgaged without license: *invadiatum est, feudum precipimus saisire* (*Feoda* 1, no. 405); she permitted Alan of Roucy to seize several mortgaged fiefs (*Feoda* 1, no. 732: *saisivit illud pro L libris* [debt]; no. 747: *Dudo of Aiguizy fuit mortuus ultra mare et Alanus de Rociaco saisivit feudum in redditu, dicens quod ei debebat pecuniam*). Earlier Henry I had a fief seized (*saisire faceram*) because it was alienated *absque licentia mea* but then relented (*La Sauve-Majeure*, 2: 738, no. 1285, 1167).

159. *Feoda* 1, no. 1800: *tenet feudum, quod facere non potest cum sit homo Templariorum*; no. 1006: *in ponte de Meri septem libras, sed pons cecidit*.

160. CR 3, fol. 122v, 1174 = CB, no. 330: Henry granted *viginti quinque libras annui redditus, quas illi de feodo debebam* [that is, promised], *assignavi in pedagio meo de Resbaco annuatim in mundinis mai*.

161. The earliest example is Odard of Aulnay: *ligius de quindecim libratis terre* (*Feoda* 2, no. 2164). The *libratus terre* appeared in England at the same time: in 1183/84 Geoffroy, duke of Brittany, confirmed a fief worth *VIII libratus terre* (Everard and Jones, *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany*, 15–16, no. “Ge6”). Gis-lebert of Mons, writing in 1195/96, also refers to *libratas terre in feodo* (*Chronicon*, 184, chap. 118; 266–67, chap. 180).

162. Odard of Aulnay made that equation in promising to augment the value of a fief by adding *trecenta librata in crescentia eidem feodi vel triginta libratis terre*; one of his sons would hold it (LP 3, fol. 74r–v, April 1215 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 57–58).

163. Henry I’s roll for the castellany of Oulchy, for example, contains 61 entries, of which 40 were updated (*Feoda* 1, nos. 839–99). Since 5 of the 40 fiefs reverted to the count (*rediit ad manum comitis*), there should have been 35 current tenants ca. 1190. But the new roll drawn up at that time (*Feoda* 2, nos. 900–24) contains only 24 names. What became of the missing 11 fiefs? The simplest explanation is that either the roll was damaged in 1231/32, when chancery scribes copied it into the codex volume we know as the *Feoda Campanie*, or the scribes unintentionally omitted those entries (see Appendix B at n. 12).

164. Milo II joined the bureau of accounts perhaps in the 1180s while his father, Milo I Breban, was still in the count’s service (1165–94/97). Milo II accompanied Henry II on the Third Crusade and perhaps even had custody of the codex copy of the fief rolls until his return to Champagne in 1194 (see Chapter 2 n. 36). He became butler of the Latin Empire of Constantinople after 1204 and died ca. 1224 (Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 48–57; Mayer, *Die Kanzlei*, 2: 915).

165. *Feoda* 3, no. 2529: *non sunt in scripto patris comitis Henrici* [I] *neque in scripto filii* [Henry II]; no. 2607: *non est in scripto patris vel filii*.

166. The scribes were troubled by not being able to locate the castellany of Odo II of Champlitte (*Feoda* 2, no. 2336: *Incerta est castellaria*).

167. Longnon, *Recherches*, 165, no. 34: *Gaufridus, Campanie marescallus*. In his memoirs, Geoffroy called himself *li mareschaus de Champaingne* (Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, 1: 8). The king accorded him that same title in 1198 (*Gaufridus marescallus Campanie*) in naming him among the barons who swore on Thibaut III’s behalf (*Layettes*, 1: 195–96, no. 473); but the count’s reciprocal letter, written by his chancery, named Geoffroy simply as *marescallus* (*LB*, 159–60, app. 1, 1198).

168. Quantin, *Cartulaire général*, 2: 393, no. 385, 1188; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 88A: referring to the Saladin tithe he collected from the lands of the canons of Sens *in comitatu meo*.

169. Gislebert of Mons, *Chronicon*, 126, chap. 89.

170. Corbet, “Les collégiales comtales de Champagne.”

171. Larrivour, 31–32, no. 19, copy of Garnier’s sealed but undated letter addressed *Domino suo naturali H., illustri comiti Trecensi, Garnerius de Triangulo, salutem et fidele servicium*, reporting *quam de his que vidi et audivi et per manus meus . . . facta fuit*. The count’s letter for Larrivour recopied Garnier’s report without mentioning it (Larrivour, 29–30, no. 18, 1174).

172. Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 115–18; Guilbert, “Les maisons fortes”; and Mesqui, “Maisons, maisons fortes ou châteaux?” Héliot, “Les châteaux forts,” provides a general chronology.

173. *Feoda* 1, *domus*: nos. 778, 851, 1114, 1121; *domus fortis*: nos. 267, 1074, 1122, 1133, 1227). Chancery scribes used *domus* and *domus fortis* interchangeably for the same place (*Feoda* 1, nos. 1121, 1221).

174. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 465–66, 1176 = *Montier-la-Celle*, 35–37, no. 28 = Mortet and Deschamps, *Recueil de textes*, 2: 131, no. 58: *domum firmam edificare non poterit nisi tantummodo planam et absque muro, cum fosseo unius jacture*. Hugh was the younger son of Sarasin of Plancy, who promised here that Hugh would observe the *pactio*, which deals chiefly with the exercise of justice. Hugh also held two comital fiefs (*Feoda* 1, nos. 1179, 1892).

175. Tables C.1, C.3.

176. See Chassel, “L’usage du sceau au XIIe siècle,” for a chronology of seal usage, and his *Sceaux et usages de sceaux*, for color photographs of seals from Champagne.

177. Duchesne, *Dreux*, pt. 5, Broyes, *preuves*, 12: done in Troyes, 1131: *suppliciter postulantes ut elemosynas et dona sive beneficia que in Brecensi dominio bona memoria pater meus, Hugo Baldulphus, vel quilibet alii . . . contuberant, eis sigilli mei munimine perpetuo possidenda firmarem*. Clarembaud of Chappes, viscount of Troyes, used a seal in the 1130s to validate his gift of an oven to the chapel in his castle (*Montiéramey*, 46–47, no. 27, before 1138: *sigilli mei impressione signavi*). Geoffroy III of Joinville, the seneschal, is first attested sealing in the 1140s (Simonnet, *Essai*, 51, undated document, dated to 1144/47 by Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 248, no. 31).

178. Duchesne, *Dreux*, pt. 5, Broyes, *preuves*, 20: *in tempore illo quo donum factum est, minime consuetudo esset de donationibus carta sigillare* (a granary for the Cistercians of Boulancourt). The fact that Simon of Beaufort asked the bishop of Troyes to add his seal to the document suggests that the authority of a baronial seal was not yet entirely secure. In 1150 Simon and his older half brother, Hugh III of Broyes, both sealed a document for Jully at the request of their mother, Felicity of Brienne (“Jully-les-Nonnains,” 264, 1150).

179. AD Haute-Marne, 5 H 8, of 1156/61 = Flammarion, “Le sceau du silence,” 113: *amicus meus dominus abbas de Crista sigillum hoc de quo presens carta signata est michi in domo sua fabricari fecit cum sculptura sua*. Flammarion argues (109–11) that the detached seal long associated with the document probably is the seal mentioned in it (Chassel, *Sceaux et usages de sceaux*, 20, fig. 5, photograph of the document and seal). See also Chassel, “L’usage du sceau,” 88–89 and n. 127, and Faget de Casteljau, “Nogent-en-Bassigny,” 60–61 (biography of Bartholomew II of Nogent).

180. Raoul of Coucy said that the monks of Longpont asked him to “consent and confirm by my seal” (*petitione fratrum Longipontis, presenti carta laudare et meo sigillo confirmare*) the gifts his father Enguerran had made earlier, before 1147 (Longpont, fol. 54r–v, 1163). The monks of La Chapelle-aux-Planches asked Geof-

froy III of Joinville to confirm by his seal (*impressione sigilli mei informari*) the gift his father had given them long ago; Geoffroy did so, and added in the letter that his wife Felicity, son Geoffroy, and daughter Gertrude also consented (*Chapelle-aux-Planches*, 19–21, no. 20, 1157 = Simonnet, *Essai*, 54–55: *ego G., Felicitate uxore mea, et filio meo Gaufrido, filia quoque Gertrude pariter collaudantibus . . . concessi*). See also *LB*, 24 n. 16.

181. Evergates, *Littere Baronum*, 5–8.

182. See Chapter 4 nn. 78–79.

183. Flammariion, “Le sceau du silence,” 107, 1161, letters confirming the settlement of a dispute between Hugh of Bologne and the abbot of La Crête.

184. Several letters mention the place of their composition: at Broys and Traînel (n. 193 below), “at Chacenay in my house” (Chapter 4 n. 78), and at Nogent (*Langres*, 70–72, no. 30, 1182: *facta Nojanti in camera domini*).

185. See *Agnes of Baudement.

186. Ade, viscountess of Meaux, and Simon of Oisy, castellan of Cambrai, jointly authored and sealed two donations to Longpont (Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 645–46, nos. 10–11, 1165, both seals survived to 1641). *Agathe, heiress of Pierrefonds, might have had a seal as early as 1166 when she and Conon, count of Soissons, jointly authored a confirmation (*Nesle*, 2: 109–10, no. 42, 1166; the cartulary copy fails to mention any seal). In 1180 Agathe and Conon jointly authored and sealed a donation to Longpont and an agreement with Saint-Médard of Soissons (*Nesle*, 2: 171–73, nos. 86–87, 1180). Odo *Campaniensis* (of Champlitte) and his wife Sybil also appear to have jointly sealed a letter of consent in 1147/62 (*Clairvaux*, 75, no. 49).

187. See *Helvide of Dampierre, *Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine, and Chapter 4 (“Joint Acts”).

188. AD Aube, 3 H 315, 11 December 1179, done at Chacenay (*Chacenay*, 27–28, no. 55 = *Clairvaux*, 198–200, no. 171): *cognovi ex autenticis instrumentis antecessorum meorum quod avus meus Ansericus [d. 1137], laudante uxore sua Humbeline, dedit*. *Erard I of Chacenay sealed the document, but in it he requested that the bishop of Langres also seal it; another hand added at the bottom of the document: *Ego quoque Gualterus, Lingonensis episcopus, presenti pagine subscribo et predictam helemosinam . . . confirmo et proprii sigilli munimento corroboro* (there were two pendent seals). Erard sealed a similar document drawn up on the same day, probably at Clairvaux, but lacking both the bishop’s sealing clause and seal and Erard’s own words, *cognovi ex autenticis instrumentis antecessorum meorum* (*Clairvaux*, 196–98, no. 170). Erard apparently brought this letter to Chacenay, where it served as the basis for the letter he sealed and had taken to Langres for the bishop’s seal. Both letters were given to Clairvaux. In 1206 Erard’s son, *Erard II of Chacenay, sealed a letter confirming the *cartas quas prefata domus Clarevallus habet ab antecessoribus meis et universas donationes eorum* (*Clairvaux* 2, 178, no. 36 = *Chacenay*, 37–38, no. 78).

189. See Chapter 4 n. 131.

190. Count Hugh confirmed a gift to Saint-Germain of Auxerre by one of his knights, Hugh of Frangens-Loupus, but since a dispute arose after the knight and his wife died, the count’s *carta* (presumably in the possession of Saint-Germain) was read aloud (*relecta*), and after being *audientibus et videntibus* by Erard, count of Brienne, and unnamed others, it was *diligenta recognita, laudata et confirmata* (Quantin, *Cartulaire général*, 1: 42–44, no. 39, 1104).

191. In 1202, for example, Henry of Arzillières, preparing for the Fourth Crusade, gave the monks of Cheminon a grain rent from a tithe, with his wife’s consent (AD Marne, 17 H 95, no. 2). The monks presented his letter to Blanche, who noted

that that she was confirming what Henry had given *per litteras suas* (AD Marne, 17 H 95, no. 3, 1202).

192. In 1189 William, archbishop of Reims, confirmed what Nicholas of Bazoches and the chapter of Saint-Yved had agreed to, *sicut in ejus scripto continetur autentico* (Saint-Yved-de-Braine, 256, no. 117). This confirmation is unusual in that an episcopal chancery confirmed a layman's sealed letter instead of his oral declaration at the chancery. In 1204 the archbishop of Sens confirmed Robert of Milly's sealed letter granting the nuns of the Paraclete 6*l.* from his toll revenues to provide garments for his two daughters at the Paraclete (*Paraclet*, 139–40, nos. 123–24, 1204).

193. *Paraclet*, 96–97, no. 80, 1192 (Elvide of Nangis); 115–16, no. 91, 1196 (*Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine); 120–21, no. 97, 1198 (Garnier III of Traînel, done at Traînel); 121, no. 98, 1198 (Hugh III of Broys, done at Broys).

194. *Clairvaux*, 361, no. 292, 1192; 436, no. 347, 1196; 306, no. 260, 1189; 303, no. 256, 1189 (see also Appendix D n. 218); 332, no. 271, 1180s. Enguerran of Coucy exempted the monks from tolls in his lands (*Clairvaux*, 48–49, no. 20, 1139–47). See also Bartholomew of Vignory's letters of 1158 and 1169 (Chapter 4 nn. 78–79).

195. It survives because Caprarie deposited it with the nuns of the Paraclete (*Paraclet*, 94–95, no. 77, 1189). Witnesses included her paternal uncle Haice, canon of Saint-Etienne of Troyes (and future bishop of Troyes); her maternal uncle, Garnier of Traînel; and two local knights. About the same time, Giles sent a letter to his uncle Haice and Haice's wife Hudeard, asking them to deliver the alms that their father, Hugh II, had promised to Clairvaux (*Clairvaux*, 357, no. 286, undated, but before 1191, the year that Haice became bishop of Troyes).

196. See Chapter 5 n. 80. *Agnes of Baudement may have deposited her dower letter of 1153 with Saint-Yved of Braine (see Chapter 5 n. 73).

197. That was a general phenomenon in France. In Brittany, for example, the baronial families produced and sealed their own letters from the 1180s (Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, 7). The cathedral chapter of Langres copied the baronial letters patent it received from the 1180s in two quires (fols. 60–73) in its cartulary (*Langres*, 176–218, nos. 150–203).

198. BM Provins, MS 85, no. 19, 1191, original (Mayer, *Die Kanzlei*, 2: 914–16, no. 15): *litteris meis annotatum sigillo meo communivi*, by which Manasses augments the fief held by Milo II Breban; done in the presence of Henry II. Manasses was the count's liegeman owing four months castleward at Provins in the 1170s (*Feoda* 1, no. 1523). In 1185 he confirmed his grandfather's grant to the Paraclete of tithe revenues from his granary at Villegruis (*Paraclet*, 88–89, no. 71). He died by March 1202, n.s., when Countess Blanche confirmed all that he and his son Hugh had transferred, *in dono et achato*, to Milo II Breban (BM Provins, MS 85, no. 19). In 1205 his son Hugh and two other knights of Villegruis admitted owing annual taxes to Saint-Médard of Soissons (*LB*, 134–35, no. 99). As Mayer notes, Manasses was a middling knight proprietor. The earliest letter sealed by a knight for L'Abbaye-aux-Bois is from 1217 (*L'Abbaye-aux-Bois*, 121–22, no. 36).

Chapter 2. Governing the Principality and Its Aristocracy

1. See Chapter 6 n. 76.

2. Detailed studies of the county's expansion are M.-Cl. Hubert, "Recherches sur les frontières"; J. Hubert, "La frontière occidentale"; Schlessler, "Frontiers, Politics, and Power"; and the articles by Bur.

3. The earliest extant letter of homage from the the royal archive is from Ida, countess of Boulogne (*Registres de Philippe Auguste*, 1: 472–73, no. 31, 1191).

4. Thibaut and Philip exchanged identical letters patent. For Thibaut's letter, see Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 468, no. 4, April 1198 = *LB*, 159–60, app. 1: *ligium hominū feci . . . de tota terra quam pater meus comes Henricus tenuit a patre suo, rege Ludovico, et frater meus* [Henry II] *ab ipso rege Philipo*. For the king's letter, see *Layettes*, 1: 195–96, no. 473, April 1198 = Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 467–68, no. 3 = *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 2: 129–30, no. 581 = *CB*, no. 23.

5. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 73–100, describes Thibaut III's rule.

6. Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, 294–300.

7. Thibaut held Nogent by June 1199 (Quantin, *Cartulaire général*, 2: 504–5, no. 496). It was among Blanche's seven dower castellanies on 1 July 1199 (*Layettes*, 1: 204, no. 497; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 40). A chancery scribe remarked ca. 1201 that the fiefholders of Nogent castellany were not listed in any earlier fief roll (*Feoda* 3, no. 2595: *De istis scimus verissime quod homines sunt, et non sunt in scripto patris comitis Henrici* [I] *neque in scripto filii* [Henry II]). The transfer of Nogent prompted the nuns of the nearby Paraclete to seek episcopal confirmation of their earliest gifts from Milo I of Nogent and his knights (*Paraclet*, 129–30, no. 109, 1202: *vidimus* by the bishop of Troyes of Thibaut II's letter of 1146 [*Paraclet*, 70–71, no. 52]). See *Elizabeth of Nogent-sur-Seine.

8. Mesqui, "Les ponts," 36. The Seine was not navigable between Troyes and Provins until 1303 (Boutaric, "Notice et extraits," 138–39, no. 12). It is not known whether Thibaut III did homage for it, but the abbot of Saint-Denis later confirmed that Thibaut IV *faceret nobis homagium de castro Nogenti super Sequanam cum pertinentiis ad idem castrum, eo modo quo Milo de Cathalaunis, quondam dominus ejusdem castri, tenuit ab ecclesia Sancti Dyonisii* (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 476, no. 29, May 1226).

9. They exchanged letters: AN, J 193, no. 2, September 1200 > LP 2: 170; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 2A (Hugh's letter); *Rethel*, 1: 40, no. 20, September 1200 (Thibaut's confirmation).

10. Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, 120.

11. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 3: 166–67, May 1, 1209 = *Layettes*, 1: 331, no. 873: *omnes qui de illo feodo tenebunt, de domino feodi principaliter et nullo medio tenebunt*. Five prominent barons sealed the king's letter, while *plures alii magnates de regno Francie* consented to the new practice *de feodalibus tenementis*. A document of September 1211 called it the *consuetudo constituta a domino rege* (Petot, "L'ordonnance du 1er mai 1209," 380 n. 1). See also Bongert, "Vers la formation d'un pouvoir législatif royal," 137–38.

12. *Coutumier*, art. 12, ca. 1270–90: *il est encor coustume que se I vauvesourz muert qui ait enfanz, li ainnez des enfanz doit repanre dou seignour, et li autre enfant on chois de repanre de l'ainné frere ou dou signour de cui li heritaiges muet, mais que ce soit fait dedanz l'an qu'ilz seront aagé*. Siblings had held their fiefs directly from the count since the time of Henry I (*Feoda* 1, nos. 12–13: *heredes ligii*).

13. Thibaut IV's letter of 1223 stating the policy, in response to a suit from Thomas of Mirvaux against his rear-fiefholder, Henry of Mirvaux, who was fortifying his residence (*domus*) with a wall: *consuetudines que talis est in comitatu Campanie, quod omnes forticie debent teneri de comite Campaniae, quocumque modo fiant, in supradicto comitatu* (*Thesaurus*, 1: 903–4 = Mortet and Deschamps, *Recueil*, 2: 233, no. 93; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 6). In this case, the count allowed construction to continue, but the wall, limited to 15.5 feet in height and 2.5 feet in thickness, could not have towers or a moat.

14. Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 37, chap. 36 ["Conquest," 36].

15. Since Thibaut died before assigning the rent, Simon petitioned Blanche: *dic-*

tus comes [Thibaut III] *volebat quod Castrumvillanum, quod de feoda domini Campanie cognoscebam, caperem de ipso ligie et tenerem. Ego autem castrum illud de Symone [of Broyes] domino Commarcei, fratre meo primogenito, volebam capere et tenere; tandem castrum illud cepi ligie de predicta comite Theobaldo. In cuius rei compensationem iam dictus comes mihi triginta libratas terre annuatim debuit assignare* (Layettes, 1: 320, no. 848, May 1208 = *LB*, 48–49, no. 5; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 4). The chancery noted: *Dominus de Castro Villani est homo ligius comitis Campanie et tenet Castrum Villanum cum omnibus feodis appendentibus a comite Campanie* (Feoda 2, no. 2439).

16. William of Jully stated that his grandfather Guy (of Chappes, lord of Jully) *avoir esté pourforcé du seigneur de Champagne* [Thibaut III] *tenir la dite seigneurie* [Jully] *en la chasteillerie de Bar* [-sur-Seine] (*RôlesT*, no. 5433, 1262). Jully was listed among the “sworn and renderable” castles (Feoda 3, no. 2733, 1203/4). See also n. 18 below and Chapter 8 at n. 72.

17. Coulson, “Fortress Policy in Capetian Tradition,” argues that renderability was an old requirement going back to the ninth century, but the evidence he gathers from Champagne (Coulson, “Castellation in the County of Champagne”) dates primarily to the thirteenth century, coincident with a similar royal policy of paying fief-rents for making castles renderable. Specific references to renderability cannot be found before the late twelfth century in Champagne. Richard (*Les ducs de Bourgogne*, 134, 257–60, and “Le château dans la structure féodale,” 174–75) argues that liege homage implies the renderability of castles in Burgundy from the early twelfth century, but he cannot find any explicit evidence of it before 1186. The bishop of Auxerre required the count of Auxerre to render four castles at will (*traduntur episcopo ad ejus beneplacitum*) in 1145 (Sassier, *Recherches*, 180 n. 15). In Hainaut, there are instances of castles being rendered in the 1170s (Didier, *Le droit des fiefs*, 81–82). In Languedoc, castles had been renderable since the eleventh century, although renderability was not a general requirement; it was contracted separately for each castle, just as in Champagne (Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne*, 157–62).

18. In response to Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine, who claimed *mouvance* over Jully after Clarembaud IV’s death on the Fourth Crusade (1204), Blanche declared: *remnet de feodo ligio illud vero castellum; juratum est michi et heredibus meis in auxilium et reddibile* [mihi] *contra omnes homines qui possunt vivere vel mori* (LP 1, fols. 152v–154v, November 1206 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 30–31). Clarembaud V of Chappes continued to hold the town (*burgum*) beyond the wall, the fortress (*fortericie*), and the adjacent parish in fief from the count of Bar-sur-Seine, who in turn held it from Blanche (Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 2: 737).

19. Mesqui, “Crécy-en-Brie,” 81–82, confirms the effectiveness of the castle policy: the four barons (Bazoches, Coucy, Châtillon-sur-Marne, Dreux) who built significant fortifications in the thirteenth century were so well connected beyond the county, especially with the king, that the counts could not refuse them permission. It should be noted that only the fortification itself, not the entire fief, became renderable to the count.

20. Coulson, “The Impact of Bouvines.”

21. Chancery scribes abstracted Thibaut’s letter for Raoul Plunquet (*LB*, 157, no. 122, 1198 = Brussel, *Nouvel examen*, 2: 833) in the fief rolls, which note that Ralph owed primary ligeance to the king (Feoda 2, no. 2274; Feoda 5, no. 3270); his descendants still held the fief in 1262 (*RôlesT*, no. 6057). Thibaut’s grant to Jocelin of Avallon was strictly an augmentation of Jocelin’s existing fief (*LB*, 56–57, no. 12, 1201 = Quantin, *Recueil*, 1–2; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, 4, no. 3); his children sold it Blanche (see n. 22 below). Henry I might have presented letters with fiefs (see Chapter 1 nn. 120–21).

22. Jocelin of Avallon’s children returned Thibaut III’s letter (see n. 21 above)

when they sold the fief to Blanche (*LB*, 72–73, no. 31, 1210; *LB*, 60–61, no. 16, January 1211).

23. Joinville: *LB*, 58–59, no. 14, July 1199. Brienne: *LB*, 61–62, no. 18, 1200. Rethel: see n. 9 above. Montmirail: see Chapter 5 n. 92. For the role of the state in requiring sealed letters from the barons in England, see Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*.

24. Blanche was born in 1179 shortly before the death of her mother, Sancha of Navarre (Trindade, *Berengaria*, 47). Her regency is described in Evergates, “Aristocratic Women,” 81–85, and Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 101–98.

25. She sealed a letter of homage (*homagium ligium*) for him (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 469, no. 6, May 1201 = *Registres de Philippe Auguste*, 1: 487–88, no. 41), and Philip gave her his reciprocal letter (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 470, no. 7, May 1201 = *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 2: 235–37, no. 679: *in feminam ligiam recepimus de baillio et dotalicio suo ad vitam suam*). Philip required oaths from nine prominent barons of the county, from the residents and enfeoffed knights (*omnium militum qui sunt exinde feodati*) of Bray and Montereau castles, and from the enfeoffed knights (*milites feodati*) of Provins, Marolles, Lagny, and Meaux. He also confirmed Blanche’s dower letter (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 2: 238–39, no. 679, 1201); see Chapter 5 n. 78.

26. Blanche’s threat, contained in her instructions to provosts (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 114, no. 2985, August 1201), illustrates an effective use of the “politics of anger” (White, “The Politics of Anger”).

27. Two knights received 60*l.* (equivalent to a 6*l.* rent) to perform full-time castleguard (*continuum estagium*) for two years after the Feast of Saint Remi (1 October) in 1201, and six weeks annually (*de custodia*) thereafter (*Feoda* 2, no. 2305; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 2B). A list of fiefs granted to knights *pro continuo estagio faciendo* at Sainte-Menehould (*Feoda* 5, nos. 2974–84) includes one fief yielding 7*l.* annually, five fiefs yielding 5*l.* each, and a 50*l.* cash grant to be invested in a fief (yielding 5*l.*).

28. Henry III, count of Grandpré, allowed Giles of Saint-Jean-sur-Tourbe to hold his *forteritia* and its outer walls in *feodo ligio* from Blanche, while Henry retained *mouvance* over the town, church, and banal rights there (*LB*, 57–58, no. 13, September 1203 = Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 1: 91 = *Thesaurus*, 1: 784). Chancery scribes made note of the fortress, apparently a recent construction (*Feoda* 2, no. 2227: *Gilo de Sancto Johanne, ligius et domus ejus jurabilis*). It was confiscated in 1218 (see n. 61 below).

29. Thibaut III initially granted privileges to La Neuville-au-Pont (*LB*, 149–50, no. 114, October 1200); see Higounet, *Défrichements et villeneuves*, 166–68. The monks of Moirement renewed their co-lordship with Blanche at La Neuville-au-Pont in December 1203, after she had invited them into the castle of Sainte-Menehould in July (AD Marne, X H 5, Moiremont, fols. 234v, 1v). In 1206 the monks of Saint-Vanne of Verdun associated her in lordship over Chaudefontaine, the village next to their priory (*LB*, 93–94, no. 54).

30. Milo of Chaumont owed liege homage in the 1170s (*Feoda* 1, no. 69). After he mortgaged the castle to Henry II, the count granted the Customs of Lorris to the townsmen of Chaumont (AD Haute-Marne, 1 A 1, 1190; confirmed by Thibaut IV in 1228, AD Haute-Marne, 1 A 2 = *Ordonnances* 12: 48–50). Milo died in 1202 or 1203 (Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 76). See also Dessargues, “Notes d’histoire généalogique,” 9–11, 13 (genealogical table).

31. Blanche states that “in the presence of the bishop of Langres [Robert of Châtillon], myself, and all the barons of Champagne (*me et omnes dominos Campanie*),” the abbot of La Crête exchanged a gift from the deceased Chaumonde (Milo’s widow) for a 10*l.* revenue assigned on the sales tax of Chaumont, payable

by Blanche's provost there (AD Haute-Marne, 6 H 13, no. 54, December 1205). Milo's half brother Josbert apparently exercised lordship over Chaumont in Milo's absence (see Chapter 6 n. 35) and claimed Chaumonde's property by right of collateral inheritance (*de caduco*); but at the council he sold that claim to Blanche for 200*l.* cash and a new fief at Ageville carrying one month of castleward at Chaumont (*LB*, 130–31, no. 96, December 1205). Feelings were assuaged when Renier II of Nogent, the most powerful baron of the Bassigny, announced the marriage of his daughter Alix to Josbert's son, who would inherit the new fief of Ageville (*Layettes*, 1: 298, no. 789, 1205 = *LB*, 54–55, no. 10; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 26). In 1213 the bishop of Langres, William of Joinville, reopened the case of Chaumont: the duke of Burgundy, who arbitrated, ordered an inquest to determine whether Chaumont was Blanche's allodial property, as she claimed, or *de feodo* of the bishop and therefore liable for homage to him. Chaumont was declared a fief that Blanche would hold in augmentation of the fief she already held from the bishop (Longnon, *Documents* 1: 471, no. 9, February 1213 = *CB*, no. 83; Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 471, no. 10, February 1213 = *CB*, no. 96; *CB*, no. 215, February 1213).

32. Longnon, *Documents*, 3: 10 (account of 1252).

33. See Appendix B n. 9.

34. Rolls for Nogent-sur-Seine (*Feoda* 3, nos. 2584–95), Sainte-Menehould (*Feoda* 2, nos. 2305–17), and Chaumont (*Feoda* 4, nos. 2889–96) might have been drawn up as soon as the castellanies were acquired in 1199, 1201, and 1203/5 respectively (see nn. 7, 9, 31 above).

35. The list entitled *Hec sunt castella jurabilia et reddibilia et domus similiter* (*Feoda* 3, nos. 2703–43) seems to have been compiled between September 1203 (when Giles of Saint-Jean-sur-Tourbe became liege to the countess; see n. 28 above) and July 1204 (when Gautier of Vignory made the town of Vignory a liege fief of Champagne; see n. 37 below). King Philip began to exact renderability at the same time (*Layettes*, 1: 243, no. 680, July 1203). Henry I's rolls contain two (seemingly added) references to renderable castles: (1) In a list of fiefholders beyond the county (entitled *Feodi Magni* by the editor), the last (added) entry states that Raoul, count of Château-Porcien, held his castle *reddibile et jurabile comiti, salvo tamen jure patris sui, si redierit forte* (*Feoda* 1, no. 2055). Raoul was associated with his father in 1196 and succeeded in 1206 (Barthélemy, "La maison de Grandpré," 18 [1889]: 9–10). (2) The roll for Bar-sur-Aube lists the castle of an unnamed lord of Cirey-sur-Blaise as renderable (*Feoda* 1, no. 87: *castrum ligium reddibile*). The rolls of Henry II likewise contain two (apparently added) references to renderability: the *castellum* held by the widow of Simon II of Sexfontaines and the fortified residence (*domus*) of Dudo of Turny (*Feoda* 1, nos. 2138, 2197).

36. Longnon, *Documents*, 1: xiii, n. 2 = *CB*, no. 333, undated: *Intimamus vobis preterea, quod scripta feodorum vestrorum sunt in ecclesia Sancti Stephani Trecarum, et in scriptis continentur duo millia et ducenti milites, quorum mille et octingenti sunt tam ligii quam munitionis observatores, exceptis illis quos comes H(enricus) et domina nostra comitissa (Maria) et comes T(heobaldus) feodavit. Ad tradendum vero scripta feodorum in ecclesiam Beati Stephani, ego Milo Brebanus interfui, et comes Henricus secum tulit expemplarium ultra mare*. Jean Longnon, *Recherches*, 206–7, no. 92, dates the letter to 1208/9 on the grounds that William, count of Sancerre (1190–1218), whose homage was at issue, did homage to Blanche in 1209 (*Layettes*, 1: 343, no. 904 = *LB*, 87–88, no. 47; two identical letters, abstracted in a roll listing "great" fiefs [*Feoda* 2, no. 2427]). The counts of Blois and Sancerre were listed in *Feoda* 1, nos. 2034–35, ca. 1178.

37. *Vignory*, 205–6, no. 73, done in Blanche's court at Sézanne, July 1204 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 25 = *CB*, no. 147: *Ego Galterus, dominus de Vangionis rivi, omnibus presentibus et futuris notum facio, quod ego, de karissime domina mea Blancha, comitissa*

Trecensi illustri, in feudum cepi burgum Wangionis rivi, ita quod de burgo illo sum homo ligius comitis et heredum suorum salve fidelitate comitis Burgundie, cujus ego sum homo ligius de alio feodo [the castle and walls], et in burgo illo comitissam et heredes suos et suas gentes contra omnem hominem receptarem. He promised the countess access to his castle and tower, except against the count of Burgundy, from whom he held them in fief. Chancery scribes added Vignory to their list of “sworn and renderable” castles: *Burgum de Wangionis Rivo jurabile et reddibile contra omnes homines, et castellum et turres contra omnes preterquam contra comitem Burgundie* (Feoda 3, no. 2743, last entry, added). Gautier’s father had appeared in the earliest rolls as *ligius post comitem Burgundie* (Feoda 1, no. 73, ca. 1178). See *Gautier I of Vignory.

38. *LB*, 46–48, no. 4, April 1206 = *CB*, no. 383; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 5. See Mesqui, “Crécy-en-Brie,” 40–41, 68–69, for the issues involved, and Mesqui, *Ile-de-France gothique*, 2: 197–203, for photographs of the imposing structure, now under restoration. Robert promised not to convert his *domus* at Lizy-sur-Ourcq into a *forteritia* without Blanche’s consent (*LB*, 67–68, no. 25, March 1209, o.s.).

39. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 3: 171–72, no. 1088, July 1209, Paris = *LB*, app. 2: *usus et consuetudo Francie talis est, quod nullus infra vicissimum primum annum respondere super hereditate de qua pater ejus tenens esset sine placito cum decederet.* Philip promised that *recipiemus eum in hominem ligium de terra de qua pater ejus tenens erat quando decessit.* Blanche sealed an identical letter (*Layettes*, 1: 332–33, no. 878, July 1209 = *LB*, 161–62, app. 3), and Prince Louis sealed two identical letters (*Thesaurus*, 1: 816–17, July 1209 = *CB*, no. 292).

40. Odo III, duke of Burgundy: *LB*, 88–89, no. 48, September 1209; *Layettes*, 1: 344–45, no. 910, January 1210 = *CB*, no. 13. William of Joinville, bishop of Langres: *LB*, 155–56, no. 120, and 104–5, no. 65, both of January 1210; and *AN*, J 198, no. 19, 1200 = *CB*, no. 15. Aubry, archbishop of Reims: *Layettes*, 1: 349, no. 918, April 1210 = *LB*, 79–80, no. 38 = *CB*, no. 14.

41. Baudement: see Chapter 5 n. 42. Ery: Milo III, lord of Ery, sold his house and all his property within the town (*CR* 3, fol. 146r–v, 1214 = *CB*, no. 381). Pont-sur-Seine and Villemaur: see Chapter 6 n. 38.

42. Guy II of Dampierre did liege homage for the castle of Saint-Just, with the consent of the bishop of Troyes from whom it moved as a fief (*LP* 2: 295, 1211). Blanche paid Simon of Passavant 200*l.* to fortify Montreuil-sur-Barse (*LB*, 137–38, no. 102, July 1209). According to Aubry of Trois-Fontaines, Blanche built a *castrum* at Mont-Aimé *contra guerras imminantes* (“Chronicon,” 891 [year 1210]).

43. Evergates, “The Chancery Archives,” 163–65, and *Littere Baronum*, 11–20.

44. See Chapter 6 at n. 22.

45. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 3: 444–45, no. 1306, July 1213 = *CB*, no. 281.

46. *PL*, 216: 979–81, nos. 9–12.

47. *Layettes*, 5: 71–72, no. 199, 21 November 1213 = *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 3: 455–58, no. 1314 = *LB*, 100–102, no. 62: *nisi per voluntatem nostram.* The king also required the count’s knights and men (*milites et homines de potestate*) of Meaux, Château-Thierry, Lagny, Provins, and Coulommiers to swear to observe the treaty.

48. *Layettes*, 1: 394–96, nos. 1054–55, 1057–60.

49. *Layettes*, 1: 404, no. 1080, August 1214, Melun = Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 471, no. 11 = *CB*, no. 451: *recepit in hominem suum ligium de toto comitatu Campanie et Brie.* The editors of that letter in the *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 3: 463–64, no. 1321, date it March 1214, but a recent rereading of the damaged original document reaffirms the August date (Nortier, in *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 5: 518), which is also the date of Blanche’s reciprocal letter (*Layettes*, 1: 404, no. 1081, August 1214 = *CB*, no. 452).

50. *Layettes* 1: 408, no. 1092, November 1214 = *CB*, no. 453: *ego eidem domino regi*

et domine matri mee concessi, quod antequam habeam viginti unum annos, non exhibo de ballio matris mee nisi hoc fecero per ipsam et de voluntate et assensu ipsius (sealed with his seal).

51. The bishop received Thibaut's homage (CR 8, fol. 208v, August 1214); the seneschal did liege homage to Blanche for Joinville and his office (without hereditary right) and promised aid against Erard of Brienne (AN, J 1035, no. 7, at Troyes, August 1214 = CB, no. 154); and the bishop promised to excommunicate his brother if Simon failed to abide by his promise (CR 3, fol. 129r–v, August 1214 = CB, no. 347). See also Jolibois, *La Haute-Marne*, 127.

52. Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 473–74, nos. 15–21 = CB, nos. 74–75, 210, 212, 217, 227, 320.

53. Sixteen virtually identical letters patent (based on a model letter) survive from: Duke Odo III of Burgundy; Counts Pierre II of Auxerre, *Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine, and Henry IV of Grandpré; and Gaucher of Nanteuil, *Renier II of Nogent, Jean II of Arcis-sur-Aube, Ponce of Grancey, *Gaucher III of Châtillon, Archambaud VII of Bourbon, Anseric of Montréal, *Gautier I of Vignory, and Robert and Thomas of Coucy (CR 3, fols. 65v–70r, all of February 1216, n.s. = CB, nos. 168, 170–72, 174–84). *Jean II of Montmirail and Raoul of Château-Porcien sent letters in April (CR 3, fols. 93v, 102v = CB, nos. 256, 280).

54. *Layettes*, 1: 431–32, no. 1182, July 1216 = *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 4: 44–47, no. 1436: *usus et consuetudo Francie talis est, quod ex quo aliquis saisitus est de aliquo feodo per dominum feodi, dominus feodi non debet alium recipere in hominem de eodem feodo, quamdiu ille qui saisitus est de feodo per dominum feodi velit et paratus sit jus facere in curia domini feodi et prosequi*.

55. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 4: 50–51, no. 1439, July 1216 = CB, no. 282.

56. At the king's directive (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 4: 48–50, no. 1438, July 1216 = CB, nos. 285–86), the prelates and barons of the court confirmed the decision (CB, nos. 24, 39–47, 395–401) and Erard's promise of a truce (CB, nos. 195–208).

57. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 601–4, recounts Blanche's tribulations with the prelates.

58. The duke of Lorraine was forced to turn over the sealed letters of homages he had collected from the rebel barons (CR 3, fol. 178r, 1 June 1218 = CB, no. 437: *omnes conventiones . . . et homagia que propter hoc [guerra] mihi fecerunt, reddam*). Simon of Sexfontaines' renunciation of fidelity survives (LP 3, fol. 132v, ca. 1216; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 55A). See also Bur, "Les relations des comtes de Champagne et des ducs de Lorraine."

59. The papal excommunication of twenty-five barons on 3 February 1218 (*Layettes*, 1: 458–60, no. 1276) had great effect. One copy was sent to prelates in the dioceses of Lyon, Reims, Sens, Cologne, Tours, Bourges, and Trèves, and another to "all noble men, dukes, counts, barons, and knights" of those provinces (*Layettes*, 1: 460, nos. 1277–78).

60. *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 32–33, June 1218 = *Thesaurus*, 1: 865–66 = Didot, *Études*, 188–89, "M" = CB, no. 155: the document was framed as a *concordia* by which Simon promised to return to his former ligeance (*redii ad fidelitatem eorum* [of Blanche and Thibaut] *et ad hominagium eorum quod est ligium contra omnem creaturam*). See also the reciprocal letters of Blanche (*Traité des fiefs*, 2: 94–95 = Didot, *Études*, 187–88, "L") and the bishop (*Traité des fiefs*, 2: 90–91, 7 June 1218 = CB, no. 117). Hugh of Lafauche did homage directly to Blanche for his castle and town, for which she paid him 200*l.* and a 20*l.* rent from the fairs of Bar-sur-Aube (LP 3, fols. 97v–98r, July 1218 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 33–34, 96, 98).

61. Giles of Saint-Jean-sur-Tourbe died in captivity shortly after Blanche confiscated his two fiefs (she rented a cart for 6*s.* to take him into captivity; Longnon,

Documents, 3: 3). Since his children were minors, she dispersed his major fiefs. She gave his village of Maffrécourt to her marshal, Odard of Aulnay, who promised to return it if she made peace with the Giles' heirs (*CB*, no. 156, February 1219, n.s.). She gave the second fief, consisting of the fortress and outer walls of Saint-Jean-sur-Tourbe over which she had imposed her direct lordship in 1203 (see n. 28 above), to Gaucher of Nanteuil-la-Fosse, with permission to rebuild its walls and construct a residence within; Gaucher promised to return it at her need and whenever she or her son made peace with Giles' heirs (*Traité des fiefs*, 2: 101–2, December 1218 = Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 1: 91 = *CB*, no. 140). Gaucher returned the castle in October 1219 (*CR* 3, fol. 57v = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 100 = *CR*, no. 146). In 1230 Thibaut IV gave it to Henry V of Grandpré (*Traité des fiefs*, 2: 196), who sold it back to Thibaut for 800*l.* in 1246 (Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 147 and n. 1). See also Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 162–63.

62. Simon of Clefmont renewed his *fidelitatem et homagium* and made his castle renderable against all men except the count of Burgundy, from whom he held it in fief (*Layettes*, 1: 480, no. 1343, April 1219 = *CB*, no. 250).

63. The brothers Guy and André of Montréal received 300*l.* in cash and a 30*l.* fief-rent to make their fortresses renderable (*Layettes*, 1: 486, no. 1355, July 1219 = *CB*, no. 228). Blanche augmented Arnold of Cirey's fief with land for building a fortified residence and founding a new village (*LP* 3, fols. 166v–167r, November 1219). Roger of Rozoy received 500*l.* in cash and a 60*l.* fief-rent to for converting his castle to a fief (*Layettes*, 1: 508–9, no. 1424, January 1222, n.s.; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 7).

64. *Layettes*, 1: 532–33, no. 1479, November, 1221. The rent, promised by 2 February 1222, was not assigned until 17 April 1223: six properties in the Othe Forest were cobbled together to constitute a “barony,” but Erard was prohibited from placing turrets on any walled residence he constructed there (*LP* 2: 411–17). See also Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 184–87.

65. Humblot, “Guillaume II de Joinville.”

66. See Chapter 5 n. 149.

67. *Thesaurus*, 1: 880–81, 30 July 1220 = Brussel, *Nouvel examen*, 1: 389–90 note a = *CB*, no. 436. See Bur, “Les relations des comtes de Champagne et des ducs de Lorraine,” 80–84, and Schneider, “Lorraine et Champagne,” 135–37.

68. *CR* 3, fol. 49v, 7 March 1222 = *CB*, no. 124. Two weeks later Erard promised to make that recognition before the king and to seal confirming letters patent for Blanche and Thibaut (*CR* 3, fol. 124r–v, 28 March 1222 = *CB*, no. 336).

69. *Porcien*, 25, no. 38, 10 April 1216: *bona fide jurabo . . . et ne super hoc haberer suspectus ab aliquo, presentes litteras eidem domino meo tradidi in testimonium hujus rei.*

70. See nn. 25, 47 above. Episcopal lords had employed that technique to control their castle lords. Hugh of Mussy, for example, had his knights swear *fidelitas* to hold (*conservare*) his castle for the bishop of Verdun, from whom he held it in fief (Parisse, “Pratiques féodales,” 294–95, no. 5, 1160). Hugh III, duke of Burgundy, made a *conventio* with his uncle Gautier, bishop of Langres, who transferred the fortress walls of Châtillon-sur-Seine to Hugh but required that Hugh's *casamenti* and *homines* of Châtillon swear not to interfere with the bishop's men and goods there (Brussel, *Nouvel examen*, 2: 834–35, note a, 1168).

71. Matthew of Touquin states that he went to Joigny *ad recipienda juramenta militum castellarie Jovigniaci et burgensium ejusdem castri* (Quantin, *Recueil*, 119–20, no. 273, 6 January 1222 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 123). See also *Pierre of Joigny. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 686–87, concludes from this example that *jurabile* referred to the oaths of the castle knights, rather than the oath of the castle lord.

72. For July, see *Guy of Sailly. Guy of Plancy, lord of one-half of Gondrecourt

(1203–40), did liege homage for its *castellum*, made it renderable on demand, and promised to obtain the oaths of *vavassores castellanie ejusdem castelli de Gondricourt et burgenses ejusdem castelli* (AN, J 202, no. 30, 28 February 1221, n.s. = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 114).

73. On the occasion of William of Dampierre's marriage to the heiress of Flanders, Thibaut IV required oaths from the townsmen and knights of Dampierre (*milites et homines de burgo*) as well as from the fiefholders within the castellany (*vavassores meos pertinentes ad castellariam*), who swore loyalty to the count's *custodes* occupying the tower of Dampierre; Guy's brother, two uncles, and two other barons (*nobiles* and *amici*) pledged money as security (*Layettes*, 2: 17, no. 1619, 31 December 1223).

74. Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, 267–68.

75. That chancery label became the heading of four quires (8–9, 12–13) in CR 3 (*CB*, nos. 134, 155, 226, 250).

76. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 198–347, describes Thibaut IV's rule.

77. See Chapter 3 at n. 39.

78. Evergates, "The Chancery Archives," 166–68. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 528, summarizes what is known about William (April 1222–December 1232).

79. See Evergates, "The Chancery Archives," 168–69, and *Registres du Trésor des Chartes*, 1.

80. See Appendix B n. 10.

81. Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage*, 134–35.

82. Thirty-four barons sealed Blanche's ordinance (see Chapter 6 n. 22), and thirty-four barons were named in Thibaut's ordinance (Appendix A). Other unnamed, less prominent barons also attended.

83. In anger, Thibaut attacked Nogent castle (Aubry of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," 933, 937), enfranchised the townsmen of Nogent (*Ordonnances*, 7: 466, June 1235), and made it the center of a comital castellany with about sixty-five knights. See *Renier II of Nogent.

84. Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 47–55.

85. Scribes first copied the letters received since 1222 into a set of quires (Cartulary-Register 5), then disassembled Cartulary-Registers 1, 2, 4, and 5 and recopied them, quire by quire, into the duplicate cartulary (Cartulary-Register 6). That cartulary became known as the "Cartulary of de Thou" in the seventeenth century, after the royal librarian, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, appropriated it for his personal library. The original quires of the disassembled cartularies were bound together in 1232 as a single volume, today AN, KK 1064 (Evergates, "The Chancery Archives," 169–75).

86. See Appendix B.

87. Bourquelot, *Histoire de Provins*, 1: 127 n. In 1203 the bailiff and provost of Oulchy paid Saint-Jean-des-Vignes of Soissons 60s. from the tolls at Oulchy (*LB*, 102–3, no. 63). Before 1200, bailiffs are known chiefly through the counts' letters of protection for monasteries (Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 473–86).

88. Morel of Vertus is the earliest identifiable bailiff. In 1212, as *ballivus domini comitis Trecentis*, he reported Gueric of Sontor's quitclaim ("Léproserie," 549: *presentes litteras scribi feci et sigilli mei munimine roborari*). That is the earliest example of a bailiff's letter. In 1214 Morel arbitrated a dispute over a 10*l.* rent between the nuns of Andecy and the canons of Notre-Dame of Vertus (CR 3, fol. 136r = *CB*, no. 364). Morel collected 20*l.* as a fief-rent from the count's treasury in 1217 and 1218 (Longnon, *Documents*, 3: 2). He was still active in 1223, when he settled a dispute by walking off the boundary of the Othe Forest (AN, J 195, no. 66, August 1223 > LP 2:371). See also Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 473–74.

89. Ulric, lord of Les Bordes and *bajlivus domine comitisse Campanie de Vitreyaco*, sealed a letter announcing the resolution of a dispute between the lord of Rosnay's son and the monks of Trois-Fontaines over the unlicensed construction of a bridge (AD Marne, 22 H 8, no. 6, February 1221, n.s.). The monks of Clairvaux asked the bailiff Wiard of Laferté to seal a letter announcing his arbitration between Clairvaux and the Templars (Clairvaux 1, 226, no. 40, 1222: Wiard acted with the provost Bonin). The monks of Larrivour asked the bailiff William Putemoine to seal a letter confirming his resolution of their dispute with the knight Jean of Méry (AD Aube, 4 H 55, November 1228). Bailiffs occasionally acted with local knights, townsmen, and even ecclesiastics in resolving cases. The bailiff of Vitry heard a case brought by the squire Jean and his wife Marie against the monks of Cheminon, who had killed their horse and made claims over Marie's dower; on the counsel of "good men" (*de bonorum virorum consilio*), the plaintiffs quit their claim (AD Marne, 17 H 8, no. 24, November 1249). Pierre of Courpalay, bailiff of Vitry, consulted with the knight Milo of Vaulerc and unnamed "good men" (*bone gente*) in deciding a case (AD Marne, H 98, July 1258).

90. Nicholas, bailiff of Vitry, conducted an inquest regarding the count's dispute with Gautier, lord of Arzillières, who agreed to accept its findings (CR 8, fol. 10r-v, 1231). Lambert of Bar, bailiff of Troyes, conducted an inquest on the order of the vice-regent Jean of Thourotte; he decided for the canons of Saint-Etienne because the plaintiff, the knight William of Curia, failed to appear or send witnesses to his claim (Saint-Etienne, fol. 82v, August 1241).

91. Humbert, bailiff of Bar-sur-Aube, personally sealed a letter of debt between two townsmen (Saint-Maclou, fol. 19r, December 1222 = Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire de Bar-sur-Aube*, 147, no. 11). In the bailiff's absence, the provost might preside at the bailiff's court: Damien of Arembécourt, lord of Vaus, wrote to the bailiff of Vitry that the provost Michel, *qui tenoit voz plaiz au leu de vous, par chevaliers et bourgeois qui estoiet a plaiz, selon le us que on tient a Vitri* (Hérelle and Pélicier, "Chartes en langue vulgaire," 625-26, no. 2, December 1231).

92. The bailiffs Simon the Apostle and Jacques Haquilins of Suippes destroyed an oven of the chapter of Reims "by order of the said count" (*se fecisse mandato prefati comitis*) but later paid a fine to the dean of Reims for violating the chapter's rights (Varin, *Archives administratives*, 1: 524, no. 93, November 1222).

93. CR 8, fol. 405v, 27 March 1231: after the archbishop of Reims refused to confirm the election, the monks asked for the count's advice on how to proceed.

94. See Chapter 1 n. 8.

95. The chancery instructed Raoul of Romilly to tell the provost of Pont-sur-Seine the location of the fief for which he did liege homage in Troyes (*Hommages* 1, no. 4174, 1220s: *debet nominare nomen ville in qua est feodum per prepositum Pontium*).

96. The count granted Hugh of Vallery a 30*l.* fief-rent rent from the May fairs at Provins in return for converting his property at Possy to a fief; Hugh did homage to the count and left *litteras suas patentes* in receipt (CR 8, fol. 297r, November 1229 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 189, November 1229 = Quantin, *Recueil*, 170, no. 379). Hugh later addressed a letter to the bailiff of Provins describing that homage and allodial conversion (LP 2: 485-86, June 1230 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2:208); it was abstracted in 1250 in the roll of letters of the bailiff of Provins (*Rôles*, no. 1324). Gautier of Arzillières gave the bailiff of Sainte-Menehould a receipt for 200*l.* paid for his recognition of a three-month castleguard obligation that he earlier had denied owing (*Layettes*, 2: 226, no. 2161, October 1231); that letter, too, was copied in 1250 during the inquest (*Rôles*, no. 1326).

97. Both letters (AN, J 966, no. 22, June 1231 > LP 3, fol. 207v = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 212; and AN, J 202, no. 20, October 1241 > CR 8, fol. 154r) were abstracted in

the rolls of letters retained by the bailiffs (*Rôles*, no. 1339; Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 194, no. 5309).

98. *Layettes*, 2: 586, no. 3385, September 1245 = *Rethel*, 161–62, no. 110. Five years later the bailiff of Sainte-Menehould summarized Jean's letter for the inquest (*Rôles*, no. 1336). Jean II, count of Roucy, promised to return Thibaut's letter granting his wife an 80*l.* life rent; because of his impending divorce, Jean said, he would return the letter either to the count or to the bailiff of Épernay, where the rent had been collected (LP 2: 206, March 1236, n.s.).

99. LP 3, fol. 239, May 1241: *vidimus* of the count's letter of March 1234, o.s. The bailiff of Chaumont likewise acted on the count's order in confiscating the knight Gilbert of Chaumont's gift to the monks of Longuay; but on complaint by the monks, the bailiff examined the documents, found them in order, and returned the property (Longuay, fol. 179r, 1235: two-thirds of a tithe as gift for the soul of Gilbert's son, who was buried there); see also fols. 173r, 1230 and 179r, 1234.

100. LP 3, fols. 55v–56r, November 1242.

101. See *Jeanne of Dampierre.

102. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 288–90.

103. Jean called himself *vices regens* who, *de mandato* of the count, *comitatum Campanie et Brie suscepisse sub mea tutela* (Oyes, fols. 9v–10r, no. 26, April 1244). In 1251 he was paid 431*l.* at the Fair of Saint Remi *pro custodienda* the county (Longnon, *Documents*, 3: 13). In that same year he received the butlership of Champagne for life (the office had lapsed after the death of Hugh V of Châtillon in 1247), for which Jean sealed a letter of acceptance (LP 2: 328). Jean ceased acting as vice-regent at Thibaut IV's death, but he remained close to Thibaut V and was named an executor of the count's testament in 1258 (AN, J 198, no. 101). For the lords of Thourotte, castellans of Noyon, see Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, 211–19, 273 (genealogical table), and *Nesle*, 1: 205, 209–16.

104. In 1237, for example, *Gautier II of Vignory and his wife Bertha, addressing Jean III of Thourotte and Guy of La Brosse, *custodes Campanie*, reported their *conventiones* with the monks of Montier-en-Der for the new village of Champcourt. In 1240 Jean III of Thourotte, *garde de Champagne*, sealed his approval of an arbitrated settlement between the viscount of Châlons and the monks of Saint-Pierre-aux-Monts of Châlons (CR 8, fol. 271v). In 1243 the vice-regent communicated with Thibaut in Navarre regarding the merchants of Piacenza (LP 2: 333–41, 1243; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 24).

105. Brief biographies in *Saint-Quiriace*, 185–191. In the late sixteenth century, Pierre Pithou found loose folios containing the financial accounts of 1252 in the treasury of Saint-Quiriace (Longnon, *Documents*, 3: vi–vii). See also Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 465–72.

106. Canon 17 of the Council of Lyon urged princes to use the usury of the Jews for the crusade (Jordan, *Louis IX*, 85). Innocent IV exempted five of the count's clerics from their residence requirements while in the count's service (CR 8, fols. 48r–49v, at Lyon, 24 May 1246). By April 1247 they had prepared lists of Jews residing in each of his castellanies since 1228: castellany lists survive for Troyes (CR 8, fol. 308r), Bray (AN, J 198, no. 79 > CR 8, fol. 360v), and Montereau (AN, J 198, no. 79 = *Preuilly*, 297–98, no. 484). Those lists must have formed the basis for the tax recorded in the account of 1252 under the title *Tallia Judicorum de anno LI* (Longnon, *Documents*, 3: 11–12).

107. Baratier, *Enquêtes*, esp. 25–31. The inquests of Alphonse of Poitiers in Auvergne and Poitou, on the other hand, were limited to taxable alienations (Guébin, "Les amortissements," 133–44), while those of Louis IX sought evidence of malfeasance and corruption by his own officials (Jordan, *Louis IX*, 51–64).

108. The roll for Provins, entitled *Rotulus de casteli Pruvinsi* (second membrane, verso), is unique; the other rolls are entitled *Feodi de X*. Four of the five (excepting Pont-sur-Seine) are dated 1249 (*anno XL nono*). Since Easter fell on 27 March in 1250, the inquest might have begun between 1 January and 26 March 1250.

109. Chancery scribes drew up two lists of castleguard for each castellany, one extracted from the rolls of Henry I, the other extracted from the current returns (both survive for Jouy; see *Rôles*, 318–30). When the inquest recommenced, however, the commissioners abandoned their attempt to reconcile the discrepant evidence on military obligations.

110. Giles of Villenauxe was a trusted companion of Thibaut since the mid-1240s and had accompanied the count to the Council of Lyon (1245) and to Navarre (1247). He was probably bailiff of Provins by the summer or fall of 1249 (replacing Gérard de la Noue, who became a chamberlain; Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 471, 481), although he is first mentioned as bailiff in March 1252 (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: xxiv–xxv). As a member of a knightly family in the castellany of Bray, he held three rear-fiefs in 1250: a minor rent that he shared with his brother; a 10*l.* revenue by collateral inheritance from a relative; and a 21*l.* revenue representing half of a fief that he divided with his older brother Pierre, from whom he held it (*Rôles*, nos. 95, 99, 111). Giles became close to fellow commissioner Jacques of Rebaix and served as an executor of his testament with Jacques' son, Master Guy (*Saint-Quiriace*, 345–46, no. 160, 1255).

111. AN, J 198, no. 91 (*Layettes*, 3: 122–23, no. 3931 = Longnon, *Documents*, 1: xxiii–xxiv, n. 1; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 10A). This letter should be dated between October 1250 (Thibaut's last act in Champagne) and 18 February 1251, when the count did homage to the bishop of Langres in Lyon (CR 8, fol. 207r). On 28 March 1251 Innocent IV renewed his earlier exemption (see n. 106 above) of six of the count's clerics from their residence requirement for five years (CR 8, fol. 52r, at Lyon). Thibaut may have left Lyon about that time; he arrived in Navarre by July 1251.

112. The earliest letter addressed to Giles of Villenauxe and Jacques of Rebaix (10 August 1251) is from Marie of Ramerupt, widow of Gaucher of Nanteuil, who sent a long letter written in French by her cleric Adam and sealed with her seal: she named her fiefs, her rear-fiefholders and their fiefs, and her recent alienations; she noted her collateral inheritance from her brother Erard II of Ramerupt (*Je suis femme monsignor le roi de l'eschoite qui m'est eschoite monsignor Erard non frere, mais je ne say encore de coi, que nos n'avons mie party encore*); and she promised to make any corrections in her statement at the next Days at Provins on 1 October (LP 2: 452–58 > *Rôles*, no. 1355). On 1 October she clarified her earlier statement (LP 2: 451–52 > *Rôles*, no. 1356). See also Chapter 8 n. 31.

113. *Rôles*, nos. 383, 1023.

114. *Rôles*, no. 1233: Aubry, reading from a written text, called her residence a *castellum*. See Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 1: 95–96.

115. *Rôles*, no. 102. Dreux of Vichel was ordered to do homage within two weeks after Easter (*Rôles*, no. 718) and he did so (*Rôles*, no. 749, additional entry at the end of the roll for Oulchy).

116. *Rôles*, no. 1114.

117. *Rôles*, no. 94: *Requisita quomodo monachi habebant dictum censum, dixit se nescire; sed postea debet dicere veritatem*.

118. *Rôles*, no. 792.

119. *Rôles*, no. 466: *Retrofeodos et res alienatas debet dicere infra Madalenam*.

120. *Rôles*, no. 1197: *De garda, de retrofeodis, de alienatis debet dicere*. Likewise with Huet of Romilly: *Feoda et gardam de Pontibus et alienata debet nominare infra Natale* (*Rôles*, no. 785).

121. One of the last regular entries is for Simon of Mareuil-lès-Meaux, a cleric who acquired his brother's fief by collateral inheritance. He was ordered to return a week after Christmas to describe the fief, his military obligation, and his alienations (*Rôles*, no. 547).

122. Longnon also assumed the existence of what I call "field returns" (Longnon, *Documents* 1: xxi). Their existence can be adduced from the way the clerics processed the information. The two entries for Robin of Puiseaux, made independently of each other on separate membranes of the same roll for Jouy, contain slightly different information from a single base source (the field return). The first entry (on the first membrane) is a complete account of his father's testimony: "Robert of Puiseaux, knight, on oath, said that his son Robin, who was absent, held from the count 10 arpents of land located between Puiseaux and Villeneuve near Rosoy in Brie. Jean of Puiseaux, knight, Robin's uncle, holds 5 quarters of land from him [Robin]. Emeline, his aunt, holds 1 arpent. Gérard, his cousin, holds 2 arpents. He [Robin] owes 1 month guard" (*Rôles*, no. 478). The second entry (on the second membrane) reads: "Robin of Puiseaux, squire, holds 6 arpents of land at Villeneuve near Rosoy. Lord Jean of Puiseaux holds 1 arpent of land from him at the same place. Emeline of Puiseaux holds 2 arpents of land from him at the same place. He [Robin] owes 1 month guard" (*Rôles*, no. 494). The scribe of the second entry recorded titles but not relationships, and he subtracted Robin's rear-fiefs from his direct possessions (since 4 of Robin's 10 arpents were held from him in rear-fief, Robin held only 6 arpents directly in his hand). Moreover, in attempting to condense the information, the scribe's eyes skipped over a line in the field return to read: "Emeline of Puiseaux [*omitted*: his aunt, holds 1 arpent. Gérard, his cousin] holds 2 arpents." The two scribes thus were reading (or listening to someone reading) the same base text.

123. A few additional entries were inserted until the end of the year. The latest datable entry is for Roussin of Villers-sous-Châtillon, who was instructed to report back by the Feast of Saint Remi (1 October) 1252, an entry added to an already completed roll (*Rôles*, no. 330).

124. The first membranes of most rolls are written in one or two hands in a clear and uniform script, apparently at one sitting, suggesting that they were fair copies of field returns: as one cleric read aloud from the field return, another verified, clarified, or added information. In later membranes a variety of hands filled in the spaces left open for future entries for those noted as being ill or overseas. The entries were then verified and corrected. In the Bray-sur-Seine roll, for example, the income from Gautier of Montmort's fief was corrected from 40*l*. to read 30*l*. (*Rôles*, 116); Lady Jacoba's full name ("of Abloy") was added to her entry (*Rôles*, no. 117); an entire village was added to the dower fief assigned to Lady Petronilla by her first husband (*Rôles*, no. 120); and Geoffroy of La Chapelle-Godfroy, who lacked a title, was later noted as being a squire (*Rôles*, no. 121). The membranes were sewn together lengthwise and rolled from top to bottom. Each roll was identified by castellany ("Fiefs of Bray") along the lower verso edge that faced outward in the rolled form. To locate a tenant the scribes had only to know his castellany, and to make a new entry they would have had to unroll only part of the roll's last membrane. They are remarkably like the pipe rolls of the English chancery; see Carpenter, "The English Royal Chancery," esp. 50.

125. *Rôles*, no. 1028. Hugh's father did indeed owe three months castleward in the 1170s (*Feoda* 1, no. 1770). Jean of Sarnay's widow said her fief owed no castleward at all; a scribe found that the old roster listed it for three months castleward (*Rôles*, no. 1300). Perhaps Jean's ancestor was Huric of Sarnay, who owed three months castleward in the 1170s (*Feoda* 1, no. 383).

126. *Rôles*, nos. 719, 806: both entries conclude with *retrofeoda debet nominare*, followed by the names of rear-tenants.

127. Jean of Seignelay's fief was described to the commissioners first by a neighbor, then in much greater detail by Jean himself: the scribes copied both reports from the field returns into the roll for Saint-Florentin before they realized the duplication and crossed out the first entry (*Rôles*, Saint-Florentin, nos. 1001, 1011). The scribes also crossed out Pierre of La Forêt's entry in the same roll because, they noted, his fief was located in the castellany of Ervy (*De castellaniam Erviaci est*); the exact same entry in fact appears in the roll for Ervy (*Rôles*, nos. 996, 371).

128. *Rôles*, nos. 1140, 1147: *littere patris sui dicunt quod hoc est unum feodum per se*. See Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 158–59 (genealogy of Arcis-sur-Aube).

129. AN, J 205, no. 35, undated original (*Rôles*, 313–14, no. 1357 = *Layettes*, 3: 153–54, no. 3992).

130. *Rôles*, 315–16, no. 1358.

131. His letter of 6 April 1252 (LP 2: 154–55) was summarized in a late addition to the third membrane of the roll for Troyes (*Rôles*, no. 1143). Earlier the count of Grandpré wrote to Thibaut IV, declaring that he was a liegeman for his wife's collateral inheritance of one-quarter of Ramerupt and promising to give security for the relief owed at the next Days of Troyes scheduled for 7 December (LP 2: 152–153; letter of 7 November 1250). See also Chapter 8 n. 32.

132. Philip of Plancy, canon of Troyes, sent a vernacular declaration of his fief to the commissioner Giles of Villenauxe (CR 8, fol. 468v, undated). Chancery clerics made two Latin abstracts of it (*Rôles*, no. 467, among the last entries in the roll for Isle; *Rôles*, no. 1138, last entry in second membrane of the roll for Troyes).

133. LP 3, fol. 23r (*Traité des fiefs*, 2: 244, 1251). Among the other letters: (1) Simon of Châteauvillain declares his fiefs and five rear-fiefholders (*Layettes*, 3: 117, no. 2919, January 1251, n.s.); (2) Simon of Clefmont declares that he holds his castle in fief and homage and renderable to the count (*Layettes*, 3: 161, no. 4008, 1251); (3) Guichard of Passavant, knight, declares his liege homage for two fiefs, a 30*l.* revenue at Bar-sur-Aube that his father received in April 1221 (in exchange for rights at Montigny-en-Bassigny) and a 30*l.* revenue at Bar that he received collaterally from Dreux of Apremont (whose widow had reported that 30*l.* rent *in bursa* [*Rôles*, no. 652]; AN, J 202, no. 31, 8 March 1251, n.s. > LP 3, fol. 100 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 241; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 10D).

134. The widow of the viscount of Rozet-Saint-Albin *debet feodum suum nominare ballivo quia nescit* (*Rôles*, no. 743). Pierre of Courpalay reported a 6*l.* rent in his letter addressed to the count's *baillis et ses feaibles* (LP 3, fol. 246v, mid-August, 1250).

135. Three rolls containing letters to the bailiffs survive today, but two others existed in the seventeenth century (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: xxvi–xxviii). The roll for Meaux (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 193–94) is entitled *Feodi castelli Meldensis per litteras* (at the top) and *Feodi per litteras* (bottom verso, visible when the parchment was rolled). The comparable rolls for Provins and Sainte-Menehould are entitled *Feodi baillivie Pruvinensis per litteras* (*Rôles*, 302–3) and *Feodi baillivie Sancte Manehuldus per litteras* (*Rôles*, 303–8).

136. Abbot Stephen accepted (AN, J 201, no. 24 > CR 8, fol. 351r) the count's amortization of properties acquired by Clairvaux since Thibaut IV's previous authorization in April 1231 (see Chapter 3 n. 136). The count's letter of March 1251 lists forty-two properties with the names of their donors (AN, J 210, no. 31 > LP 1, fols. 90v–93v = Clairvaux 2, 142–43bis). The abbot promised to return the letter in which Thibaut II confirmed what he and his uncle Hugh had given to Clairvaux, as well as *quod de casamento meo vel datum est vel dabitur monachis predicti loci* (Clairvaux, 51–52, no. 23, 1151, sealed by Thibaut II and Henry); the letter apparently was

destroyed after being returned to the count, as it was not copied into the later chancery cartularies.

137. CR 8, fol. 394r (Saint-Jacques of Vitry), fol. 396r (Belleau), and fol. 396r = *Layettes*, 3: 164, no. 4015 (Val-des-Vignes), all of July 1252.

138. The count's letter of 1223, which the monks were unable to locate in 1251, survives today; it is similar to his letter for Trois-Fontaines (see Chapter 3 n. 130). The count states: *concessi jure perpetuo possidendum quicquid iidem fratres et monasterium infra limites comitatus mei, karissime matre mea predictum comitatum Campanie gubernante, adquisierunt tam per emptionem quam per elemosinam* (AD Haute-Marne, 17 H 8, no. 19, December 1223 = *Cheminon*, 93). After the oath-taking in 1251, the count confirmed *tous les acquets qu'ils avoient acquis en notre terre et en noz fiefs en censives* (AD Marne, 17 H 8, no. 26, December 1251 = *Cheminon*, 120–21; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 11B).

139. Unlike Alphonse of Poitiers, who actively sought amortization taxes for the crusade of 1248 (Guébin, "Les amortissements").

140. Two fiefs of Simon III of Commercy (1248–1305) were seized because he had not done homage (*Rôles*, no. 47: *precepimus saisiri quia non tenet in manu sua idem dominus et non fecit homagium*).

141. *Layettes*, 3: 170, no. 4029, 15 November 1252 = Quantin, *Recueil*, 257–58, no. 543; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 11C.

142. Table C.1. The status of several other recently acquired castles is not clear. Baudement, purchased in 1211, apparently never became a comital castellany for administrative purposes (see *Elizabeth of Dreux). Anelot, on the other hand, which Blanche acquired in 1219 and where she constructed a fortress named Montéclair, did become a castellany center, but its roll for 1250 has not survived (it appears as a castellany center in the financial accounts of 1252 and in the inquest 1262; see Longnon, *Documents*, 3: 10, and *RôlesT*, nos. 5835–47).

143. See Chapter 1 n. 167.

144. See Chapter 6 n. 22.

145. *Layettes*, 1: 404, nos. 1080–81, August 1214 = *CB*, nos. 451, 452. For Thibaut's letter, see n. 50 above.

146. Thibaut spoke of fortresses *in comitatu Campanie* (*Thesaurus*, 1: 903–4, 1223; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 6) and of fiefs located "in the principality of Champagne . . . within the boundaries of my county" (see Chapter 3 n. 130).

147. *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 15, 115, January 1221, n.s. = Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 2: 49 = *CB*, no. 164: *castrum meum de Chaumont et totam castellaniam ejusdem castri . . . que omnia de allodio meo erant et intra terminos et puncta comitatus Campanie constituta sunt, recepi in feodo et homagio ligio . . . et inde deveni homo ligius* in return for 800*l.* and a 60*l.* rent (his letter was abstracted in *Hommages* 1, no. 3751). His son later made the same recognition in a letter to the count (*Layettes*, 3: 74, no. 3786, July 1249; abstracted in the roll of the bailiff of Meaux [*Rôles*, no. 1350]). Guy and Hugh of Châtillon spoke of their castles "within the county of Champagne and Brie" (LP 3, fols. 289–91, May 1224 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 158–59: *omnes vero fortericie quas ego et Hugo frater meus habemus in comitatu Campanie et Brie erunt jurabiles et reddibiles Theobaldi*; the count would notify them *per se scilicet vel per certum nuntium suum cum litteris suis patentibus* and promised to return the castles in the same condition in which he received them).

148. See n. 13 above.

149. See Chapter 5 n. 66.

150. Milo, dean of Saint-Etienne, asked Geoffroy of Villy and Henry, lord of Bordes, who were present at the count's court in Navarre, to seal a letter reporting the outcome of his chapter's case against the Templars regarding rights of justice

at Brecey. In their letter, Geoffroy and Henry said that the count, after hearing the inquest report, decided for Saint-Etienne, *secundum jus et consuetudinem curie Campanie* (Saint-Etienne, fol. 44v, December 1236).

151. The episcopal official of Meaux said that the bishop's fiefholders held their fiefs *ad usus et consuetudines Campanie*, specifically being obligated to preserve the value of their fiefs (Meaux, fols. 68v–69r, 1256). Ourliac, “Législation, coutumes et coutumiers,” 481–82, concludes that only after Philip II's conquest of Normandy was the expression *usus et consuetudines* applied in the provinces as a recognition of regional customs. Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 154–61, detects a sense of regional customs in Normandy even before 1204, but he agrees with Ourliac that region-specific practices were formally recognized only during the first decade of the thirteenth century. For the royal domain, see Olivier-Martin, *Histoire de la coutume*, 1: 26–36.

152. Henry V, count of Grandpré, promised to swear an oath against the count of Bar-le-Duc within forty days of being summoned by Thibaut IV in person or through his letters patent (*Layettes*, 2: 169–70, no. 2034, January 1230, n.s.). See also n. 147 above.

153. Contamine, *La noblesse*, 10, cites the fiefholders inventoried in 1250 as an example of an “aristocratie terrienne.” Waugh, “The Third Century of English Feudalism,” charts a parallel development in England during what he calls “the second century of English feudalism” (1166 to 1266), a period characterized by the use of written records to document feudal relationships, a decline in knighthood (from the 1220s), and the end of the barons' domination of the countryside.

154. Table C.1.

155. A decline from 1105 to 780 direct fiefholders (-29.5 percent) in fifteen castles for which there are rolls in 1178 and 1250 (Table C.1). The ten southernmost castellanies experienced a 14 percent decrease (Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 92, table 15).

156. See Chapter 3.

157. Table C.5.

158. He made the same distinction between his knights (*chevaliers*) and other fiefholders (*fevez*) in his communal franchises of 1230: *ge retaiç la jostise et la garde de mes eglises et de mes chevaliers et de mes fevez et de mes geis* (Coq, *Chartes*, 3–6, no. 1, September 1230).

159. Perroy, *Les familles nobles du Forez*, 14, dates the appearance of aristocratic squires in Forez to ca. 1230. Contamine, “Points de vue sur la chevalerie,” 255–58, gathers the evidence from several regions in France confirming the appearance of squires in the thirteenth century; he concludes that even Philip IV's ordinance of 1293, mandating that all squires over twenty-four years of age with an income of 200*l.* become knights, failed to increase the number of knights.

160. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry*, chap. 4, describes a similar development in England. In Champagne, the comital treasury paid 197*l.* for the robes of seven new knights in 1217/19 (Longnon, *Documents*, 3: 3), or about 28*l.* per knight, more than the annual revenue of an average fief (26.7*l.*); see Table C.7.

161. Faulkner, “The Transformation of Knighthood,” 20.

162. Faulkner, “The Transformation of Knighthood,” 23.

163. The Master of the Templars distinguished a *home de chevalier* from an *autre gentil home* (*Layettes*, 3: 246–49, no. 4184, July 1255).

164. The knight William Lichar held his 18*l.* fief from the squire Tierric of Fontaine (Saint-Etienne, fol. 221r–v, December 1234). The knight Stephan Bochez and his brother Milet, a squire, jointly held their fief from the squire William of Bernon, who held it from the monks of Montier-la-Celle (*Montier-la-Celle*, 126, no. 121, 1229).

165. All residents of Aulnay—but *non prestiteri, non clerici, non milites nec armigeri nobiles*—had to pay the tithe (AD Haute-Marne, 7 H 40, 1268).

166. Table C.5: 19.4 percent for the entire county versus 27 percent for the nine southernmost castellanies. It is not clear whether that 8 percent discrepancy reflects an actual higher proportion of women fiefholders around Troyes or results from a closer scrutiny of the rolls for those castellanies. In Burgundy, about 14 percent of the 402 fiefholders who did homage to the duke in 1315 were women (Caron, *La noblesse dans le duché de Bourgogne*, 200).

167. See Chapter 7 n. 7.

168. Table C.6.

169. Mesqui, “Maisons, maisons fortes ou châteaux,” 187, 194, 200, argues that contemporaries did not clearly distinguish between the terms, except that *castrum* designated an administrative center of a substantial lordship and *domus fort* might describe a structure of military significance. Guilbert, “Les maisons fortes,” 184, discounts the military significance of the *domus fortes*.

170. See n. 13 above.

171. Guilbert, “Les maisons fortes,” 178 n. 14, notes that *domus* as used in the *Rôles* means “lordly residence” (*maison seigneuriales*) as opposed to a lesser abode (*maison ordinaire*). Similarly in the county of Saint-Pol, the vernacular *manoir* refers to a fortified residence (Nieux, “Un exemple précoce de répertoire féodal,” 38–39).

172. *Rôles*, nos. 337, 338 (Gérard, the younger, *habet tantum quantum Hugo*), 343, 356. The remains of the rectangular fortified residence may be those identified as Le Marot (Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 4: 97). For the Montfey family, see Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 118, 189, and Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 2: 933–34. The four Buxeul children divided their inherited village similarly, but the eldest son took the fortified residence, apparently the family’s only residence (*Rôles*, no. 67); see also Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 118, and Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 269.

173. *Rôles*, nos. 1235, 1292, 1300. Jean eventually moved into the rectangular moated residence of Rosay (Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 3: 100–101), where he lived with his wife and daughter in 1294 (Saint-Denis, “Rosay”).

174. “Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains,” 80–82, no. 117, 1245: the knights Evrard and William paid 6*d.* and 37*d.* respectively to rent houses in the convent’s parish. Mathilda of Pont-sur-Seine had a rear-fief consisting of a mill *prope domum suam*, where she probably lived (*Rôles*, no. 794). The knight Jean of Montanglaust had only land in his ancestral village, where his younger brother Pierre, a *serviens* of the count, resided in the family’s residence (*domus*), which he held from Jean as a rear-fief (*Rôles*, no. 170). Jean resided at Le Corbier, where he held a house in rear-fief (*Rôles*, no. 1022).

175. Mouillebouche, *Les maisons fortes en Bourgogne*, 262–66, offers a sophisticated sociological analysis.

176. Table C.7. For dowry values, see Chapter 5.

177. The fief of Charmoilles, for example, originally owed four months castle-guard; but after being divided among four heirs, each quarter of the fief, which consequently became a separate fief, owed only one month (*Rôles*, nos. 620–23).

178. Table C.2. Comparable figures for the nine castellanies of the *bailliage* of Troyes are: 33.6 percent owed castle-guard, 28 percent explicitly did not, and 31 percent failed to mention it (Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 82–83, table 10).

179. *Rôles*, no. 812: *requisitus de garda, dixit se non debere, sed tamen recognoverat eam debere*.

180. *Rôles*, no. 817: *de garda dixit quod sicut audivit a patre suo gardam debere sed nescit quantum, ad minus per mensem*.

181. *Rôles*, no. 752: *nec eam fecit maritus suus per XL annos*.
182. *Rôles*, no. 1037: *debet gardam per XL dies vel per Sezanniam vel Pruvinum, et melius credit quod apud Pruvinum*.
183. *Rôles*, no. 852 (*ad scripta recurratur*), no. 797 (*de garda recurratur ad antiqua scripta*).
184. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 349–64, recounts her regency; a summary is in Evergates, “Aristocratic Women,” 85–86.
185. Gigot, *Chartes*, 49–50, no. 48, 30 November 1254: *jusque a dix livres de terre es aquest qu’il on fait en noz fiez*. Henry III later increased it to 36*l*. (AD Marne, 3 H 28, no. 40, 1271). Thibaut IV may well have tried this approach in 1251, when authorizing the nuns of Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains of Troyes to acquire 25*l*. from his fiefs and rear-fiefs (AD Aube, 23 H 5).
186. *Layettes*, 3: 246–49, no. 4184, 1255; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 12B.
187. For Thibaut V’s rule, see Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 365–428.
188. See Appendix B for the inquest on fiefs in 1262 (*RôlesT*), and Longnon, *Documents*, 3: 15–21, for the fragments of financial accounts from 1258–59.
189. William of Le Châtelet-en-Brie was bailiff of Meaux (1276), Chaumont (1278, 1281–83), Troyes (1283–84), and Sézanne (1278, 1284, 1286, 1292–99), and sat on the High Court in 1271 and 1278. He thus was thoroughly familiar with the court and its decisions (*Coutumier*, 10 n. 28). He cited two decisions dated 1270 (*Coutumier*, arts. 16, 19), apparently from the earliest register. Registers for the years 1284–95 and 1296–99 survived to the late fifteenth century (Benton, “Philip the Fair and the *Jours de Troyes*,” 303–4 [213–14]). The oldest manuscript of the *Coutumier* is from ca. 1300 (*Coutumier*, 97–99).
190. *Rethel*, 1: 287–88, no. 126, 1 November 1257; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 15.
191. *Layettes*, 4: 339, no. 5515, May 1269. The abbot of Hautvillers, who was in charge of collecting the tax in Champagne, notified the archpriests and rural deans in the dioceses of Reims, Châlons, Soissons, Meaux, Paris, Sens, Auxerre, Langres, and Troyes that the tax was to be collected from the lands of both the count’s vassals and the lands of churches and monasteries; parish priests were to furnish the names of crusaders, who were exempt (*Layettes*, 4: 389, no. 5585, October 1269).
192. See Chapter 3 at n. 154.
193. For Henry III’s rule, see Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 429–39.
194. Henry III’s most notable acquisition was the castellany of Beaufort with its twelve fiefholders and seven rear-fiefholders (see Chapter 8 n. 93).
195. An archival reorganization ordinarily preceded the making of a cartulary, and that appears to have been the case here. The *Liber Pontificum* (Cartulary-Register 8) survives, but the *Liber Principum* (Cartulary-Register 7) is known only through two later copies (Evergates, “The Chancery Archives,” 171–72).
196. For the regency of Blanche of Artois and Edmund of Lancaster, see Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 440–56; Evergates, “Aristocratic Women,” 87–88; Lalou, “Le gouvernement de la reine Jeanne”; and Brown, “The Prince Is Father of the King,” 296–311.
197. See Chapter 7 n. 7.
198. Longnon, *Documents*, 2: ix–xx, 9–183 (*Extenta Terre*, 1275–76) and 2: 309–416 (fief rolls of Blanche of Artois).
199. Benton, “Philip the Fair and the *Jours de Troyes*,” 283–87 [193–97].
200. Bautier, “L’exercice de la juridiction gracieuse en Champagne,” and Carolus-Barré, “L’ordonnance de Philippe le Hardi.” The Parlement of Paris supported the bishop of Meaux in disallowing the establishment in Meaux of a notarial office using the bailiff’s seal on the grounds that it was a new procedure. The Parle-

ment's decision of 17 May 1282 (*Les Olim*, 2: 197–98, no. 4) reflects the rapidity with which the ordinance of 1280 was implemented in Champagne.

201. *Les Olim*, 2: 119, no. 37.

202. *Les Olim*, 2: 100–102, no. 11.

203. Table C.1.

204. The evolution of the term “nobility” in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries requires a separate study; brief remarks are in Evergates, “Nobles and Knights,” 12–17. For the earlier period, see Werner, *Naissance de la noblesse*, and Martindale, “The French Aristocracy.”

205. Evergates, “Nobles and Knights,” 14.

206. “Vita de B. Joanne de Monte Mirabili,” 219, cap. 1. See *Jean I of Montmirail.

207. Garnier of Traînel, for example, identified himself in his own letters patent as *dominus* of Traînel; the episcopal chancery scribe of Troyes who wrote a confirmation of Garnier's letter added *vir nobilis* to Garnier's name (*Paraclet*, 120–21, no. 97, 1198; 134, no. 115, 1198). The episcopal scribe who confirmed the letters patent of Jean of Brienne (regent count of Brienne) for his nephew, did the same, even though Jean did not use that phrase in his own letter (“Bassefontaine,” 15–16, nos. 9–10, 1210). The episcopal chancery of Châlons likewise called the seneschal, Simon of Joinville, a *vir nobilis* in confirming his letters patent (Simonnet, *Essai*, 116–17, 1213).

208. Gigot, *Chartes*, 54–56, no. 54, 1255 (*Gie, Jehanz de Chastiavillain, chevaliers, filz au noble baron Symon*); 166–68, no. 148, 1263 (*Je, Jehans, sires de Joinville, seneschau de Champaingne, et je, Aalis, femme au devant-dit Jehan, fille au noble baron Gauthier, signour de Risnel*).

209. *Paraclet*, 199–200, no. 219, 1237; Roland, “La maison de Rumigny-Florennes,” 301–2, no. 23, 1259: Isabelle confirmed his act after inspecting his letter.

210. Oyes, fol. 5r–v, December 1250: *Ego Hugo, nobilis vir, dominus Brecurum, notum volo*.

211. The court stenographer copied Jean's statement: *cum idem sit nobilis castellanus et in maxima nobilitate castellaniam suam cum aliis a domino Campanie obtineat* (Benton, “Philip the Fair and the *Jours* of Troyes,” 323–24, no. 62; text in Brussel, *Nouvel examen*, 2: 865–66).

212. Benton, “Philip the Fair and the *Jours* of Troyes,” 316, no. 40, 1288; text in Brussel, *Nouvel examen*, 1: 231–32 note a: *quod gentes Campanie pro domino rege bene usi sunt et sunt in possessione cognoscendi et habendi cognitionem de omnibus nobilibus Campanie super bonas mobilibus et catallis et super factis criminalibus*.

213. AD Haute-Marne 7 H 103, 1181: *si quis de nobilibus terraram aliquam dare voluerit . . . que de suo proprio sit allodio . . . ei facere liceat*. Geoffroy of Joinville allowed Montier-en-Der to acquire fiefs from *nobiles viri* without tax (Simonnet, *Essai*, 56, 1184).

214. In 1218 the abbot of Longuay referred to three *milites* of Aulnoy-sur-Aube as *prefati nobiles* (AD Haute-Marne 1 H 27, 1218); one of these knights, Gérard of Arguel, held a small comital fief (*Feoda* 4, no. 2806). See Chapter 3 n. 93 for the “fiefs of nobles” in 1273.

215. As the High Court put it: *nobiles hons ou noble femme, c'est a savoir vauvassour* (*Coutumier*, art. 2).

216. See Chapter 8 at n. 97.

217. *Coutumier*, art. 6, ca. 1270: *Encor us'on en Champagne que se noble femme prant homme de poeté a mari, li sires de cui elle tient le fié ne le prant a hommaigne si il ne veut. Et se la demoiselle a hoirs, après le decepts de la demoiselle, il sunt desheritez, et li sires prant le fié en son demoinne, pour ce que li enfant sievent la peur condicion* (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 39).

218. *Feoda* 1, no. 894: *serviens erat*. In 1250 Thibaut of Danboen, *filius serviens*, held his wife's 10*l.* fief-rent from the count but, a scribe noted, *adhuc non fecit homagium* (*Rôles*, no. 1055). The Parlement of Paris ruled that Amaury of Meudon was not required to do homage to Jean Froger, a burgess of Paris who had purchased the *mouvance* of Amaury's fief, after Amaury disparaged Jean by calling him a "peasant" (*rusticus*) who had purchased rather than inherited the fief (*Actes du Parlement de Paris*, 1: 47, no. 528, 1261).

219. See Chapter 3 n. 165.

220. *Coutumier*, art. 11: *Coustume est en Champagne que li chatelain et li baron de Champagne donent bien en fié et en honmaige de lour herritaiges aux gentiz hommes et les en puent repaïre a hommes en reconpansacion de leurs servises, et ainsins en ont-il usé tousjourz*.

221. Autrand, "L'image de la noblesse." In the case of the knight Pierre Aus Macues, whose status had been challenged, the Parlement of Paris directed the bailiff of Vermandois to verify that Pierre's grandfather had been a knight and, if that was the case, to recognize Pierre as worthy (that is, had the capacity) of being a knight (*Actes du Parlement de Paris*, 1: 60, no. 661, 1262).

222. Caron, *La noblesse dans le duché de Bourgogne*, gives a detailed analysis of the criteria used to determine the nobility of particular persons (status of one's parents, record of service, lifestyle, public recognition of being a noble).

223. They sealed letters copied from his model letter accepting that (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 486–87, nos. 61–65: *evanescet homagium et nullius firmitatis existet*).

224. Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 515–16; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 64.

225. Brown, "Reform and Resistance," 118, 127.

226. Brown, "Reform and Resistance," 117, notes that of all the regional leagues, only the nobles of Champagne claimed to represent an entire province.

227. Quantin, *Cartulaire générale*, 2: 186, 1166: *in curia mea, coram baronibus meis*.

228. See Appendix B n.1.

Chapter 3. The Circulation of Fiefs

1. Bisson, "Conclusion," in *Fiefs et féodalité*, 464, notes the overwhelming evidence of a "veritable culture of the fief" and its attendant practices in Languedoc from the late eleventh century. Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne*, offers a full-scale study. For pointed remarks on the "feodophobia" of some present-day medievalists, see Bonnassie, "Introduction," in *Fiefs et féodalité*, 7–21.

2. It is of historiographical interest to note that Brussel begins his *Nouvel examen de l'usage général des fiefs*, 3–4, by showing how entries in the fief rolls relate to letters patent copied in the Liber Principum.

3. Laymen and most scribes from the early decades of the twelfth century preferred *feudum*, although its older synonym *casamentum* (from *casatus*) survived even within the comital chancery until 1200, when the language of fiefholding became fixed. An episcopal scribe at Noyon noted in 1115: *tradiderat in beneficium, quod nos laica lingua dicimus feudum* (*Nesle*, 2: 19, no. 1, 1115). But scribes who had not seen *feudum* written, wrote it phonetically: *in pheudo* (*Molesme* 1: 211, no. 227, early twelfth century); *feoudia* (*Pontigny*, 145, no. 75, 1126), and *fiodum* (*Saint-Nicaise*, 218–19, no. 44, 1121, original: the archbishop of Reims called the same property a *feudum* [*Saint-Nicaise*, 219–20, no. 45, 1121]). House style, and perhaps even scribal preference, varied until the 1190s: what the nuns of the Paraclete called *feudi* held from the lord of Nogent-sur-Seine (*Paraclet*, 98–105, no. 83, 1194), the monks of nearby Vauluisant called *casamenti* (Vauluisant, fol. 102r, 1195). See also Bur, *Forma-*

tion, 393–95. In Picardy, *feodum* appeared in the mid-eleventh century (*Homblières*, 74–75, no. 27), and in Berry from the 1070s (Devailly, *Le Berry*, 220).

4. Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne*, 155.

5. Didier, *Le droit des fiefs* (1945) and Boutruche, *Une société provinciale* (1947) were the first to understand that dynamic.

6. Benton, “Written Records,” proposed “the concept of system” as a way of looking at homage, arguing that contemporaries were fully aware of how to “use” multiple and liege homages, that is, how to manipulate the “system” to advantage. I prefer to apply “system” to the tenure of property, much in the spirit of Brussel’s *Nouvel examen de l’usage général des fiefs*. It is indeed ironic that Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals* (1994), who likewise stresses tenure over homage, dismisses “the concept of the fief” as “essentially post-medieval” (p. 12). Her speculative musings, including the notion that “professional lawyers” were responsible for the practices relating to fiefs, are entirely discordant with the evidence presented here.

7. The monks of Montier-en-Der were especially sensitive to expropriations. They noted that Roger of Joinville *feodaverat* Erard, count of Brienne, with altars unjustly taken from them, and that Erard gave one to the knight Ingelbert (*Montier-en-Der*, 287–89, no. 146, 1114). They noted as well that Arnold, count of Reynel, later *feodaverat* some of their land (see Chapter 1 n. 21). André of Baudement, the count’s seneschal, admitted that he *pro feodo se injuste tenuisse* 20 *modii* of Lagny’s wine revenues (Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 648–649, 1132).

8. Pope Adrian IV described the case against Henry: *Redditus quoque ipsius ecclesie militibus in beneficia dare disponit, unde contingit, ut ecclesie Dei laicali violentia opprimantur et secularibus debeant subiacerere pressuris* (Lowenfeld, *Epistolae Pontificum Romanorum*, 122, no. 225, October 17, 1155). The abbot first complained to the pope in the late 1120s about *quidam parrochiani* whose depredations consisted of obtaining *concessionones et feodi* from the abbey’s revenues (*ibid.*, 83–84, no. 168, 1125–29; 87, no. 174, 27 January 1131).

9. *Montier-en-Der*, 253–54, no. 121, ca. 1089/90. Montier-en-Der had its own enfeoffed knights (*Montier-en-Der*, 245–48, no. 116, ca. 1085–89: *equitatibus quos casatos vocant*).

10. Hugh spoke in 1103 as if he had recently granted fiefs to his fiefholders (see Chapter 1 n. 56). See Chapter 1 n. 111 for Thibaut’s grant of a fief-rent.

11. See Chapter 1 at nn. 114–121.

12. See Chapter 2 n. 36.

13. Table C.4 (65 of 455 fiefs).

14. See Chapter 1 n. 109 and Chapter 2 n. 27.

15. Blanche licensed Robert II of Dreux to construct a castle at Fère only after he augmented his existing fief at Braine with his land at Fère, which he certified as *de allodio*, that is, an *allodium a domino non tenebam* (see Chapter 2 n. 38). Blanche herself held the contested castle of Chaumont in augmentation of the fief she already held from the bishop of Langres (see Chapter 2 n. 31).

16. See Chapter 2 n. 27, and Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, 276–77. In the 1220s, for example, the castellan of Vitry’s son *fecit homagium ligium ante omnes homines de Capella juxta Varemout, et ideo comes dedit ei in augmentum feodi sui triginta libratis terre* (*Hommages* 1, no. 4108). The count gave the same amount to Hugh of Vallery for his allodial conversion (see Chapter 2 n. 96).

17. The treasury encumbered six accounts for the disbursement of fief-rents (*solutio feodorum*): general revenues, the wine taxes in Troyes and Provins, revenues collected by the provosts, tolls at Pont and Nogent, fair revenues at Bar-sur-Aube, and revenues from the other fairs. In 1250 the net expenditure for fiefs was 3,561*l.* (5,300*l.*, less 1,679*l.* received in relief payments for collateral successions and 60*l.*

income from confiscated fiefs), or about 7 percent of the count's revenue (Longnon, *Documents*, 3: 15). In 1275 the toll at Coulommiers was estimated to yield 300*l.*, of which 200*l.* was encumbered by annual fief-rents; but since merchants were avoiding that route, the toll yielded only 160*l.* that year (Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 82).

18. The count's letter announcing the inquest of 1249–50 (Chapter 2 n. 111) does not mention allods, but the inquest commissioners did ask about the alienation of allods (with their fiefs) as well as fiefs (*Rôles*, no. 819: *requisitus de allodis et feodis, dixit se nescire*).

19. See n. 96 below.

20. Guichard of Passavant and his wife sold their village of Humes (which they had *liberum et de franco allodio*) with the *mouvance* over its fiefs and rear-fiefs to Thibaut IV for 2,000*l. tour.* (AN, J 197, no. 88, July 1256 > CR 8, fol. 545r). Guy of Cernay-en-Dormois and his mother Isabelle sold their village at Montfechier, which they held in *francum allodium*, with its four homages (that is, fiefs) to Avenay for 200*l.* (Avenay, 2: 131–33, nos. 93–94, November 1254). Guy of Saint-Sepulcre, lord of Champlost, sold a village with seven fiefs to Thibaut V for 230*l.* (CR 8, fols. 308v–309r, September 1258). The knight Thibaut of Sarcey gave the monks of La Crête one-fourth of a tithe and a *feodum* held from him *feodalter*, which *de suo proprio alodio movet* (AD Haute-Marne, 5 H 9, 1256).

21. Olivier-Martin, *Histoire de la coutume*, 1: 218–21.

22. The only extant register of a baron's fiefholders in Champagne is the one that Philip III of Plancy (1273–1317) had drawn up shortly after inheriting the lordship of Plancy from his uncle Jacques (Plancy, fols. 5r–14r, October 1273). It inventories the fiefs of 57 fiefholders without any mention as to how or when the fiefs were acquired. An old lordship like Plancy, however, seems an unlikely source of new fiefs in the thirteenth century.

23. Brussel, *Nouvel examen*, 1: 126–27, emphasizes the fundamental difference between infeudation and allodial conversion in the origin of fiefs. He draws many examples of the *fief de reprise* from the chancery cartularies of Champagne.

24. Chénon, *Étude sur l'histoire des alleux*, is still valuable.

25. *Paraclet*, 119–20, no. 96, 1197: since his father possessed it as an allod (*illud possedit liberum, ut allodium suum*), Anselm and his sister gave half of the woods *ab omni exactione et usuario et dominio absolutum*.

26. “Mores,” 94–95, no. 109, May 1248: *a nullo homine tenebat et nulli servitium reddebat, set erant* [land, vineyards, rents] *de alodio suo*; he made that sale *cum adhuc armiger esset et necdum erat uxori obligatus*. The knight Gunther of Ville-sur-Arcis recognized . . . *quod suprascripta omnia libere et pacifice absque omni servitio in alodio habebat et possidebat* (Clairvaux 2, 253, no. 42, November 1220).

27. The brothers Anselm and Raoul of Comblizy, both knights, affirmed that the pasture they sold to Amour-Dieu of Troissy *non ab aliquo domino sed tanquam proprii domini franchi, libere et absolute tenebant* (AD Marne, 69 H 21, 1241). Their two brothers, sister, mother, and wives consented, in a familial *laudatio*.

28. The knight Pierre of Bouy-sur-Orvin sealed a letter bequeathing his grange to the Cistercians at Sellières, saving a lifetime right for his wife Agnes (May 1219). After his death (August 1222), Agnes and her new husband, the knight Renaud of Marpigny, had Pierre's letter confirmed by the bishop of Troyes (*sicut in litteris ejusdem Petrus sigilla sigillatis*). Thirteen years later (May 1235), Dreux, lord of Trainel, brought suit against the monks, claiming Pierre's property as his fief (*de feodo meo*). The abbot and monks claimed that it was in fact an allod (*de franco alodio, sicut semper dicebat predictus Petrus de Boy quam diu vixit*), just as Pierre's wife claimed. Dreux ultimately quitclaimed (Sellières, fol. 30r, May 1219; 30r–v, August 1222;

31v–32r, May 1235). Without Dreux's suit, we would not know that Pierre's property was a fief.

29. See Chapter 2 n. 31. An inquest was required to determine whether two properties held by the castellan of Bar-le-Duc were *allodium an feodum comitis Campanie* (*Feoda* 5, no. 3649, ca. 1201–4). In 1265 Louis IX arbitrated a dispute that degenerated into a full-scale war over the allodial status of the castellany of Ligny (Bur, "En marge du rattachement," 11–12).

30. Didier, *Le droit des fiefs*, 8–9, 41–47, concludes that in Hainaut allods were converted to fiefs from the 1170s. Allodial conversions occurred earlier in Flanders: in 1133 Count Thierry forced a certain Raoul to hold his allod as a fief and perform the service owed for a fief that Raoul had alienated without license (*De Oorkonden der Graven van Vlaanderen*, 2:42–43, no. 18, 1132; another example on 45–46, no. 20, 1133). In Languedoc, allodial castles were converted to fiefs from the early twelfth century (Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne*, 152–57), perhaps even from the late eleventh century (Duhamel-Amado, *Genèse des lignages méridionaux*, 161–65, and "Inféodations entre parents"). Boutruche, *Une société provinciale*, 30–31, sees the twelfth century as the period of allodial conversions in the Bordelais. In Burgundy and Auxerre, on the other hand, allodial conversions occurred primarily in the thirteenth century (Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, 102–4, 269–78, and Sassier, *Recherches*, 165).

31. Raoul of Glennes: *apud Glanam vineam et medietatem terre sue, et viginti quinque libras habuit* (*Feoda* 1, no. 789). Jacques of Les Sièges received 20*l.* *ut esset homo comitis* (*Feoda* 1, no. 357). Three men were listed in the fief roll for Wassy: Aubert of Brachey received 20*l.* *pro recipiendo allodio suo* (*Feoda* 3, no. 2684); Aubert Angerus *habuit quindecim libras pro allodio suo* (*Feoda* 3, no. 2695); and Raoul of Dommartin-le-Franc *centum quinquaginta libras pro allodio suo similiter, quod recepit de comite* (*Feoda* 3, no. 2696). Before 1163 Hugh of Tagnon converted his allod to a fief, then exchanged it for an annuity of five *modii* of grain from Saint-Martin of Laon; the count consented because, he said, *allodium illud . . . apud Barras de me in feodum tenebat* (AD Marne, H 318).

32. Raoul of Combault *ponet in feudo meo* (LB, 85–86, no. 45, 1178). Adam of Commercy gave to the monks of Cheminon the mill he held from the count, then substituted his own mill for his alienated comital fief (*Cheminon*, 60–61, 1187); he was listed for it ca. 1190 (*Feoda* 3, no. 2531). Raoul of Châlons *ponet in feodo comitis* the 70*l.* he received from selling his comital fief (toll revenues) to Guy of Dampierre (*Feoda* 5, no. 3201, ca. 1201). O. of Montgrueux gave or sold his fief to Oger of Saint-Chéron, then *posuit in feodo comitis* his own allod (*Feoda* 1, no. 255).

33. The same occurred in Picardy (Fossier, *Picardie*, 2: 668 n. 214).

34. For the contemporary conversion of castles to fiefs in Burgundy, see Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, 269–71.

35. Nicholas IV of Rumigny (1179–1206), for example, converted his castle shortly before he first appeared in the fief roll for Épernay (*Feoda* 2, no. 2261: *ligius de castello et appendiciis de feodo novo*). He appeared among the count's "great" fief-holders (*Feoda* 4, no. 2921, ca. 1201); after his death chancery scribes noted that his widow held his castle renderable (*Feoda* 4, no. 2936: *castrum jurabile et reddibile*). A biography is in Roland, "La maison de Rumigny-Florennes," 169–88. See also Chapter 2 nn. 16–17.

36. See Chapter 2 n. 67.

37. Since the castle and castellany of Chaumont-Porcien were allodial (*de allodio meo*), said Roger of Rozoy, *recepit in feodo et homagio ligio . . . et deveni homo ligius* of Blanche and Thibaut (ANJ 196, no. 6 and 202, no. 6, 15 January 1221 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2:15, 115 = CB, no. 164; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 7).

38. See Chapter 2 n. 13.

39. *Layettes*, 2: 272–74, no. 2312, September 1234: 40,000*l.* in cash and 2,000*l.* in rent to be assigned *in terra plana in comitatu Campanie et Brie, in qua nec habeo fortericiam nec potero facere quam teneo et tenebo in allodio, ad usus et consuetudines aliorum allodiorum Campanie et Brie, quamdiu vixero.*

40. The bishop of Langres had complained to royal officials, who brought suit against Erard. The High Court's stenographer recorded Erard's defense: *Dicebat Erardud de Dinteville, armiger, quod cum ipse in quodam allodio suo sito infra fines comitatus Campanie, de quib dictus armiger de novo venit ad hommagium comitis Campanie, quandam domum fortem edificare incepisset, gentes regis Francie ad requisitionem episcopi Lingonensis inhibuerunt eidem armigero ne in loco amplius edificaret, quamquam in eodem allodio sint plures aliae domus fortes que tenentur in feodum a comite supradicto* (Brussel, *Nouvel examen*, 1: 385 note a; see also Benton, "Philip the Fair," 308 no. 13, 1285). His case was referred to the Parlement of Paris, but its disposition is unknown. Erard was the younger brother of Pierre II of Dinteville (*Coutumier*, 152 n. 5); see also Chapter 8 ("Jaucourt").

41. Jean of Sarnay *fecit homagium ligium de viginti libratibus terre quas comes dedit ei, ad esgardam Johannis of Cathalauno et Auberti de Plasseto, et posuit idem Johannes villam de Sanncto Quintino in feudo comitis* (*Hommages* 1, no. 4110, 1220s). Eustace and Hugh of Conflans divided each village into equal parts, then converted the two halves of each village to two fiefs held from the count, for which each brother received 600*l.* (AN, J 202, nos. 26–27, November 1249 > LP 3, fol. 56r–v = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 40). They declared the fiefs during the inquest the next year (*Rôles*, nos. 1172, 1173).

42. Gigot, *Chartes*, 59–60, no. 58, March 1255: letter of the seneschal Jean of Joinville describing the allodial conversion by the knights Aubert of Sainte-Livère, Roger of Chatonrupt, and Aubert of Royecourt, co-lords of the village. Aubert of Saint-Livère sealed a letter of receipt for the 100*l.* he received for his one-third share: *Je Aubers, chevaliers, sires de Sainte Lyviere, fas savoir a touz cex qui ces lettres verront et orront que je ai repris mon aluë de Fronville et tout ce que je ai en la ville et en finage, en toutes chose, de l'esglise de Saint Ourbain, en fié et en homage* (Gigot, *Chartes*, 44–45, no. 44, April 1254). He also held two small comital fiefs (*Rôles*, nos. 1261, 1271).

43. Little is known about Philip of Chalette-sur-Voire. He held his wife's inheritance, part of the tithe of Gevrolles, in fief from Simon of Brecons, then sold it to the chapter of Langres (*Langres*, 72–73, no. 31; 163–64, no. 136, both of 1188; see also Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 469–70, 291–95). Agnes of Cunfin was the daughter of Roger of Cunfin, who had mortgaged part of the village to Clairvaux in the 1160s (*Clairvaux*, 115, no. 97, before 1163: the mortgage was structured as a sale for *pecunia*, with the right of repurchase within five years; Roger later confirmed the sale). In 1200 Philip of Chalette and Agnes gave all of *dominus* Roger of Cunfin's possessions in woods and rents there (*Clairvaux*, 528–29, no. 412). In 1202 Philip declared that his wife's share of Cunfin was a free allod when he converted it to a fief: *dictus Philippus per veritate assererat se hec omnia a nemine tenuisse usque ad presens tempus, scilicet de libero alodio esse. De quo alodio ambo se penitus devestierunt et domus Clarevalensis de toto investierunt; quod alodium fratres Clarevalensis tradiderunt eidem P. et heredi ejus in casamentum tali conditione, quod nec ipse nec heres ejus poterit illud alienare sive invadiare vel aliquo modo ad alium transfere sine consensu voluntate fratrum Clarevallensium* (*Clairvaux* 2, 217–18, no. 15, 1202). Their son Garnier and daughters Beatrice and Saracena consented, but two other married daughters, Legarde and Rotilda, already had taken their dowries (*antea maritis tradite partem suam acceperant et maritatum*) and thus their consent was not required. In 1215 Garnier initially denied having to do homage (*denegabat facere hominum abbati*) despite his consent contained in the earlier document, the monks noted; they fined him for denying that homage

(Clairvaux 2, 218–19, no. 16). Garnier dowered his wife Humbeline with his mother's property, which, since they lacked children, escheated to his sister Legarde; she in turn gave it as dowry to her daughter Agnes, who later returned the fief to Clairvaux (Clairvaux 2, 226, no. 41, 1229). In sum, a secular allod (until 1202) became a monastic fief for twenty-seven years (1202–29) before becoming a monastic allod. Garnier's sister Saracena and her husband, the knight Milo of Mornay, also converted allodial property there (Clairvaux 2, 225, no. 36, January 1228, n.s.).

44. "Mores," 81–82, no. 74, 1216 = Chacenay, 42–43, no. 89: letter of Erard II of Chacenay announcing that Milo *recognovit se fuisse hominem Beate Marie de Moris, et coram multis aliis fecit hominum Radulpho, abbati de Mores, itaque omnia que possidebat apud Beurrey in bosco et in plano, in redditus et omnibus aliis rebus idem Milo cepit de ecclesia Beate Marie de Moris*. Two years later Milo sold all his possessions at Beurey to Mores to support his expedition to Jerusalem ("Mores," 83, no. 78, 1218), just as his father Huldier had converted lands to pay for his Fourth Crusade expenses. See Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, I: 175–76.

45. A good example is Gautier of Nully's monastic fief, which survived two years (1237–39) after Montier-en-Der paid him 200*l.* for converting his allodial tithes at Nully, Thil, and Trémilly. According to the abbot, Gautier *recepit in homagium ab abbate* what he held *in allodium* at Nully, and Gautier's wife, who consented, requested this letter from him (AD Haute-Marne, 7 H 84, April 1237). When Gautier appeared before the bishop of Langres to record the transaction, he called the 200*l.* payment a loan (*mutuum*), for which the abbot would collect 45*l.* annually from the revenues until the principal was repaid (AD Haute-Marne, 7 H 94, 1237). Two years later, before the crusade of 1239, Gautier *recognovit se tenere et possidere in feodum a monasterio sepedicto* (tithes worth 56 *setiers* annually), and that the abbot had given him 230*l.* for that recognition (AD Haute-Marne, 7 H 84, March 1239, n.s.). In September 1239 Gautier's wife Agnes and his sisters Alix and Adeline consented to Gautier's "gift" to the abbey of the tithes of Nully, Thil, and Trémilly, and Alix swore not to make any claim *dotis nomine vel aliquo alio titulo* (AD Haute-Marne, 7 H 84, September 1239).

46. Keyser, "La transformation de l'échange des dons," based on a close analysis of Montier-la-Celle's archive.

47. *Molesme*, 2: 195, no. 213, before 1125: *Sed quia illa terra de casamento meo erat, et sine meo assensu nec dare nec vendere eam poterat*. Gérard of Fismes similarly enjoined the monks of Igny: *de feodo sua nichil possunt emere vel per elemosina recipere monachi sine licencia Gerardi* (Igny, fols. 85r–86v, 1150).

48. *Montier-la-Celle*, 31, no. 25, 1138.

49. Oyes, fol. 3r, no. 7, 1148; fols. 3v–4r, 1151 (confirmation): *omnia que in casamento meo et in feodis hominum meorum, tam emptione quam elemosina hactenus aquisivit et deinceps acquirere poterit*. The elaborate ritual by which the knight Burdin of Sommeval, his wife Elizabeth, two sons, and two daughters appeared in the cloister of Saint-Jean-en-Chastel in Troyes, where they all symbolically placed (*posuerunt*) their tithe revenues on the altar in the presence of many monks, the count and his wife, and young prince Henry, had all the appearances of a familial donation for spiritual benefits; but it was a sale (*emptio*), for which they received 20*l.* The count consented, his cleric William affixed his seal to the document, and thirteen-year-old Henry marked a cross on it (*Montiéramey*, 56–58, no. 32, 1140).

50. Henry I's grants: to his chapter of Saint-Quiriace of Provins *quicquid preterea donatione vel emptione seu alio modo . . . tam de casementis et feodis meis* (*Saint-Quiriace*, 231–32, no. 8, 1159); to the new chapter of Saint-Maclou of Bar-sur-Aube, *de feodo meo vel ab hominibus meis dono vel emptione acquirere poterunt* (Benton, "Recueil," 1160a); and to Sellières, *concessi etiam quicquid in omnia feodo meo emptione vel elemosine*

acquirere poterint absque ulla contradictione in pace possideant (Sellières, fol. 21r, 1179). In the Paris region, too, fiefs were sold from the mid-twelfth century (Fourquin, *Les campagnes de la région parisienne*, 121–22).

51. Unnamed relatives (*propinquiues*) as well as his wife consented to his sale (for 30*l.*) of part of his fief to Saint-Pierre-aux-Monts; the count, from whom the fief moved, approved and sealed the document (AD Marne, H 585, 1161). Renier still held a fief owing three months castleward in ca. 1178 (*Feoda* 1, no. 186).

52. Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne*, 175, notes a similar traffic in fiefs in Languedoc.

53. See Chapter 1 n. 117.

54. *Feoda* 1, no. 1194: *Heres Pagini Surdi, custodiam; apud Sanctos, domus sua et terra*. [added] Roger Coterellus emit. *Feoda* 1, no. 752: *clericus quidam tenebat et vendidit Thome de Fimis*. Thomas acquired two other fiefs between 1178 and 1190 (*Feoda* 1, nos. 794, 828).

55. *Feoda* 5, no. 3400, ca. 1201. Giles of Acy purchased a fief for his son (*Rôles*, no. 543), as did Iter of Racines (*Hommages* 2, no. 5236, after 1234: *Feodum est apud Boeoi, scilicet hoc quod emit de domino Milone de Pontibus in castellanii Sancti Florentini; et sciendum quod, si Iterus habebit duos pueros masculos, alter eorum erit ligius regis* [Thibaut IV], *alter domini Galcheri [de Sancto Florentino]*).

56. Odard paid Blanche 100*l.* and agreed to invest an additional 300*l.* to increase the fief's value (*in cresencia ejusdem feodi*), thus creating a 400*l.* fief (producing 40*l.* revenue) for his son (*Layettes*, 1: 430–31, no. 1178, April 1216, n.s.).

57. William and Stephen of Torcenay paid Lady Agnes, daughter of the knight Odo of Pailly, 100*l.* for the tithe she held in fief from the knight Hugh of Montorz, who accepted them as his fiefholders (AD Haute-Marne, F 575, January 1229, n.s.).

58. William of Villemoyenne held his wife's inheritance (one-third of the advocacy of Saint-Laumier) as a comital fief (*Feoda* 5, no. 3138, ca. 1201). They sold it to the knight Aubert of Le Plessis and his wife Margaret at an unspecified date for 300*l.* Then Aubert, with the count's consent, sold it to Saint-Pierre-aux-Monts for 550*l.* and spiritual benefits, for which he sealed a receipt (AD Marne, H 655, July 1227 and 28 September 1228).

59. Longnon, *Recherches*, 202, no. 84, April 1207.

60. See Chapter 8 n. 93.

61. *Preuilly*, 24–25, no. 24, 1139–52.

62. Henry I consented to Hugh of Romilly's gift (alienation) *quoniam de feodo meo erat* (Sellières, fol. 21r, 1179), even through the count lost the *estagium* of a liege fief (*Feoda* 1, no. 2637). In his letter for Saint-Urbain, Guy of Joinville described the provenance of his gift as *lo fié que je achatai a mon seignor Huon de Franville* (Gigot, *Chartes*, 15–16, no. 15, February 1248, n.s.).

63. Blanche's endowment grant to Argensolles mentions several fiefs she had purchased (GC, 9: *instr.*, 132–33, no. 53; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 104A). Thibaut IV had given her *carte blanche* to acquire property *in omnibus feodi meis ubicumque* (AD Marne, 70 H 12, January 1225, n.s.). For Auda's dowry, see Chapter 5 n. 32.

64. Larrivour eventually purchased the fief with this license (Larrivour, fol. 15r, no. 20, December 1229, letter of Gautier IV, count of Brienne: *quod est de feodo meo, usque ad trecentos arpennos vel quatuor centum vendat monachis de Ripatorio vel aliis gentibus si vendere poterit. . . . In cujus rei testimonio litteras istas sigillo meo sigillatas ipsi Clarembaudo dedi*); trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 58. Pierre of Monguillon licensed the heirs of the knight Etienne of Mélanfroy to sell their share of the Crevcoeur mill to whichever monastery they chose, notwithstanding its status as a fief (*Paraclet*, 167, no. 174, 1222: *darent ecclesie cujusque vellent, nonobstante ratione feudali*).

65. Evergates, “The Origin of the Lords of Karytaina,” 101–2.

66. AD Marne, H 718, nos. 1–7: two letters of Pierre of Bourmont announcing his appointment as Renaud’s *loco suo* (no. 2, printed in Evergates, “The Origin of the Lords of Karytaina,” 101–2 n. 45, 1223; and no. 5 of December 1223, a similar letter in which Pierre calls himself Renaud’s *procurator*); letters of Hugh, castellan of Vitry and Renaud III of Dampierre (December 1223) confirming the sale (nos. 6–7); a letter of Henry, count of Bar-le-Duc, stating that Renaud had named Pierre his procurator (*locus suus*) in Henry’s presence (no. 1); two letters from the bishop of Châlons, one confirming Renaud’s appointment of a procurator (July), the other confirming the sale already approved by *domini immediate feodi istius* (December 1223, nos. 3–4).

67. *Avenay*, 2: 103–7, nos. 53–58, 1219–20; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 72. In another example, the monks of Clairvaux preserved five sealed instruments regarding their purchase of the tithe of Morinville from Clarembaud V of Chappes and his brother Guy, provost of Saint-Etienne, for 640*l*. Three of the instruments (the consent of Clarembaud’s wife, the receipt of payment, and the confirmation by the bishop of Troyes) fail to identify the tithe as a fief. Only the brothers’ letter of sale and the count of Brienne’s letter of lordly consent identify it as a fief (Arbois de Jubainville, *Etudes*, 368–69, no. 24, December 1227; 373, no. 55, March 1228; 372–73, no. 53, March 1228; 374, no. 56, April 1228; 370, no. 45, April 1228).

68. The bishop of Troyes accepted the divestiture by Gérard and his wife Ida of land and revenues at Courgenay in return for a lifetime rent of three *modii* of grain from the Paraclete: *promisit etiam idem miles quod dictam elemosinam faciet laudari ab omnibus quorum necessarius est consensus* (*Paraclet*, 177, no. 190, March 1226). Gérard then appeared before Countess Blanche: *Et ego, de cujus feodo res movebat, elemosinam illam volui et laudavi* (*Paraclet*, 176, no. 189, 11 March 1226). In a similar case, the knight Hugh Chauderon failed to mention in his own letter (“Beauvoir,” 199, no. 32, 1228) that the tithe he gave to the Teutonic Knights was a fief he held from Simon of Joinville, who sealed a separate letter of consent: *Ego vero de cujus feodo supradicte res movent, dictam donationem laudavi et approbavi* (“Beauvoir,” 203–4, no. 38, 1231). See also Chapter 5 n. 90.

69. Brussel, *Nouvel examen*, 2: 852 note b, captures it well: “Le mot *pignore* signifie des terre tenuës en gage à cause d’une somme prêtée à celui qui en est le propriétaire.” Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, 80–87, is a useful guide to mortgages in general.

70. *Coutumier*, art 4: *Coustume est en Champagne que noble homme qui tiennent de fyé ne puent ne vendre ne engaigier ne alier en autrui main le fié qu’il tiennent de lour seignor a années fors que a III anz. Et quant il l’engaige a III anz, il doit venir a son signor et dire: “Sire, j’ai vendues les issues don fié que je tains de vous a III anz.” Le sires l’en doit louer ne ne lou droit contredire par raison, ne sires souverains pour raison des III anz ne puet mettre la main.* Among the few surviving letters of lordly consent to the mortgage of fiefs is Thibaut IV’s letter for Thierry of Chaumont, who had mortgaged his wife’s inherited fief to the nuns of Val-des-Vignes for 60*l*. (LP 1, fol. 145r, September 1233).

71. For mortgages to merchants and Jews, see Evergates, *Documents*, nos. 66–67.

72. AD Haute-Marne, 53 H 91, no. 1, 1165 = Edouard de Barthélemy, *Diocèse ancien*, 1: 401–2, no. 18: gift of an entire village, except the *feoda militum*, but with permission *quidquid poterunt acquirere vel emendo vel in vadium accipiendo aut in elemosinam suscipiendo de eisdem feodis*. *Jean of Possesse’s brother Hugh consented, as did those a *quibus casamenta movebant*. Much earlier, Roscelin of Bourbonne mortgaged to a canon for 7*l* the fief (land) he held from the bishop of Langres (*Langres*, 347–48, no. 353, 1113/25).

73. See Chapter 1 n. 158.

74. AD Aube, 31 H 14bis, fols. 174r–175v, 1218: his wife Emeline consented, as did Countess Blanche, who reserved her claim to the fief and its service (*Ego itaque istud laudavi, salvo feodo meo et salvo servicio meo*). Henry had held the fief since ca. 1190 (*Feoda* 1, no. 1998). The knight Jean the Bastard of Tournay allowed the monks of Cheminon to collect the revenues from the fief he held from Hugh of Grandpré, castellan of Vitry, for nine years in repayment of his 66*l*. mortgage; he was allowed 4 *modii* of grain annually for his own use during that time but could not “sell, mortgage, exchange, or alienate” the property (AD Marne, 17 H 136, no. 4, April 1233). His lord consented in a separate letter (AD Marne, H 136, no. 5, April 1233). Jean’s brother Bertrand made a similar arrangement with the same monks: they would collect the revenues of his lands for five years in return for the 30*l*. they gave him for crusade expenses (AD Marne, 17 H 136, no. 12, 1238).

75. CR 8, fols. 495r–496v, June 1252: she formally *divestivit* her land to Henry of Fontvannes, acting for the count. Petronilla of Jully also used the *vif-gage* to collect the 200*l*. she lent her brother-in-law, Odo of Frolois, constable of Burgundy, payable from the revenues of his comital fief at Virey-sour-Bar, which collateralized the loan (*Traité des fiefs*, 2: 215–16, November 1232).

76. Hugh of Antigny did liege homage for the 140*l*. fief-rent that Gérard of Vienne used to collect at the fairs at Bar-sur-Aube (LP 3, fols. 150v–151r, June 1239 = Plancher, *Histoire*, 2: *preuves*, iv). When Hugh mortgaged the fief to the count for 480*l*., he authorized the dean of Saint-Quentin and the count’s agent, Leo of Sézanne, to collect the revenue until his debt was paid in full (LP 3, fol. 151r–v, July 1250 = Plancher, *Histoire*, 2: *preuves*, v).

77. LP 3, fol. 182r–v, June 1224; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 66. Aubert of Le Plessis made the same promise to redeem within two years the comital fief he had mortgaged to the monks of Trois-Fontaines for 300*l*. (LP 3, fols. 211v–212r, December 1238); trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 69.

78. See Vendevre (Chapter 6 n. 16), Chaumont (Chapter 2 n. 31), Possesse (Chapter 8 nn. 121), and Beaufort (Appendix D n. 19). Gautier III, count of Brienne, mortgaged his castle and castellany at Thibaut III’s court at Sézanne in April 1201, first selling his rights at Montier-en-Der (taxes, court fines, hospitality there and in the abbey’s villages) for 1,000*l*. to the monks (AD Haute-Marne, 7 H 64), then mortgaging his county of Brienne to Thibaut III for the 700*l*. he would have collected from Montier-en-Der’s villages (AD Haute-Marne, 7 H 64). He sealed a formal transfer of all Brienne except its fiefs (*totam terram meam, videlicet Brena et appendantias salvis feodis*) to Thibaut until the revenues paid off the debt (LP 2: 68–69). Thibaut, from whom the fief moved, consented, as did Gautier’s brother Jean (Haute-Marne 7 H 14).

79. See *Jean of Choiseul.

80. LB, 75, no. 34, 1202; 121, no. 86, 1202. The family returned Henry I’s letter of 1158 (see Chapter 1 n. 111).

81. AD Haute-Marne, 7 H 53, November 1255: Gautier III of Vignory and his wife Bertha, *tamquam domini feodi*, confirmed the *gageria* to Montier-en-Der.

82. Quantin, *Recueil*, 13, no. 28, 1203; his other fief moved from the count (*Feoda* 2, no. 2393, *Feoda* 5, no. 2949).

83. *Molesme*, 2: 299–300, no. 108, 1216; 301, nos. 113–14, May 1226; 301, no. 115, 1227. Milo died shortly after 1227; since his two brothers had predeceased him, his sister Margaret of Autricourt inherited his comital fiefs (*Hommages* 1, no. 4197).

84. Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, 310–18.

85. Igny, fols. 15r–16r, 1158. Earlier she sold the tithe of that fief to the monks for 12 *l*. and a horse, with the consent of her two brothers and lord, *Gaucher II of Châtillon; Helvide’s first husband had held that tithe (her dowry) in fief from her

father (Igny, fols. 8v–9r, 1154). The knight Pierre of Rulento and his wife Avelina annuitized the fief they held from the knight Almaric of Champlost: Montier-la-Celle paid them a lifetime grain rent of nine *setiers*, less three that Avelina remitted to the monks (*Montier-la-Celle*, 71–72, no. 63, 1221). Thomas of La Chapelle-en-Blaissy converted his allod to a fief held from the Templars, then with his wife Alix annuitized the fief for a grain rent collectable at the mill of the Templars at Barsur-Aube; his heirs were allowed to redeem the annuity for 240*l.*, a sum so large as to preclude redemption (AD Haute-Marne, 61 H 8, August 1225).

86. See n. 68 above.

87. He had a fief since the 1170s (*Feoda* 1, no. 505) and inherited his brother's fief ca. 1190 (*Feoda* 3, nos. 2580, 2692). See also Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1697.

88. Larrivour, fol. 27r, no. 6, 1202. The annuity of six *modii* of grain was to be reduced after his wife's death, leaving their son a revenue of five *modii*.

89. See Chapter 1 nn. 141, 144.

90. See Chapter 1 n. 147.

91. See Chapter 1 nn. 146, 148.

92. CR 8, fol. 531r, December 1247: *Symon de Hunbautville, miles, et Ermengardis ejus uxor recognoverunt coram nobis [the official of Troyes] se vendisse et quitasse . . . feoda moventia a domino rege que dominus Galcherus de Montranpon, domina Ysabellis de Domperreto, relicta defuncti domini Philippi militis, Guiotus de Prato armigerius, et Radulphus de Droto dictus Faignet, tenebant a dicto milite et dicta Emeniarda . . . predicta feoda recipiant a dicto domino rege et quod pro eisdem feodis sint homines ipsius regis . . . dicti Galcherus, domina Ysabellis, Guiotus et Radulphus promiserunt quod supra dictis feodis faciant homagium dicto regi vel ejus mandato sicut antea fecerant.*

93. Erard of Brienne, lord of Venizy, sold the *mouvance* of five fiefs at Villeneuve-au-Chemin to Henry of Champagne for 110*l.*; the named fiefholders were three knights, one widow, and one damoiselle (LP 2: 431–32, December 1259). The knight Gautier of Saint-Florentin sold the last remaining block of lands at Ervy still outside the comital domain, including *mouvance* over ten “fiefs of nobles,” to Henry III (AN, J 195, no. 53, September 1273, Gautier's letter > LP 3, fols. 197r–198r): *quidquid habebam seu habere poteram et debebam in villa, castro et castellaria Erviaci in qui cum dicto domino rege participabam, tam in justicia, franchisia et pedagio quam in rebus aliis . . . partem meam decem feodorum nobilium qua inferius robantur.*

94. Rethel, 1: 204–5, no. 126, 1252: *omnibus feodatis, militibus, hominibus et communitati castri et castellanie Altimontis . . . mando et percipio . . . faciatis quod debetis tam in homagiis quam aliis quibuscunque, et ei tanquam domino vestro obediatis* (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 63). Jean of Choiseul directed Garin of Nonsard to do homage to the count of Bar-le-Duc, who had purchased the *mouvance* of Garin's fief (*Choiseul*, 80–81, no. 141, ca. 1251).

95. Odo of Vendeuvre surrendered *mouvance* of two knights' fiefs to Henry I as penalty for devastating Montier-en-Der's lands (Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 464–65, no. 145, 1174). Clarembaud V of Chappes resolved a dispute with the Templars by transferring *omnia feoda que de me movent* there (AN, S. 4956, no. 18, May 1213). Erard II of Ramerupt surrendered his “fiefs and homages” in several of Molesme's villages that he had ravaged; the abbot paid him 1,100*l. prov.* so that he would not enter those villages again (“Molême,” 358–60, 1244; 360, 1244).

96. AD Haute-Marne, 1 H 37, 1219: *omnes feudales mei qui reliquam partem totius ville tenebant a me, de cetero tenebunt ab abbate Alberipe et fratribus eiusdem domus. Promisi etiam eidem abbati et fratribus Alberipe quod ego faciam fieri hominagium iam dicti abbati ab illis hominibus que de me tenebant* (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 56). In 1211 the chapter of Saint-Loup transferred the *mouvance* of Odo's fief of Riechville; they released Odo from *omni fide et fidelitate* and *totum jus feodi*, directing him to take (*capere*) the fief from Blanche (AN, J 196, no. 3 = CB, no. 55).

97. *Simon of Châteauvillain, still unmarried in his mid-thirties, sold the entire village of Dancevoir, in fiefs and domain, for 900*l*; anyone holding from him *feodally* henceforth would hold from the abbot of Longuay. The abbey's cartulary copied five related letters patent dated 1219 (Longuay, fols. 151r, 191r–v): (1) a letter of sale, (2) a receipt of payment, (3) a letter of consent from Simon's married sister *Emeline of Broys (Petit, *Histoire*, 4: 175–76, no. 1588), (4) a letter of lordly consent, in return for 100*l*, from Alix, duchess of Burgundy (Petit, *Histoire*, 4: 179–80, no. 1598), and (5) Simon's letter of notification to his fiefholders (Symon, *Castrivillani dominus, dilectis et fidelibus suis militibus feodalibus de Dancenoy, salutem et dilectum. Mando vobis et districte precipio quatenus recipiatis et reprannatis feoda vestra que movent de Dancenoy de abbate et fratribus Longivadi, illa scilicet que tenetis de me apud Dancenoy* [Longuay, fol. 151r, undated]).

98. Longuay, fols. 196r, 152r, both 1219 in similar documents sealed by the archdeacon of Lyon: they promised to retake (*reaccipere*) their fiefs and give the abbot *fidelitatem et servitium*.

99. Simon of Lignol sold his fief for 80*l*. (AD Haute-Marne, 6 H 12, January 1225 and February 1225). Havide of Vendevre renewed her homage to the abbot (Longuay, fols. 151v–152r, October 1226), but in July 1234 her son Kalet, who already had inherited and annuitized the fief for a life rent, sold the annuity to the monks for 120*l*. *prov.* (Longuay, fol. 152r). See also Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, 233.

100. She mortgaged the fief (a residence, tenants, arable, and pasture) for 260*l*. but retained life use and the right of her heirs to redeem it after her death (AN, S 4956, no. 12, April 1247). Her son, William of Buxeuil, and son-in-law, Milo of Fontette, quitclaimed for 30*l*. each (Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 364).

101. Table C.3: of the 2,041 fiefs inventoried in 1178, 175 (8.6 percent) passed from their original fiefholding families. Of those 175 fiefs, 7 (4 percent) were lost to religious institutions and 36 (20.5 percent) reverted to the count: together, those 43 fiefs represented only about 2 percent of the count's fiefs in the 1170s. Most of the fiefs transferred from the original tenants (132 fiefs, or 75 percent) were reassigned to other laymen. In one case the scribes did not know what became of a reverted fief (*Feoda* 1, no. 1985: *reddidit feudum suum dominio comiti; inquiretur per servientes quis habe[a]t feudum*).

102. Table C.3: 132 (75 percent) of the 175 reverting fiefs were reassigned to other laymen. Blanche reassigned the fief (the villages of Ageville and Cohons) of the knight Renaud of Cohons, who died in 1215 *sine herede corporis*, to *Renier II of Nogent in exchange for Andelot, where she planned to build a fortress (LP 3, fols. 89r–90v, October 1219); see also Wilsdorf-Colin, “A la frontière,” 176 n. 37. Thibaut IV temporarily assigned Gautier of Turny's fief to Alain of Jouvincourt (*Layettes* 2: 137–38, no. 1958, ca. 1227), then granted it to *Erard of Brienne in augmentation of fief (CR 5, fol. 295r, October 1229 = Quantin, *Recueil*, 169, no. 375 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 204).

103. Giles of Saint-Jean: see Chapter 2 n. 61. Guy of Til-Châtel: AN, J 200, no. 2, April 1219 > LP 3, fol. 133r–v = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 106–7.

104. See *Renier II of Nogent.

105. Brussel, *Nouvel examen*, 1: 155 note a, 1286; and Benton, “Philip the Fair,” 316, no. 38.

106. Both the lord of Reynel (AN, J 196, no. 37, 19 March 1250, n.s. > LP 2: 551–52 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 239–40) and the count of Rethel (*Rethel*, 1: 317, no. 192, July 1259) recovered their fiefs after doing homage.

107. *Paraclet*, 156, no. 152, 1215; 184–85, no. 199, 1229 (the count seized two fiefs alienated without license to the convent). Milo of Montigny and his brother Guy had a fief ca. 1178 (*Feoda* 1, no. 1461), and by ca. 1204 a fortified residence at

Montigny (*Feoda* 5, no. 2742). The count also seized the fiefs that Boulancourt had acquired without license during his minority, but on petition he acquiesced (AD Haute-Marne, 3 H 6, October 1224). In another case, Thibaut allowed Notre-Dame of Barre to keep a 12*l.* fief-rent after reminding the brothers that they had acquired it *sans nostre octroy* (“Barre,” 145, no. 21, July 1245).

108. CR 8, fol. 303r, April 1246; he reported a full 40*l.* fief during the inquest (*Rôles*, nos. 573, 578).

109. Simon sold his property at Coupray without license to the lord of Châteauvillain; the count gave it to his treasurer Pierre of Jaucourt (*Layettes*, 5: 129, no. 386, March 1235), who earlier had received the fiefs of two deceased tenants in augmentation of fief (*Layettes*, 2: 240, no. 2207, 1232). The count also “revoked” Bartholomew of Polisy’s sale, made *sine laudo meo et assensu meo* to Molesme, and regranted the fief to Itier of La Brosse (Quantin, *Recueil*, 184, no. 408, 1233).

110. See Chapter 2 at n. 136.

111. Falletti, *Le retrait lignager*, 76–81, coined the phrase *retrait féodal*. See also Belotte, “Les possessions des évêques de Langres,” 197.

112. See Chapter 2 n. 22.

113. Blanche purchased the village and bridge of Dormans from Henry of Sorcy in May 1210 (*LB*, no. 70); a chancery scribe noted: *Domina emit de ipso pontem de Dormanci de que erat ligius* (*Feoda* 5, no. 3302, entry added in 1210). It was probably the fief for which Henry owed three months castleguard ca. 1190 (*Feoda* 1, no. 699). Blanche regranted the mill and arable to Guy of Dormans (*Feoda* 5, no. 3303: *novum feodum*).

114. The 1230s mark the beginning of repurchases of fiefs in Lorraine as well (Parisse, *Noblesse en Lorraine*, 559–64).

115. Jean of Voisines, dean of Saint-Quiriace, and Robert of Aulnay, the count’s treasurer, paid him 200*l.* on the count’s behalf (LP 3, fol. 117r–v, June 1244: Renaud’s letters of receipt; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 9 A,B).

116. See *Simon IV of Clefmont.

117. CR 8, fol. 452r, May 1248.

118. Calculated by M.-Cl. Hubert, “Recherches sur les frontières,” 103, based on Arbois de Jubainville’s catalog. Compare with n. 17 above.

119. The count’s receivers, Jacques of Ervy and Renier of Acorre, paid him (CR 8, fol. 454v, 9 July 1272). Jean of Arcis sold the 27*l.* fief-rent (LP 3, fol. 79r–v, December 1272) that Blanche had given his unidentified ancestor (AD Aube, 27 H 3, 1218).

120. See at n. 152 below.

121. The chapter of Reims repurchased parts of fiefs in 1226 (AD Marne, G 1063, nos. 2–3). Saint-Urbain repurchased fiefs from two knights for 60*l.* each (Gigot, *Chartes*, 91–92, no. 83, September 1258; 302–3, no. 246, January 1270, n.s.). Montiers-en-Argonne paid 60*l. tour.* to Perrin of Ablainville, *escuier*, for his fief of ten *setiers* of grain rent (Hérelle and Pélicier, “Chartes,” 650–51, no. 32, December 1277).

122. The explosion in new foundations in the twelfth century occurred in both northern and southern Champagne; see Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 709; Hourlier, “L’implantation monastique,” 60–65; and Lusse, “Le monachisme en Champagne,” 66–69, 72–76.

123. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 477, no. 160, 1191: *Excipimus tamen quod sibi civitatis aut castri non liceat dominium in terra mea obtinere* (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 12A). The bishop of Langres similarly restricted the Cistercians of Longuay: they could acquire from episcopal *casamenta* but not *villas* or *castella*, except by license (Longuay, fol. 14r–v, 1175). Thibaut III’s license to Clairvaux to acquire

freely from his men and fiefs (*de hominibus meis et de feodis meis*) was perhaps the last open-ended permission by the counts (*Clairvaux*, 503, no. 392, 1199).

124. “Boulancourt,” no. 167, August 1210.

125. AD Marne, 17 H 142, no. 1, 1197; confirmed by Blanche (“Mores,” 70–71, no. 48, 1200). Renaud’s wife Helvis, *castellana* of Vitry, appeared as co-actor as guardian of Vitry for her son Hugh by her first marriage (see *Renaud II of Dampierre).

126. “Mores,” 70–71, no. 48, ca. 1201: *que ad ipsos vel ad feodos et homines ipsorum, sive milites sive burgenses sive villanos, spectant in castellania Vendopere, scilicet terris, pratis, vineis et aliis hereditatibus de quibus modo investi sunt—emptione vel elemosyna vel gageria vel ullo alio modo—aliquid acquirere poterunt dicti fratres nisi de voluntate dicti Simoni vel heredum suorum . . . Domos autem nullo modo poterunt accipere in gageria quod pertineat ad hereditatem in castellania Vendopere*. See also *Simon IV of Clefmont.

127. *Porcien*, 10–11, no. 12, 1187.

128. Blanche is known to have imposed restrictions in only two cases: Quincy required a license to acquire within the castellany of Bar-sur-Aube (CR 8, fol. 356r, 1214), and the Knights of Saint-Jacques of Spain needed permission to acquire within the county of Champagne (CR 6, fol. 186r, 1215).

129. See the comparable policies in Forez (Perroy, “Le cartulaire des amortissements de Forez”), Flanders (Heirbaut, “Flanders: A Pioneer of State-Oriented Feudalism?”), and England (Waugh, *The Lordship of England*, 92–97, and Raban, *Mortmain Legislation*).

130. Igny (CR 5, fol. 318r–v, ca. 1223 > CR 6, fol. 303v–304r): *ego, factus miles et existens mei juris . . . ea que acquisierunt tempore quo eram sub tutela karissime domine matris mee*, Thibaut confirmed what his mother had given and what the monks had acquired from others near Épernay. He later extended that blanket approval to all acquisitions from his fiefs, domain, and rear-fiefs to 1234 (Igny, fol. 140r). He made similar confirmations at the same time for Trois-Fontaines (AD Haute-Marne, 22 H 8, no. 8, November 1223: *in pricipium Campanie . . . infra limites comitatus mei* made while he was *sub tutela*); Cheminon (AD Marne, 17 H 8, no. 19, December 1223 = *Cheminon*, 93); Montier-la-Celle (CR 6, fols. 295v–296r, January 1224, n.s. = *Montier-la-Celle*, 25–26, no. 21); and Hautefontaine (CR 5, fol. 331r–v, 1222 > CR 6, fol. 295r: *acquisitus de feodis meis quam de census meis atque feodis et census hominum meorum*).

131. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 629–31, postulates a formal inquest.

132. Hagan appears in the earliest fief roll for Troyes, without reference to castleguard (*Feoda* 1, no. 1992, ca. 1178). In May 1205 during her visit to Ervy, Blanche consented to his donation of 2*l.* from his fief (*feudum et casamentum*) to Saint-Etienne (Saint-Etienne, fol. 29r); Hagan later sealed a confirmation (Saint-Etienne, fol. 79v, 1207). The canons listed that 40*s.* rent in Hagan’s obituary (*Obituaires*, 4: 476). In 1212 he sealed a letter of sale, mentioning his sons Henry and Guy (Saint-Etienne, fol. 79r). Hagan had other revenues, including one-fourth of the tithe on wine in three villages, which he sold to Saint-Etienne for 60*l.* in 1212, just after his son Guy *factus fuit novus miles*; on that occasion his two sons each received a silver box (Saint-Etienne, fol. 31v). Hagan also had grain rents that he gave to Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains, where his aunt Lucy was prioress (“Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains,” 22, no. 22, 1208). Thibaut IV confiscated the 10*l.* rent as an unlicensed alienation made during his minority, but later allowed it (Saint-Etienne, fol. 38r–v, 1224). See also Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 180–81.

133. See Chapter 2 n. 138.

134. Barthélemy, *Vendôme*, 80–81, notes the appearance of *admortagium* from 1256. In Champagne the terms *amortis* and *amortir* appeared in December 1264 and

March 1265 respectively (Coq, *Chartes*, 56–57, no. 50, 52). Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 626–33, gathers much of the evidence on amortization in Champagne. Olivier-Martin, *Histoire de la coutume*, 1: 423–33, collects comparable evidence from the Paris region.

135. He confirmed Montier-la-Celle's acquisition of Gérard of Beauchery's fief, without stating when the monks acquired it (*Montier-le-Celle*, 25–26, no. 21, January 1224). They may have presented Henry's letter granting the fief to Gérard in 1170 (see Chapter 1 n. 120).

136. Clairvaux 2, 140, no. 18, April 1231. His amortization for Igny similarly omitted future acquisitions (see n. 130 above). The barons did likewise. Matthew of Montmirail, for example, amortized all the fiefs acquired by the nuns of Amour-Dieu up to the day of his letter (AD Marne, 69 H 10, March 1255).

137. AD Haute-Marne, 70 H 12, January 1225, n.s.: *possit emere et acquirere in omnibus feodis meis ubicumque voluerit decimas ad augmentandos redditus abbacie de Argengeoliis quam fundavit; et ipsa abbatia decimas illas emptas et acquisitas jure hereditario possideat in perpetuum*.

138. See n. 123 above.

139. CR 8, fols. 88r–89v, October 1228; AN, KK 1064, fol. 381r, 28 October 1229.

140. AN, J 198, no. 82, August 1241 > LP 1, fols. 31v–32r = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 229–30.

141. Temple, fols. 12v–14r, July 1254: Thibaut V's *vidimus* (while still a minor) of a letter from the knight Guy of Milly and his wife Agnes, who sold 600 arpents of woodland to the Templars for 1,700*l. tour*. Thibaut promised a confirmation at his majority.

142. *Layettes*, 3: 246–49, no. 4184, 1255; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 12B. The men of Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains living in Fays torched the Templar granary there and stole wood from the forest of Perche, where they had customary rights ("Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains," 111, no. 179, 1254). Individual Templar houses continued to accumulate property in Champagne; in 1261 Thibaut V amortized the substantial acquisitions made by the commandery of Thors (Gigot, *Chartes*, 142–43, no. 129, June 1261).

143. "Mores," 45, no. 2, before 1137: Anseric II. *Erard I of Chacenay licensed Mores to acquire from the *casamenta* held from him, just as his grandfather had in 1152 ("Mores," 60, no. 27, 1182): *de casamentis meis acquirat quantum poterit, et libere ab iis qui casamenta tenent quod adquisierit poterit*. His son, *Erard II of Chacenay, did the same ("Mores," 73–74, no. 53, 1205).

144. Oyes, fol. 3v, no. 7, October 1148: *omnia que in casamento meo et in feodis hominum meorum, tam emptione quam elemosia, hactenus acquisivit et deinceps acquirere poterit*. Hugh III confirmed that license in 1151 (Oyes, fols. 3v–4r). Hugh IV renewed that privilege in November 1226: *ego considerata diligenter et inspecta quarta quam Hugo bone memorie avus meus quondam dominus Brekarum ecclesie Oyensi in elemosinam dedit continente, quod ipsa ecclesia in tota terra sua emptione et elemosina libere acquireret et acquisita possideret, ipsam dationem benigno favore prosequens et assensu eidem ecclesie renovo, concedo et confirmo in toto dominio meo, in casamentis meis et in feudis hominum meorum* (Oyes, fol. 4r, no. 10).

145. Oyes, fol. 4v–5r, no. 11, March 1239.

146. The pope allowed Trois-Fontaines to accept any entrance gift *exceptis rebus feudalibus* (AD Marne, 22 H 4, no. 10, May 1246). Faremoutiers could retain *bona mobilia et immobilia exceptis feudalibus* (Faremoutiers, 97–98, April 1250). Avenay was allowed *possessiones et alia bona, tam mobilia quam immobilia . . . feudalibus rebus exceptis* (Avenay, 2: 130, no. 91, July 1252).

147. In 1241 Jean, while a squire, and his mother consented to his father's sale

of a tithe to Saint-Etienne but did not wish his father to seek the count's consent (Saint-Etienne, fol. 224v: *dicte Guya et Johannes non volunt quod dictus dominus Clarembaudud teneatur facere laudari dictam venditionem a domine rege Navarre*). In August 1247 Jean, apparently still a squire, sent a letter to the count announcing his late father's sale and his own consent to it (Saint-Etienne, fol. 235r: letter sealed by the bishop's court *quia sigillum non habeo*). In the inquest, Jean appears as *dominus* of Chappes castle and its castellany, with forty-two rear-fiefholders (*Rôles*, no. 1132).

148. Preuilly, 295–96, no. 480, March 1247, n.s.

149. Thibaut exacted the fifth penny in 1252, subtracting 6*l.* (*de quinto denario*) from the 30*l.* he paid Poncard of Marnay and his wife for their fief (*Layettes*, 3: 160–61, no. 4005, May 1252). Countess Margaret excused the brothers of William of Rozoy from both the relief owed from their escheated woods and the fifth penny (*rachato quam quinto denario*) owed by their sale of the woods to her for 300*l.* (*Layettes*, 3: 210–11, no. 4100, May 1254).

150. The count granted his cousin, the younger son of the count of Bar-le-Duc, the privilege of donating a 30*l.* rent to the religious institution of his choice, with license to acquire an additional 800*l.* worth of comital fiefs and rear-fiefs free of all tax and service (*Traité des fiefs*, 2: 249, May 1260; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 13).

151. In April 1263 Thibaut seized the property that Hautefontaine had acquired “by purchase, exchange, or gift” without license, then accepted a fine of 184*l.* for half the value of the property while remitting the other half for spiritual benefits (AD Marne, 23 H 19, no. 5). He authorized the nuns of Barre to acquire fiefs worth 60*l.* of revenue, provided they not obtain more than half of any fief (“Barre,” 151, no. 41, November 1263); an inquest later revealed that they in fact had acquired fiefs worth more than 80*l.* (“Barre,” 166–68, no. 54, 1289).

152. Masters Thomas Brunel and Adam de Grès collected amortization taxes from Cheminon and Escharlis (Quantin, *Recueil*, 332, no. 665, November 1270; 334–35, no. 670, December 1270).

153. Separate rolls survive for the castellanies of Bar-sur-Aube and Montéclair (Longnon, *Documents*, 2:xxxix–xl, xliii, 493–506).

154. Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 505.

155. “Mores,” 103–4, no. 132, February 1270, n.s.: *aliqua in nostris feudis, retrofeudis, censivis et allodiis [aut] ab hominibus nostris acquisierunt . . . laudamus et confirmamus*. The count's scribes drafted similar letters in April 1270 for Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains (“Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains,” 85–86, no. 123), Trois-Fontaines (AD Marne, 22 H 8, no. 10), and the Paraclete (*Paraclet*, 253, no. 286): *quicquid . . . in nostris feudis, retrofeudis, censivis, allodis, seu dominio . . . in manu mortua pacifice et quiete . . . retinentes*.

156. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 631–32.

157. AD Marne, 70 H 12, May 1270. A similar license (not more than half of any fief) for the chapter of Notre-Dame of Vitry (AD Marne, G 1525, 23 October 1274: papal confirmation of Thibaut V's letter).

158. AD Aube, 3 H 4011, March 1270, n.s.: *emendi in feodis et retrofeodis nostris viginti libratas annui redditus pruvenerii monete usque ad quinque annos*.

159. *Saint-Pierre*, 282–84, no. 79, August 1273: *ita tamen quod feodum integrum nulloatenus acquirant*.

160. The more contentious collection of amortization taxes by Alphonse of Poitiers apparently was masterminded by Giles Cannelini, a canon of Saint-Quiriace of Provins who joined Alphonse's household in 1267 (Guébin, “Les amortissements”). See Dossat, “Alphonse de Poitiers et les clercs,” 376, and *Saint-Quiriace*, 183.

161. The later royal letters of amortization resembled Thibaut V's letter for the Cistercian nuns of Belfays; the count confirmed what the nuns had acquired: *per emptionem, per donationem sive alio modo in feudis, retrofeudis, allodis seu censivis nostris usque ad confectionem presentium litterarum* (Chauvin, "Belfays," 90, no. A42, 14 March 1270, n.s., original). Perhaps it was Giles Cannelini (see n. 160 above) who devised the tax rate adopted in Philip III's ordinance in 1275: religious institutions owed two years' revenue for fiefs and rear-fiefs acquired by gift, and three year's revenues for those acquired by purchase (*Ordonnances*, 1: 303; see Vuitry, *Études*, 1: 49–52, 2: 288–93).

162. Philip III's tax applied to all acquisitions made during the previous twenty-nine years (since 1245) and was paid by the recipient: two years' revenue for fiefs and rear-fiefs received in alms, and three years' revenue for purchased fiefs and rear-fiefs, that is, two and three times respectively the amount of relief paid by nobles for the collateral transfer of fiefs (*Ordonnances*, 1: 303–5, 1275). See Sautel, "Note sur la formation du droit royal d'amortissement," and Vuitry, *Études*, 2: 50–61. The count of Champagne was one of the "peers of France" whose lands were expressly exempted from the ordinance of 1275 (Langlois, *Philippe III*, 207–8, 423–24).

163. In May 1285 Philip, "count of Champagne and Brie," amortized Montiers-en-Argonne's unlicensed acquisitions of fiefs and rear-fiefs, allowing them to be held *in manu mortua* after being inventoried by Renier Acorre (AD Marne, 20 H 7, no. 1).

164. Brussel, *Nouvel examen*, 1: 666n, 1286; abstract in Benton, "Philip the Fair," 313 [223], no. 27: *Injunctum est baillivis quod quilibet ipsorum in baillivia sua sciat bona et hereditates quos ecclesie acquisierunt. Et si invenerint dicta bona immobilia ecclesiis confirmata fuisse a rege et easdem ecclesias tanto tempore tenuisse dicta bona quod sufficiat, ipsas ecclesias super hoc in pace dimittant. Alioquin, tractent meliori modo quo poterunt cum ipsis. Et signationem quam fecerint, referant domine regi ad habendum ejus assensum.* One inquest roll survives from 1289, for acquisitions by townsmen and churches during the previous thirty years (since 1259) within the castellanies of Bray-sur-Seine and Montereau-fault-Yonne (Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 510–12). The format was similar to Thibaut V's inquest of 1269.

165. *Ordonnances*, 1: 322; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 14. Philip IV doubled his father's tax rates to four years' revenue for fiefs received in alms and six years' revenue for fiefs and rear-fiefs purchased during the previous twenty years (since 1270), that is, four and six times the rates paid by nobles for the same property.

166. The fines were generally small. The largest were: 200*l.* for a townsman, 203*l.* for Saint-Pierre of Troyes, 126*l.* for Montiéramey, and 123*l.* for Saint-Etienne, for a total of about 8,000 *l.* from the *bailliage* in 1294/95, or about 4,000*l.* each year (Benton, "The Accounts of Cepperello da Prato," 265–67). The bailiff of Vitry, Jean of Saint-Véran, informed the king that he collected 120*l. tour.* from Coincy's multiple acquisitions during the past forty-six years (Coincy, 53–55, January 1293, n.s.). The king and queen remitted the 26*l.* tax assessed on La Chapelle-aux-Planches (*Chapelle-aux-Planches*, 69–70, no. 71, January 1296, n.s.).

167. Vuitry, *Études*, 1: 288–91; Luchaire, *Manuel*, 177 n. 1; and Sautel, "Note sur la formation du droit royal d'amortissement," 698.

Chapter 4. The Aristocratic Family

1. In his study of the Mâconnais (*La société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, 1953), Duby argued that the most prominent local families, having survived

the collapse of the Carolingian Empire, created a new entity—the castle lordship (*seigneurie bannale*)—through which they reorganized society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by forcing independent small proprietors into dependent relationships and imposing new taxes and obligations on all local peasants. A lively debate has emerged as to whether what Duby later called a “feudal revolution” did, in fact, occur at that time. Poly and Bournazel, *La mutation féodale*, have used Debord’s study in western France (*La société laïque dans les pays de La Charente*) to generalize Duby’s conclusions for all France. Barthélemy, on the other hand, in his “The ‘Feudal Revolution’” (1996), *La mutation de l’an mil a-t-elle eu lieu?* (1997), and *La société dans le comté de Vendôme* (1993), argues that what occurred ca. 1000 was not institutional change but rather a proliferation of records that allow us to see more precisely institutions in evolution. Bisson, “The ‘Feudal Revolution’” (1994), makes the case for seeing those changes as a genuine transformation.

2. Duby built on Karl Schmid’s observation that aristocratic families before 1000 were essentially horizontal kindreds lacking any sense of lineage. The roots of that model lie in Schmid’s “Zur Problematik von Familie, Sippe und Geschlecht, Haus und Dynastie beim mittelalterlichen Adel” (1957), whose thesis Duby first mentioned in “La noblesse dans la France médiévale: une enquête à poursuivre” [“The Nobility in Medieval France”] (1961) and extended in two related articles: “Au XII^e siècle”: les ‘jeunes’ dans la société aristocratique dans la France du Nord-Ouest au XII^e siècle [“Youth in Aristocratic Society”] (1964), and “Structures de parenté et noblesse dans la France du Nord aux XI^e et XII^e siècles” [“The Structure of Kinship and Nobility: Northern France in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries”] (1967). Duby used those insights to reaffirm his earlier findings for the Mâconnais in “Lignage, noblesse et chevalerie au XII^e siècle dans la région mâconnaise: une révision” [“Lineage, Nobility and Knighthood: The Mâconnais in the Twelfth Century—A Revision”] (1972). Duby’s articles are collected in his *Hommes et structures au moyen âge* (1973) and translated in *The Chivalrous Society*. For critiques of Schmid’s thesis, see n. 7 below.

3. It should be noted that Duby’s turning point (1180) coincides with the accession of Philip II and with the abrupt decrease in sources from the Mâconnais (Evergates, “The Feudal Imaginary”).

4. Among the most influential syntheses that adopt the patrilineal model are: Fossier, *Enfance de l’Europe* (1982), 1: 318–45, 2: 916–19; and Poly and Bournazel, *La mutation féodale*, 155–93 [*The Feudal Transformation*, 87–118]. A recent example of Duby’s thesis explicated through romance is Haugeard, *Du “Roman de Thèbes.”*

5. Herlihy, who spent most of his career exploring the medieval family, failed to reconcile Duby’s formulation of the patrilineage with the obviously discordant evidence he found, notably the existence of partible inheritance practices in the twelfth century and the late (ca. 1300) development of entail (Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, 82–98). Ultimately, Herlihy rationalized Duby’s view by accepting the appearance of a “new type of kinship system” (patrilineage) in the twelfth century, but arguing that it was “superimposed upon” the cognatic or bilineal family in which women inherited (“The Making of the Medieval Family,” 143–47).

6. Goody, *The Development of the Family*, 222–39 (“Appendix 1. Kin Groups: Clans, Lineages, and Lignages”) first revealed the misrepresentations inherent in the patrilineal model of the aristocratic family. See also n. 27 below.

7. Schmid’s conclusions (see n. 2 above), which undergird Duby’s formulations, were questioned by Leyser, “The German Aristocracy,” and later rejected outright by Arnold, *Princes and Territories*, chap. 8. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy*, 10–11, likewise disputes the thesis that a lineal model of the family displaced an earlier horizontal one. Barthélemy’s *La mutation de l’an mil* critiques the broader thesis,

widely accepted by French historians, of fundamental social and institutional changes ca. 1000. Stafford, “*La Mutation Familiale*,” questions both the fact of fundamental change ca. 1000 and the usefulness of a model that fails to account for diverse familial experiences, especially regarding women. Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, locates the fundamental changes in familial practices in the ninth and tenth centuries rather than in the eleventh. Airlie, “The Aristocracy,” warns against confusing self-identity with familial structure.

8. Barthélemy, *La société dans le comté de Vendôme*, 514–56, the first explicit test of the late twelfth-century *mutation lignagère*, finds no change in familial organization between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Lemesle confirms the lack of change in Maine (see n. 9 below).

9. The evidence presented here in many respects compliments Lemesle’s *La société aristocratique dans le Haut-Maine*, whose questionnaire and methodology make it possible to move beyond the framework of Duby’s *Mâconnais*, which has served as referent for all regional studies since its appearance. For the record, it should be noted that Duby passed over a large body of evidence not consistent with his model, particularly regarding dowers, inheritance practices, and the marriage of younger sons.

10. Herlihy, “Family,” esp. 1–8, reviews the ancient and medieval conception of the *familia*, meaning those over whom authority was exercised rather than those to whom one was related; he concludes that the Middle Ages lacked a term for the modern notion of “family” (but see n. 148 below).

11. *Clairvaux*, 51–52, no. 23, 1151: *sigilli mei impressione signavi et sigillo primogeniti filii mei Henrici qui jam terre mee partem* [the counties of Bar-sur-Aube and Vitry] *habebat*.

12. Achery, *Spicilegium*, 3: 682, 1273: *unum ex duobus primogenitis nostris*, trans. in Evergates, “Aristocratic Women,” 87.

13. Philip (born April/June 1268) became heir designate and Jeanne’s prospective husband in May 1276, after the death of his oldest brother, Louis. In 1284 Philip III called his sixteen-year-old son Philip *carissimus primogenitus* (AN, J 198, no. 128: assignment of Jeanne’s dower). Louis VII and Philip III also were second sons who became king-designate after an older brother’s death.

14. See Chapter 6.

15. Charlot, *Le droit d’aînesse*, a comparative study of the thirteenth-century customs, recognizes the extreme diversity of the eldest child’s advantages, which were not absolute. For northern Burgundy, see Bouchard, “Twelfth-Century Family Structures,” 161–64.

16. *Coutumier*, art. 1: *combien li ainnez doit panre encontre le puisné* (a French translation of the ordinance of 1224, *quantum debeat primogenitus capere contra post genitum*). See Appendix A.

17. Beaumanoir, *Coutumes*, chap. 14, pars. 464–65, notes the right of the eldest son or daughter in the Beauvaisis to choose the principal residence (*le chief manoir*).

18. See Chapter 6 at n. 22.

19. See Chapter 6 n. 23.

20. *Frérage* was a variant of *parage* (*Coutumier*, 47–50, compares regional practices).

21. See Chapter 2 n. 11.

22. See Chapter 2 n. 12. Younger sons in the Ile-de-France and in eastern France also preferred that practice (Charlot, *Le droit d’aînesse*, 177).

23. *Rôles*, no. 707: *non potest garentire fratrem suum minorem quia non erat primogenitus*.

24. See Chapter 6 n. 69.

25. *Guy IV of Châtillon began his letter: *Ego, Guido de Castellione, comitis Santi Pauli primogenitus, notum facio* (AD Marne, 69 H 14, March 1222). He confirmed *Hugh V of Châtillon's own letter confirming Ada of Troissy's exchange of revenues with her brother Milo. Similarly Anselm of Maulny promised to guarantee (*pomisit donationem istam per omnia garantire*) the testamentary bequest of his brother Itier, a knight, whose other brother, three sisters, and mother only consented to his act (Molard, "Testaments," 232, no. 3, 1192).

26. Lemesle, *La société aristocratique dans le Haut-Maine*, 108.

27. Duby's articles in the 1960s incorporating French structural anthropology popularized a misuse of the term. Anthropologists refer to lineage as a system of descent traced through either the male or the female line (descent is either patrilineal or matrilineal) that requires exogamic marriages (Mair, *Marriage*, 23–24, and Fox, *Kinship and Marriage*, chap. 1). Guerreau-Jalabert, "Prohibitions canoniques," 308 n. 23, is unequivocal: "In no case can the medieval lineage be regarded as a unilinear group, especially not a patrilinear one." She argues further ("La parenté," 71–75) that lineage in the anthropological sense could not have existed in medieval society, with its restrictive rules of marriage (specifically in calculating degrees of relationships for prohibiting marriage). As Barthélemy puts it, *lignage* meant *parenté*: one was related *par lignage* or *par parenté* ("Kinship," 88); see also Barthélemy, "L'état contre le 'lignage,'" 40–41; Van Hoecke, "Droit savant et tradition coutumière," 403 and n. 54.

28. See n. 37 below.

29. Guy of Bazoches, *Liber Epistularum*, 55–57, ep. 15; 58–60, ep. 16. Guy uses *linea* only once in his letters, in reference to his own *linea* (ibid., 42–43, ep. 12). See Bur, "L'image de la parenté."

30. Ollier, *Lexique et concordance de Chrétien de Troyes*, 170, and microfiche no. 2359.

31. Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, ll. 8–10:

I novel conte recomence
D'un vallet qui en Grece fu
Dou lignage le roi Artu.

32. Giselbert of Mons, *Chronicon*, 222, chap. 144.

33. LP 3, fol. 214r, 1267: letter of the knight Gombert of Montchaulon who certifies *le lignage monsignor Milo de Germaine de par sa mere*.

34. Aubry of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," 819 (Aubry remarks that Godfroy of Boulogne descended *ab utrousque parente de antique Karoli Magni linea*) and 882 (Aubry traces Louis IX's descent through two bloodlines to Rollo, *ex duabus lineis sit de genere Rollonis*).

35. PL, 216: 979, no. 9, July 1213, letter of the papal commissioners, the abbots of Larrivour and Quincy: *Hujus autem parentelae lineam computaverunt tali modo*. Another monk at Preuilly, Gérard Eventat, described the same relationship in a separate letter (PL, 216: 981–82, no. 12, 1213).

36. Gigot, *Chartes*, 5, no. 2, January 1232, n.s.: *se aucun de mes homes ou de mes fames moroient sanz oir, les lor choses qui demorroient après aux remanroient au-plus prochain oir de son lignaige qui seroit de mes homes ou de mes fames*.

37. Beaumanoir uses *lignage* in a wide sense of "kinship" (as it is rendered by the English translator): A person's lineage (*lignage*) includes those whom he may give in marriage, such as his children and the children of his siblings (par. 103). A woman, in responding to the royal bailiff, can speak for her own account, for her children, and "for someone of her lineage" (*pour aucun de son lignage*, par. 190). A woman has a better claim to property than a more distantly related man in her

lineage (par. 1407). Ego may not claim property passing to his stepbrother, for the latter is not of ego's lineage (par. 1364). Each half brother belongs to a separate lineage (par. 1669).

38. Beaumanoir, *Coutumes*, chap. 19, par. 604.

39. Beaumanoir, *Coutumes*, chap. 19, par. 603.

40. Mair, *Marriage*, 140. Goody, *The Development of the Family*, 232–38: “A system that allocates parental property to daughters as well as to sons, whether by dowry or by inheritance, is already ‘bilateral’ from the standpoint of the transmission of wealth” (238).

41. Guerreau-Jalabert, “La désignation des relations,” 72–78.

42. Guerreau-Jalabert, “La désignation des relations,” 89–90, finds very few cases of *agnatio* used in the sense of paternal line.

43. Guerreau-Jalabert, “La désignation des relations,” 72–85, 98–99, and “Prohibitions canoniques,” 312–13 n. 26. Van Hoecke, “Droit savant et tradition coutumière,” 403–4, notes that, since the old Roman *agnatio* and *cognatio* did not apply in thirteenth-century France, a translator like John of Antioch rendered *agnatus*, *cognatus*, and *consanguinus* by *cosin*, and *agnatio* and *cognatio* by *cosinage* or *lignage*.

44. Goody, *The Development of the Family*, 222–23. See also Guerreau-Jalabert, “Prohibitions canoniques,” 312–13, and “Parenté,” 863–65; and Barthélemy, *La société dans le comté de Vendôme*, 518.

45. Guerreau-Jalabert, “Parenté,” offers a forceful argument for a paradigm shift away from the “lineage” model of the family. She turns Duby's thesis on its head, arguing that the original contribution of the Middle Ages was, in fact, the formation of a cognatic system of the family that replaced the Roman agnatic system. The failure of historians to recognize this transformation, she claims, arises precisely from a confusion between patrilineage and the medieval right of the eldest.

46. Goody, *The Development of the Family*, 224–25, first noted Duby's confusion of kinship with succession to office. Barthélemy, “L'état contre le ‘lignage,’” 39–41, explores the consequences of that confusion. Guerreau-Jalabert, “Prohibitions canoniques,” 313, sees the confusion arising from the medieval sources themselves, which deal chiefly with successions to castles, offices, and lordships.

47. *Paraclet*, 117–18, no. 93, 1197: 10*l.* revenue from the tolls at Villemaur and Marcilly from her paternal inheritance (*de patrimonio suo proprio*). It was an entry gift for her daughter Melisende, whose admission required the consent of all the nuns of the Paraclete because the convent had fallen into debt and the bishop of Troyes, one year earlier, had limited the number of nuns to sixty (*Paraclet*, 33–34, no. 20, 1196).

48. *Avenay*, 2: 9, no. 44 (1218): *terram quam possidebam de patrimonio* (her brother and husband consented). Jeanne, wife of the constable Eustace of Conflans, inherited a share of the viscounty of Troyes (Saint-Etienne, fols. 205v–206r, March 1264, n.s.: *ex hereditate et patrimonio*).

49. *Molesme*, 2: 204, no. 220, 1111/12: *de patrimonio suo*, referring most likely to Beatrice's dowry, since her husband Guy IV, lord of Vignory, was still alive. Leceline of Bar-sur-Seine gave what she had, *jure hereditario a parentibus contigebat*, because she wished “to live like a nun” at Molesme (*Molesme*, 2: 92–93, no. 86, 1090–1111).

50. LP 1, fols. 143r–144r, June 1231 (Didot, *Études*, 191–92, “O”): *de hereditate tam ex parte patris quam ex parte matris proveniente, nichil amplius poterunt reclamare*; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 31.

51. Stuard, “Fashion's Captives,” 71–74, remarks on the “oddly ahistorical women” created by such an approach.

52. Anthropologists might prefer “co-resident kin” or the “domestic group”

(Guerreau-Jalabert, “La parenté,” 70), but I think that “conjugal” remains the defining term and so have adopted “conjugal family” (Fox, *Kinship and Marriage*, 36, prefers it as the least vague of the alternatives). Shaw, “The Family in Late Antiquity,” reviews Augustine’s powerful argument for thinking of the married couple as the fundamental social unit. Toubert, in “La théorie du mariage,” “The Carolingian Moment” (esp. 396–406), and “L’institution du mariage chrétien,” argues that the validation of the conjugal couple through consent and the exchange of property had been achieved by the Late Roman Empire. Le Jan, in *Famille et pouvoir*, 333–97, and “L’épouse du comte,” suggests that the role of the wife in the highest aristocratic families became even more prominent by the eleventh century. D’Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, recapitulates, with current bibliography, the intellectual origins of Christian marriage.

53. Moore, “The Anglo-Norman Family,” is the most cogent analysis to date of the aristocratic family in the twelfth century. Based largely on the *Rotuli de Dominabus* (1185) that list the names and ages of widows and children of English royal fiefholders, it analyzes 128 conjugal families (with average family sizes of 4.83 for barons and 5.71 for knights). Moore concludes that the “biological core” of co-resident kin formed the nucleus of the aristocratic household: “the nuclear family of husband, wife and unmarried children was the norm in Henry II’s England” (167). Baudin, “Designer les parents,” offers a subtle analysis of three late eleventh-century chroniclers (Dudo of Saint-Quentin, William of Jumièges, William of Poitiers) confirming the primacy of the conjugal or nuclear family. For Languedoc, see Duhamel-Amado, *Genèse des lignages méridionaux*, 1, chap. 1.

54. Le Bras, “Le mariage dans la théologie et le droit de l’église”; Noonan, “The Power to Choose”; Donahue, “The Canon Law of the Formation of Marriage”; Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 331–37; Cartlidge, *Medieval Marriage*, 12–27; and Biller, *The Measure of Multitude*, chap. 2.

55. Gillingham, “Love, Marriage and Politics in the Twelfth Century,” and Joris, “Un seul amour,” offer salutary evidence on the existence of sentiment in medieval marriages.

56. Didot, *Études*, 197–98, “V,” November 1290: *ma bonne campagne Alis*. No less touched by his wife’s death was Robert of Ricey, who two centuries earlier gathered a group of “local knights” for her funeral and burial at Molesme (*Molesme*, 2: 211, no. 227, 1107–25).

57. *Montiéramey*, 46–47, no. 27, before 1138: *pro remedio animarum antecessorum meorum, et maxime pro anima Ermengardis, uxoris mee, et Hugonis carissimi filii mei*. See also Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 329.

58. Guigue, “Testament de Guichard III de Beaujeu,” 163, 1216: *volumus quod karissima uxor et amica nostra Sibilla . . . totius terre nostre dominium habeat et potestatem* (for Guichard, see Bouchard, *Nobility and the Church*, 294–95). In his testament, *Renard II of Choiseul asked to be buried with his wife, *Alix of Dreux, at Morimond.

59. Guereau-Jalabert, “La parenté,” 75.

60. Herlihy, “The Making of the Medieval Family,” 144–45, summarizes Peter Damian’s treatise “On Degrees of Kinship.” Beaumanoir’s *Coutumes*, chap. 19, adopts the same template of consanguinity in describing the *degrés de lignage*.

61. Molin and Mutembe, *Le rituel du mariage* (who discuss the earliest description of a marriage liturgy, 1125/35, from Laon); Morelle, “Mariage et diplomatie”; and Stevenson, *Nuptial Blessing*, esp. 81–83.

62. Cartlidge, *Medieval Marriage*, argues persuasively that literature was one of several parallel discourses devoted to the role of love in marriage.

63. See Chapter 5 n. 73.

64. Four of the five extant dower letters from the Laonnois (1163–81) contain a community property clause: *omnium acquisitionum nostrarum dimidietam, medietatem omnium quae adquisiero, medietatem omnium acquisitionum mearum, medietatem acquisitionum mearum* (Morelle, “Mariage et diplomatique,” 242–44).

65. Lemaire, “Les origines de la communauté de biens entre époux,” argued that community property rights evolved gradually from the ninth century (when a capitulary specified the widow’s share as one-third of the couple’s future acquisitions) to the twelfth century (when widows took half of their community property). But Thireau, “Les pratiques communautaires entre époux,” is entirely convincing in showing how the first appearance of a term or custom in the extant documents cannot be interpreted as representing its earliest existence. Although he relies primarily on eleventh-century Angevin charters, Thireau’s careful methodology amounts to a general rejection of Lemaire’s argument.

66. See Chapter 5 n. 64.

67. See Chapter 5 n. 79.

68. After the widow of Jean of Provins (d. 1178/81) remarried, Jean’s brother Milo (the comital chamberlain) claimed Jean’s property. The brothers were comital fiefholders (*Feoda* 1, no. 1604, ca. 1178), as was the widow’s new husband, Odo of Planoy (*Feoda* 2, no. 2083, ca. 1190). Countess Marie’s court decided that Jean’s widow had the right to one-half of all that she and Jean had purchased while married, but that Milo (in the absence of Jean’s children) inherited the other half; Milo then purchased the widow’s entire dower (with acquisitions) for 95 *l.* (BM Provins, MS 85, no. 22, 1181).

69. See Chapter 5 n. 128.

70. Beaumanoir, *Coutumes*, par. 447. The Parlement of Paris recognized as “the custom of France” that a woman’s dower was calculated on the basis of her husband’s property at marriage and what he acquired during marriage by inheritance, excluding collateral inheritances (*Actes du Parlement de Paris*, 1: 117, no. 1297, 1268).

71. See Chapter 8 n. 10.

72. Vauluisant, fols. 91v–92r, ca. 1218: *sive hereditate sive dotis sive emptione*.

73. LP 1, fols. 114v–115v, November, 1256.

74. Lemaire, “Les origines de la communauté de biens,” 608 n. 1, 1 October 1212 = *LB*, 151–52, no. 116. Ade claimed the issue concerned *de conquerementis que pater ipsius* [i.e., Henri III] *fecerat sum predicta comitissa*; Henry IV claimed that she *quedam adiciebat in dotalicio suo que non erant de dotalicio suo*. The disposition of the case is not known. Thibaut IV decided a similar case involving the eldest son of a first marriage who inherited his mother’s dower and community property: Milo II Breban’s son Jacques of Rumigny, by his first wife, should have his mother’s entire dowry in addition to her inheritance by whatever manner and “half of all acquisitions made within the kingdom of France during [his parents’] marriage” (LP 2: 31, May 1228; LP 1, fols. 133v–135r, June 1228).

75. Delisle, *Mémoire sur les opérations financiers*, 105–6, no. 12, August 1269: *non obstante consuetudine, si qua sit, per quam inter virum et uxorem communicari debeant constante matrimonio acquisita*.

76. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints*, demonstrates the importance of the familial *laudatio* between 1050 and 1150 in western France. It is not clear whether its disappearance in that region reflects a bias of the extant documents or resulted from new practices in the thirteenth century. Carpentier (“La place des femmes”) suggests that the absence of women in *laudatio* clauses of monastic cartularies might be explained by the scribal practice of omitting or abbreviating charter texts, for women appear twice as often in the extant original charters. Gay, “Remarques sur l’évolution de la pratique contractuelle,” 19, confirms that practice in the

Haute-Marne, where several cartularies (notably of Auberive and the chapter of Langres) contain few references to the wife's *laudatio*. Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs*, 79–87, discusses the *laudatio* in northern Burgundy and southern Champagne, where most references (59 percent) pertained to the wife's consent.

77. Molesme, 2: 241, no. 259, February 1119: *apud Trecas in dongione meo, in nundinis sancti Remigii, scilicet absente uxore mea feceram istud, nunc, ut dixi, sub ejus presentia et cum ejus laude et voluntate, testibus idoneis appositis, renovo et confirmo . . . facta est autem hec descriptio et confirmatio apud Cacennacum in domo mea*. Anseric also noted that his only son Jacques was not yet talking (*necdum etas loquelam*).

78. Clairvaux, 60–61, no. 33, 1158: *Hanc quidem cartam ego Bartholomeus apud Guanurri in conspectu meo scribere feci sigillique mei impressione muniui*. Bartholomew's chaplain Matthew, who was among the witnesses, probably wrote this letter. Stephen and Guiard of Sormery, who gave their father's land to the monks of Vauluisant, did so at the entrance to the woods outside Ervy, while Stephen's wife gave her consent later "at Sormery, in front of her home" (Quantin, *Cartulaire générale*, 1: 437, no. 283, ca. 1147).

79. Clairvaux, 164–65, no. 136, 1169: *Laudavi et ego, de cujus feodo hoc erat, presente uxore mea et liberis meis, et ut imperpetuum memorie tradatur, sigilli mei suppositione confirmavi*.

80. See Chapter 1 n. 180.

81. "Mores," 60, no. 27, 1182: *Ego Erardus, dominus Chancenai, notum facio quod, laudante Mathilde uxore mea, dedi in elemosynam et concessi*. Erard's letters in the 1180s include Mathilda prominently as giving her consent, perhaps because she lacked a seal at a time when other women were jointly sealing letters with their husbands (see below).

82. Clairvaux, 29–33, no. 15, 1147 (pancarte of Geoffroy, bishop of Langres, recopying an earlier pancarte of bishop Joceran, 1113–26). Veyssière, "Les chartes et les sceaux de l'abbaye de Clairvaux," 36–38, notes the ubiquity of familial consenters in Clairvaux's twelfth-century documents. Parisse, "Le petite noblesse," 467–69, citing similar examples from Lorraine, suggests that siblings appeared with the benefactors precisely because of partible rights to family property.

83. Duchesne, *Chastillon*, 2: 22–23, ca. 1130 = *Igny*, 550–52, no. 3. This confirmation was done with great fanfare at Reims in the presence of the bishops of Soissons and Verdun, and the abbots of Clairvaux (Bernard), Hautvillers, Épernay, Saint-Nicaise, Saint-Remi, and Saint-Denis of Reims.

84. Duchesne, *Dreux*, pt. 5, Broyes, *preuves*, 12–13, 1131 = *GC*, 10: *instr.*, 165–68, no. 21. Joining them were Hugh of Montmorency, his wife and two daughters, Manasses of Pleurs and his wife and son, and their close relative, Helias of Montmirail. Like Andecy, the Cistercian house of Notre-Dame des Vaux de Cernay was founded on dower land, with the consent of the founder's wife, three sons, and a daughter (*Notre-Dame des Vaux de Cernay*, 1–3, September 1118 = *GC*, 7: *instr.*, 52).

85. "Mores," 45–49, no. 2, pancarte of ca. 1152 recapitulating earlier gifts.

86. For examples from Burgundy, see Bouchard, *Nobility and the Church*, chap. 5.

87. "Mores," 94–95, no. 109, 1248: *cum adhuc armiger esset et necdum erat uxori obligatus*. See also Chapter 7 n. 74.

88. *Saint-Nicaise*, 423, no. 329, 1219–26; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 57A. Garin of Condé, the *dominus feodi*, consented (*Saint-Nicaise*, 429–30, no. 340, 1226).

89. Clairvaux, 456–57, no. 357, 6 July 1197: *sine mea et Nicholae uxoris mee licentia acquisierant, et super domo et muro que in ea, nobis inconsultis, construxerant*.

90. See *Helvide of Dampierre.

91. The canonical age of consent to marriage may have served as a general marker; see Gay, "Remarques sur l'évolution de la pratique contractuelle," 20–21.

92. *Clairvaux*, 73, no. 47, 1147–62: *cum iam adultus esset et crucem accepisset*.

93. AD Haute-Marne, 5 H 6, no. 107, ca. 1139–63: *eo tempore filius eorum, Gaufridus, nec ejus etatis nec ejus intelligencie erat ut id laudare et concedere posset et sciret*. Milo of Montbard and his wife promised that their children would consent to his testament when they attained *ad intelligibilem etatem* (*Molesme*, 2: 226–27, no. 242, ca. 1113). Simon of Bricon had his gift approved by his wife and *liberis omnibus id etatis habentibus qui scirent et possent laudare* (Roger, “Les Morhier,” 110, no. 8, 1178). Simon III of Clefmont’s wife and son consented to his donation of a village to the Hospitaliers, but *Beatrix, filia mea, nondum habebat etatem laudandi* (*Hospitaliers*, 1: 513–14, no. 826, 1187); the next year, his wife and eldest son gave their consent, but *Simon [IV] vero et Beatrix, infantes mei, laudaundi etatem idoneam non habebant* (*Clairvaux*, 301, no. 258, 1188). Wiard Morhier of Bricon *fecit laudare* [his gift to Auberive] *omnibus heredibus suis quibus hoc laudare competeat, quotquot inveniri poterunt, et qui etatem laudandi habebant*. Wiard’s wife, eldest son, and brother consented; then his three sons and two daughters approved (Roger, “Les Morhier,” 107–8, no. 5, 1164).

94. Quantin, *Recueil*, 60, no. 132, October 1213. Agnes’s father, the knight Anselm of Maulny, had given her tithe revenues as her dowry, which she and her husband sold to the chapter of Sens for 145 *l. prov.*, on the sworn promise to obtain the consent of her siblings (the dowry being an early distribution of the family properties requiring the consent of all). Hodiernne of Tourny, in the absence of her husband on the Fourth Crusade, promised *quod cum filius ejus . . . ad etatem idoneam pervenerit, ipsa eundem filium suum ad hoc inducet quod ipse laudavit quicquid actum erat inter prefatum abbatem et patrem suum Johannem* (AD Marne, 17 H 135, no. 9, 1202 = *Cheminon*, 73–74). In another case, the bishop of Troyes stated simply that a son and daughter gave their consent *cum iam annos discretionis percepissent* (*Paraclet*, 128, no. 107, 1200).

95. Roger, “Les Morhier,” 118–19, no. 20, 1205: *nondum habebat etatem laudandi, laudavit hoc ipsum dicta mater ejus pro eo*. The wife of Clarembaud of Noyers did the same for his gift to the Templars: *laudante hoc uxore mea, et pro se et pro pueris suis* [of a previous marriage] *etatem laudandi non habentibus* (Petit, “Commanderie de Saint-Marc,” 761–62, 1186). Geoffroy and Emeline of Trancaut did the same in obtaining the consent of their infant son, who was their “only speaking heir” (Vauluisant, fol. 56r, 10 December 1186 = “Vauluisant,” 463–64, no. 233). Veyssi re, “Les chartes,” 36, notes examples of mothers giving consent for their underaged children. See also Chapter 8 n. 147.

96. See *Elizabeth of Nogent-sur-Seine.

97. *Chapelle-aux-Planches*, 12–13, no. 12, 1153: *et ceteris coheredibus suis*. William of Saint-Aubin brought his brother and his brother’s son to consent to his sale (*Paraclet*, 179, no. 192, 1228). The knight Garnier of Amance, preparing for the Fourth Crusade, sold half of his inherited property (*hereditas*) to Trois-Fontaines with the consent of his wife Constance and his brother Taillefer, in effect, leaving her with her half-dower (AD Marne, 22 H 40, no. 1, 9 November 1217); see also Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, 221.

98. *Clairvaux*, 149–50, no. 124, 1164: *Agnes, filia Galweni, que debebat uxoresse Herveyi junioris*. *Renard II of Choiseul gave property and a 100s. fief-rent to the chapter of Langres; his sisters Ida, lady of Morville, and Helvidis, lady of Beaujeu, consented, then *hanc elemosinam laudavit dicta Clemencia uxor mea et presentibus litteris sigillum suum cum meo fecit apponi* (*Langres*, 185, no. 160, 1210).

99. See n. 148 below. The recently widowed Elvis of Nangis went to the Paraclete to resolve her husband’s dispute over a tithe accompanied by her three unmarried sons and daughter as well as her married daughter and son-in-law, in effect all those

of the conjugal family with a possible claim, to give their consent (*Paraclet*, 96–97, no. 80, ca. 1192). The knight Guy Docez obtained the consent of his five sisters and the lord of his fief in selling property before the Fourth Crusade (AD Haute-Marne, 1 H 56, 1201).

100. Fontette, *Recherches*, 64–70, gives many thirteenth-century examples from the Paris region; he regards the dower as the principal reason for the wife's consent to her husband's property transactions.

101. According to Countess Marie, Henry II asked her to carry out Robert of Sablonnières's donation, but after Robert's daughter Lucca and her husband, the knight Gilbert of Signy, objected, they were paid 25*l*. for their consent; Robert's widow and her new husband were paid 26*l*. for her dower (*Templiers de Provins*, 97, no. 73, April 1195; 107, no. 87, 1194).

102. See Chapter 5 (Disposition of the Dowry).

103. See *Elizabeth of Nogent-sur-Seine.

104. Alix was the youngest surviving child of *Erard II of Chacenay. She sealed two letters between marriages (*Chacenay*, 86–87, nos. 171–72, both in 1260). Her first husband, Guigues VI, count of Forez, ruled her lands (1253–59) in her name; her second husband, William III, viscount of Melun, acted as lord of Chacenay (1261–78) until both he and Alix died in the same year without heirs.

105. *Paraclet*, 66–68, no. 49, 1144. Helisent later became prioress of Foissy (see Chapter 7 n. 42).

106. See Chapter 3 n. 48.

107. Lewis, "Fourteen Charters," 164–65, no. 4, 1158: *Ego igitur Robertus comes Brane et Agnes comitissa, uxor mea, notum facimus . . . sigillum nostrum apponimus*. See *Agnes of Baudement.

108. See Chapter 1 n. 186.

109. *Jean of Montmirail and *Helvide of Dampierre jointly sealed four known letters: two original letters of donation to Cantimpré (Piëtresson de Saint-Aubin, "Beaumont-lez-Montmirail," 240–42, nos. 1–2, 1200); a donation and a third-party confirmation of a donation to the Hôtel-Dieu of Montmirail (Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 654, no. 33, 1207; 655–56, no. 36, 1208; Helvide's seal, in which she holds a bird in her right hand, reads: *sigillum Helvidis dom[mine] de Monte mirabilis*). At least six other co-authored letters may well have been jointly sealed (the extant copies omit the sealing clauses): Boitel, *Montmirail*, 651–52, no. 25, 1199 (third-party confirmation); 652–53, no. 29, 1201 (donation to Cantimpré); 653, no. 30, 1202 (third-party confirmation); 653–54, no. 31, 1201 (gift); 654, no. 32, 1203 (confirmation of ancestors' gifts); 654–55, no. 34 (foundation of Hôtel-Dieu for supporting the poor).

110. *LB*, 91, no. 51, May 1209: *Ego Joannes Montismirelli et Oisiaci dominus, ego Helvidis Montismirelli et Oisiaci domina, notum facimus . . . quas debemus domui et fratribus Longipontis . . . volumus et statuimus . . . prefata pecunia . . . in integrum fuerit persoluta . . . presentes litteras fieri volumus sigillorum nostrorum munime roboratas*.

111. See n. 128 below.

112. "We have sold and quit" to the monks of Montier-en-Der, they said, a long list of small properties worth 731*l*., and "we have sealed this letter with our seals" (Gigot, *Chartes*, 215–20, no. 185, November 1264). See *Jean of Joinville.

113. Gigot, *Chartes*, 166–68, no. 148, 1263: *Et je, Aalis devant-dite, de cui ces choses movoient et muevent, i ai ausi mis lou mien sael pour plus grant surté et confermement parmenable*. Also, Simonnet, "Treize chartes," 275–78, no. 9, October 1280: a joint sealing of an act dealing with her inheritance at Reynel. *Simon of Joinville's letter of 1230 states that he did homage to the duke of Burgundy for his second wife's castle of Marnay, *laude et assensu Beatricis, uxoris mee* (Simonnet, *Essai*, 112–13,

1230). *Beatrice of Auxonne sealed a separate, more descriptive letter: *Ego Beatrix, domina Jonivilla, notum facio presentibus et futuris quod ego volui et precepi . . . domino et marito meo Symoni, domino Symoni domino Joniville, quod caperet a domino duce Burgundie Hugone castrum de Marnai quod movet et est de capite et hereditagio meo, et quicquid per ipsum dominum meum de dicto feodo factum est, sicut in litteris suis continetur, ratum habeo et volo et concedo* (Simonnet, *Essai*, 112, 1230).

114. *Layettes*, 4: 50–51, no. 4801, December 1262. They later jointly sealed a letter of sale to the Templars (Gigot, *Chartes*, 310–11, no. 253, March 1269). Similarly Mathilda of Rethel, wife of Thomas of Coucy, added her seal to his letter of mortgage (of her dower): *Ad hoc vero tuendum, Mathildis, uxor mea, assensum suum prebuit et bona fide laudavit, et huic scripto sigillum suum cum sigillo meo in testimonio apponi fecit* (CR 3, fol. 101r–v, May 1220 = *CB*, no. 277).

115. Joint letter (CR 3, fols. 41v–42v, July 1218 = *CB*, no. 102) and Philippa's letter (CR 3, fol. 45v–46r, July 1218 = *CB*, no. 114).

116. CR 3, fols. 43v–44r, December 1219 = *CB*, no. 196; CR 3, fol. 43r, April 1220 = *CB*, no. 104; LP 2:418–19, May 1222, a final receipt for the entire four years' worth of rents.

117. Philippa's letters of 2 November 1221 (AN, J 209, no. 4 > LP 2: 419–31) and 10 November 1221 (AN, J 209, no. 2 > CR 8, fols. 83r–85v).

118. AN, J 209, no. 26, May 1222 = *Layettes*, 2: 545–46, no. 1535; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 59; and LP 2: 394–95, in which she spoke of allaying any doubt (*dubitationem*) about her use of various seals.

119. Clairvaux 1, 110, no. 14, 1202; 110–11, no. 15, 1202. In grants to Clairvaux in 1205 they both affixed seals: *Ego Galterius et uxor mea Isabel* [of Laferté-sur-Amance] *presentem cartam sigillorum nostrorum fecimus impressione munivi* (AD Aube, 3 H 164 > Clairvaux 1, 112, no. 18, 1205); also Clairvaux 1, 113, no. 21, 1205. See *Gautier I of Vignory.

120. For 1204, see *Helisent of Joigny. "Mores," 82–83, no. 77, February 1219, n.s.; "Mores," 83–84, no. 79, March 1219 (with three pendent seals). See also *Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine.

121. AD Haute-Marne, 10 H 17, 1189: the abbot wrote it (*hoc scripsit*), perhaps because Bartholomew's clerics had accompanied him overseas. Several generations earlier Beatrice, *domina* of Vignory, held court *in castella* of Vignory in the absence of her husband, Guy IV, on the First Crusade: in the presence of many knights, the knight Milo gave all his property to the priory at Vignory there because he wished to visit Jerusalem after its recent capture; he provided that his wife retain life possession of the property and that after his death, since they had no children, it was to pass to the priory. Lord Guy IV, on his return, confirmed the transaction after it was explained to him (*Vignory*, 82–84, no. 34bis, ca. 1100).

122. *Saint-Pierre*, 146–47, no. 144, March 1218: *Ego Agnes, domina de Planceio, notum facio . . . quod cum karissimus dominus vir meus Philippus esset Jerosolimam profecturus, ore suo precepit et voluit et injunxit assignationem, quam postmodum feci ecclesie trecentensi . . . 30 solidorum annui redditus . . . assignavi in pedagio Planceii . . . pro anniversario*. Dulcisa, wife of Henry the Sentosian, did the same: in his absence on the Albigensian Crusade, she promised, *fide interposita*, to guarantee his gift to the chapter of Langres, with the consent of her son, daughter, and two brothers-in-law (*Langres*, 91–92, no. 55, 1208).

123. *Montiéramey*, 118–19, no. 88, 1190: *domina Planceii in omnibus deficiens*.

124. *Rôles*, no. 207.

125. *Rôles*, no. 342: *uxor sua dixit pro ipso*.

126. *Rôles*, no. 383, 807, 814.

127. Geoffroy V of Joinville: Delaborde, *Joinville*, cat. no. 122, 1203. Renaud II of

Briel: see Evergates, “The Origin of the Lords of Karytaina,” 101–2. Erard III of Chacenay: “Mores,” 95–96, no. 111, April 1249. Geoffroy of Luxémont states that his brother, Jean of Tournay, departing on the Fourth Crusade, *mandavit mihi et fratri meo Willelmo per litteras suas et servientes suum*, to collect the 50*l.* debt from the abbot of Cheminon; Geoffroy here acknowledges payment in his own letter left as receipt with the monks (AD Marne, 17 H 135, no. 9, 1202 = *Cheminon*, 73–74).

128. See *Helvide of Dampierre and nn. 109–10 above for her joint acts with Jean while married. Her seal (*Sigillum Helvidis dom[ine] de Mont Mirabili*) and counterseal (*Secretum Helvidi*) survive from 1210 (Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 659–60). Chassel, *Sceaux et usages de sceaux*, 123, fig. 127, publishes a photograph of her seal from 1215 (*Sigillum Helvidis domine de Mont[te] Mirabili*) depicting her sitting with a floret in her right hand, a powerful representation of her lordship.

129. Quantin, *Cartulaire général*, 2: 96, no. 88, 15 March 1158: *factum est hoc apud Villammaurium ante domnam Heliam, dominam ejusdem ville*. Helia, widow of Odo of Villemaur (1127–54), later married Milo Breban of Provins, the count’s marshal (1179–84); she entered the Paraclete *ad succurrendum* ca. 1197 (*Obituaires*, 4: 425).

130. See *Agnes of Brienne.

131. AD Marne, 17 H 135, no. 1, 1188: letter written in Ermengard’s name but sealed by Hugh of Rethel, castellan of Vitry. With the consent of her son and daughter, she gave the monks land and woods at Tournay; her second husband Eustace and his daughter consented but did not participate in the transaction. Henry II confirmed her transaction (AD Marne, 17 H 135, no. 2, 1188) without mentioning her letter.

132. AD Haute-Marne, 7 H 13, 1182, at Pougy, probably in her castle: *Quod ut ratum et inconcussum habeatur, sigilli mariti mei Odonis, quod meus est, impressione corroboravi*. Her letter confirmed Hulduin of Wallecourt’s gift to the monks of Montier-en-Der of the *casamentum* he held from her. Elizabeth’s son Renaud and his wife Oda consented, as did her other sons Renaud and Odo. Witnesses included her chaplain Barnard, her cleric Guy, and a knight Giles. Elizabeth’s brother-in-law Manasses had just been elected bishop of Troyes (1181–91). The widow Domitella of Touquin also used her husband’s seal (see Chapter 5 n. 132).

133. See Chapter 1 nn. 185–87.

134. *Paraclet*, 115–16, no. 91 = Quantin, *Cartulaire général*, 2: 477–48, no. 469 (the original is AD Yonne, H 675, 1196). Hermesend announced (*Omnibus ad quos littere iste pervenerint; Ermancia domina de Tringnel in Domino salutem*) that since the papal delegates, the archbishop and archdeacon of Sens, had failed to resolve the dispute, they asked her to arbitrate; she conducted an inquest, then with the advice of local men decided (*statui et decrevi*) for the Paraclete and had a document written and sealed with her seal (*presentem cartam notari feci et sigilli mei munimine roborari*). See Jeanclos, *L’arbitrage*, 75. Helvide of Dampierre, widow of the seneschal Geoffroy IV of Joinville, was sealing as *domina* of Joinville at the same time (Simonnet, *Essai*, 70–71, undated, probably ca. 1190: confirmation of a donation made by a knight and his family to the Templars “in my presence”).

135. AN, J 196, no. 2, 1205 = *LB*, 124–25, no. 91.

136. *LB*, 100–101, no. 62, 21 November 1213.

137. Ida was first mentioned with Anselm III ca. 1197, when both sealed his confirmation of his father’s gifts to the nuns without mention of their children (*Paraclet*, 119–20, no. 96, 1197). Thus Anselm IV must have been born at the earliest in 1198 and would have been about fifteen in 1213. In 1204 Ida and Anselm III jointly confirmed the Paraclete’s tithe at Villeneuve (*Paraclet*, 140–41, nos. 125–26, 1204). Ida assumed the lordship of Traînel from 1211 (Vauluisant, fol. 7v, February 1211, n.s.: she had the monks’ carts and animals seized) and continued as regent for the

next decade, until Anselm IV turned twenty-one, when he first sealed a letter (*Layettes*, 1: 542, no. 1520, March 1222).

138. The scribe of Ida's letter (AN, J 199, no. 10, December 1213, at Provins) also wrote William I of Joigny's letter of the same date and place (AN, J 199, no. 9).

139. See Chapter 5 nn. 108–9.

140. *Rôles*, 285, no. 1258.

141. *Rôles*, 297–98, no. 1299: *Domina de Possessa tenet de dote castrum de Possessa cum castellani et appendiciis*.

142. See Chapter 2 at n. 129.

143. Both her letter (LP 3, fol. 236r–v, June 1250) and her bailiff's oral report were copied into the roll of the bailiff of Sainte-Menehould (*Rôles*, nos. 1254, 1349).

144. *Coutumier*, art. 5, decision of the court at Troyes, 1278: *Il est coustume en Champagne que se une dame demore veuve et elle a petiz enfanz, qu'elle en droit avoir l'avouerie et en droit pourter les meubles et lez debz, se elle les veut panre, et droit repandre dou seigneur de cui il tiennent pour le droit des enfanz. Et se il y a hoirs male, si tost comme il est au quinsieme an, il doit repandre dou signour; et si n'y avoit que files, si tost comme elles auroient XI anz, elle droit repandre dou signour. Et si ne reprannent, li sire puet asseoir sa main au fié jusques a tant qu'il reprannent, quar hons est hors d'avouerie au quinzainme an et femme a XI anz* (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 37).

145. See *Beatrice of Auxonne, *Alix of Dreux, and Chapter 7 n. 92 (Beatrice of Joigny).

146. Simonnet, *Essai*, 85–86, 1190 = Didot, *Études*, 181–82, “E.”

147. Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 660, 1213 (*Helvide of Dampierre's letter and seal, with *Jean II of Montmirail's consent); 661, 1216 (Helvide and Jean II both sealed); 661, 1216 (joint letter); 661, 1217 (both sealed).

148. Evidence from Champagne suggests that the lexical range of *familia* extended beyond the sphere of household or retinue to include a biological relationship, that is, in the sense of conjugal family. Anselm III of Trânel, from one of the most notable lineages of the county, explained to the nuns of the Paraclete that he asked his (married) sister Marie, *quamvis forisfamiliata erat*, to consent to his confirmation of their late father's gift, so that heirs might not challenge the gift later (*Paraclet*, 119–20, no. 96, 1197). Similarly, Adam de Fossis of Troyes had his daughter and her husband confirm his gift in the count's presence, even though *forisfamiliata essent* (*Montiéramey*, 75–76, no. 50, 1161). The chaplain of La Ferté-Milon referred to the *familie tam domini* (of the castle) *quam dictorum militum* (who performed castleguard there; see Chapter 1 n. 128). The provost Robert of Sézanne announced his donation to Oyes with the consent of his wife Elizabeth, his son Robert, *et totius familie mee*, referring to his blood relatives living with him who could give their consent to a property transaction, not to his household servants (Oyes, fol. 18r, 1204).

Chapter 5. The Marriage Contract

1. Petot, “Le mariage des vassales,” rebuts the frequently repeated claim that lords in France dictated or licensed the marriages of their fiefholders. In England, by contrast, the consent of the king or lord was required for marriage, remarriage, the possession of dower lands, and the custody of minor heirs (Waugh, *The Lordship of England*; DeAragon, “Dowager Countesses”; and Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 231–38). But Holt, “The Heiress,” 250–51, remarks on the “give and take” involved in the exercise of the royal prerogative.

2. Petot, “Le mariage des vassales,” 35–47; Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 238–42.

3. Philip II also required Blanche's infant daughter Marie to be raised at the

royal court until she reached twelve, at which time he would select her husband in consultation with (*concilio et assensu*) the queen mother Adele (Marie's great-aunt and closest female relative) and ten named barons from Champagne; there is no mention of Blanche's own consent (see Chapter 2 n. 25). Painter, *Peter of Dreux*, 78–80, discusses Louis IX's prohibition of 1231. In 1275 Philip III pressured Blanche of Artois to betroth her daughter and heiress Jeanne to one of his own sons (Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 444–45, and Lalou, "Le gouvernement de la reine Jeanne," 16–17).

4. Didot, *Études*, "P," 1 May 1239 = Wailly, "Recueil," 558, "A." Duchess Alix of Burgundy and her eldest son Hugh (IV, 1229–72) promised that he would not marry any daughter of seven named barons who had opposed Thibaut IV (LP 1, fols. 209r–210v, July 1227); see Painter, *Peter of Dreux*, 42–48.

5. *Layettes*, 4: 327–28, no. 5490, 1269: Henry's letter describing his brother's restriction and threat of a 20,000*l.* *tour.* fine (four years of his income) if he failed to heed his brother's directive. Thibaut later congratulated Henry for betrothing Blanche of Artois (*Layettes*, 4: 424, no. 5644, February 1270, n.s.).

6. See Chapter 4.

7. Gislebert of Mons, *Chronicon*, 191–92, chap. 123 (1185).

8. The details and negotiations behind these agreements are described in Falmagne, *Baudouin V*, 114, 127, 129–31, 136, 172–73, 180–81. Ribordy, "*Faire les nocces*," presents vivid accounts of marriage negotiations in the fourteenth century.

9. The knight *Guy Gastebél of Traînel, who witnessed the events ca. 1153 and later took vows at Preuilly, testified in 1217 that Anselm sold the dowry (the castle of Neuilly and one-half of Oulchy) to Henry I "fifteen years or more" after that event, that is, ca. 1170. See Chapter 1 n. 139 and Chapter 7 n. 108.

10. CR 5, fols. 273v–274r, March 1228, o.s. (Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 47–48). See *Hugh V of Châtillon.

11. See n. 25 below.

12. *Layettes*, 2: 64–66, no. 1738, January 1226, n.s. The lords of Vignory, Dampierre, Fovens, Clefmont, and Champlitte stood surety for the count of Burgundy; the lords of Reynel, Deuilly, Durnay, and Nogent stood surety for Thibaut IV.

13. *Gautier I of Vignory sealed a letter pledging that, upon being notified by Thibaut IV in person, by his representative, or by his letter patent (*per se vel per nuntiam suam vel per litteras suas*) that the contract was breached, he would transfer the entire fief he held from the count of Burgundy to Thibaut (*Vignory*, 221, no. 101, 19 January 1226, n.s.). His son *Gautier II fulfilled that pledge: it was the breach of the marriage contract (*le défaut des couvenances*), he said, that led him to transfer (*repris*) lordship of Vignory castle to Thibaut IV (*Vignory*, 254–55, no. 160, October 1251 = *Layettes*, 3: 142–43, no. 3964).

14. *Thesaurus*, 1: 971–72, November 1232; *Layettes*, 2: 245–46, no. 2231, March 1233 (both trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 29). See n. 23 below for Archambaud's receipt for full payment of the dowry.

15. Hughes ("From Brideprice to Dowry," 28–34) argues that the medieval dowry existed only from the eleventh century, while Barthélemy ("Note sur le *maritagium*") sees the first references to dowry as confirming a long-standing custom. Herlihy (*Medieval Households*, 98) attributes to Italian jurists and canonists the early twelfth-century reappearance of the Roman term *dos* and the related idea of equal contributions from both spouses. Emperor Valentinian's novel of 435/37 required the dowry (*dos*) to be equal to the dower (*donatio ante nuptias*); see Shaw, "The Family in Late Antiquity." Santinelli, *Des femmes éplorées*, 205–8, 333–39, concludes that, even though the earliest certain references to dowry date from the eleventh century, indirect evidence suggests that well-born women took dowries (in lieu of inheritance) into marriage since the seventh century.

16. Achery, *Spicilegium*, 3 (1723): 575, February 1212 = *Bourbon*, 1: 14, no. 58: *heres femina maritagium accipiebat a patre vel matre sue vel fratribus suis, tale siquidem in quo non esset disparatus et quod ei conveniret secundum genus et nobilitatem suam*. The case involved *Mathilda of Bourbon's inheritance, which the royal court decided *ad usus et consuetudines Franciae*.

17. Guigue, "Testament de Guichard III de Beaujeu," 163, 1216: *ut ei sicut consanguinee sua debeat providere et eam [Agnes] maritare*. The testament provided that if Louis was unable or unwilling to do that, Guichard's widow and eldest son would arrange Agnes's marriage, for which Guichard gave 1,000 marks of silver for her dowry (*ad maritagium*). Agnes and Louis VIII were first cousins through their mothers, the sisters Sybil and Isabelle of Hainaut. William Marshal, the regent of England, was said to have regretted on his deathbed not having provided a dowry for his youngest daughter, a lapse so dishonorable that he provided her a rent of 30*l.* and 200 marks of silver (Thiry-Stassin and Thiry, "Mariage et lignage," 353–54).

18. *Coutumier*, art 3: *deniers en mariaige . . . assis sur heritaige*. An inquest ca. 1215 stated the custom: daughters who married with dowries "passed out of the family and cannot reclaim [a share of the inheritance] against their brothers" (Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 2: *les filles sont hors de mainbournie eles ne pueent revenir au freres*). For the same reason, Philip of Chalette's married daughters did not consent to his allodial conversion (see Chapter 3 n. 43). Jeanne of Heuilly gave her older sister Margaret, wife of Nicholas VI of Rumigny, a sealed letter stating that Jeanne, when she received a dowry at the time of her marriage, promised not to make any future claim to an inheritance (*par escheance*) and therefore quit her sister of their mother's inheritance (BNF, Collection Moreau, vol. 168, fol. 28r–v, October 1247).

19. Eustachia of Roucy (d. ca. 1221) took her mother's dowry of the viscounty of Mareuil and later, after the death of her two brothers, inherited her father's county of Roucy (1201). Her son Jean II took Roucy, while her daughter Elizabeth took Mareuil as dowry (Elizabeth's husband held it in 1211). When Elizabeth died without heir (ca. 1218), Mareuil reverted to her mother, and at Eustachia's death it passed to Jean II, who assigned it as dower for his wife, Isabelle of Dreux (Bur, *Formation*, 445; Barthélemy, *Coucy*, 416 n. 207).

20. See n. 150 below.

21. See Chapter 3 n. 117 and Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 2: 1076. The suggestion that in Mediterranean cities the real property of dowries often came from "a maternal estate and perhaps constituted a separate class of female, dotal property" (Hughes, "From Brideprice to Dowry," 35) does not hold for northern Europe.

22. *Layettes*, 2: 245–46, no. 1231, November 1232; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 29A.

23. *Bourbon*, 1: 38, no. 179, June 1235.

24. See Table C.7 and Evergates, "A Quantitative Analysis of Fiefs," 63. Thompson, "Dowry and Inheritance Patterns," 47–48, gives examples from western France.

25. *Jeanne of Dampierre's marriage contract required Hugh III of Rethel to invest her dowry in a fief producing 600*l.* annual revenue; Hugh dowered her with his castle of Mézières and a revenue of 1,000*l. par.* (*Rethel*, 1: 139–41, no. 86, November 1239). Felicity of Rethel's dowry: *Rethel*, 1: 209–10, no. 131, October 15, 1252.

26. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 1: 546–47, no. 451, 1193: sale of Pierrefonds for an 800*l.* revenue, which he assigned *in maritagio* to Alix and her husband. See also Alix's dower (n. 128 below).

27. See n. 12 above.

28. LP 1, fols. 143r–144r = Didot, *Études*, 191–92, "O," June 123; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 31. See also *Alix of Grandpré.

29. *Thesaurus*, 1: 904, June 1223; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 27. See Appendix E, Genealogy 5.

30. CR 4, fol. 314r, 1223; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 42B (Dudo of Flogny for his daughter Lucy). For other examples of 200*l.* dowries, see n. 46 below.

31. LP 1, fols. 146v–148r, June 1231; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 28.

32. Blanche gave Auda, her *domicella*, a 10*l.* income from the fairs of Troyes as dowry (*pro suo maritagio*) for her marriage to Thibaut of Rosières. Blanche purchased that revenue from the knight Guy of Ventelay, who held a 30*l.* fief-rent *in feodo et homagio* from Henry of Riparia (and who thus sold one-third of his fief-rent). We know about that earlier sale because Thibaut IV described it (since it moved from him) in confirming Auda's deathbed gift of 2*l.* to the hospital of Saint-Bernard of Troyes (Arbois de Jubainville, "Etudes sur les documents," 107, no. 17, 1222).

33. Gigot, *Chartes*, 19–20, no. 19, 1248.

34. See n. 25 above.

35. See n. 29 above.

36. Arbois de Jubainville, "Catalogue des actes des comtes de Brienne," 179–80, no. 198, March 1297, act of Philip IV announcing the marriage contract between Marie, countess of Joigny, and Gautier V, count of Brienne, for their children Jean, future count of Joigny, and Gautier's sister Agnes. Agnes received in dower the castle of Joigny and a 2,500*l.* rent. Of her 7,000*l.* cash dowry, 5,000*l.* was deposited at Montier-la-Celle until it could be invested in land.

37. Faremoutiers, fols. 49–55, no. 10, 1144 (Louis VII's confirmation of the abbey's possessions after fire destroyed its archive): Helias received the fief *in matrimonio* and was among those *qui feodos tenent ab abbatisa et jurant ecclesie eidemque abbatisse fidelitatem* ("fidelity" perhaps in lieu of the kiss of homage). In Anjou and Poitou dowry fiefs are known from the eleventh century (Barthélemy, "Note sur le maritagium," 19–22; and Verdon, "La femme en Poitou," 95 n. 19, citing a dowry held in fief ca. 1071).

38. Haimo of Autricourt held property *ex parte uxoris*, and Acarin of Saint-Remi was liege and owed two months castleward for property held *de feodo ex parte uxoris sue* (*Feoda* 1, nos. 323, 642). In the 1150s, the husband of Helvide of Baslieux held her dowry as a fief from her father (see Chapter 3 n. 85).

39. *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 100, July 1218 = Quantin, *Recueil*, 93, no. 209 = CB, no. 138: *de terra mea quam habeo ex parte uxoris mea apud Marrolias deveni homo ligius*.

40. Larrivour, fol. 19v, no. 39, July 1232: Isabelle and Pierre quit to Larrivour the fief (*feudum et jus feodi terre*) that Jean of Champguillard had held from her father, Jean of Vallery, but subsequently alienated to the abbey. The couple said that her father had given them the fief *in maritagio*, and they guaranteed title *per fides suas in manu nostra* [the episcopal official of Troyes] *super hoc prestitas corporales*; the monks paid them 30*l.* *prov.* Isabelle's father later sealed his own letter consenting to what was contained in *litteris curie Trecentis* (Larrivour, fol. 21r, no. 49, July 1232).

41. Quantin, *Recueil*, 13, no. 28, March 1203, o.s.: *fidem corporaliter prestiterunt in manu nostra*. Gérard already had mortgaged the fief to its lord, Saint-Remi of Reims, for 25*l.*; now he sold it to Saint-Remi for 55*l.* to redeem the debt, which left him 30*l.* cash. He also had a comital fief (*Hommages* 1, no. 2393; *Hommages* 2, no. 2949).

42. "Mores," 67–68, no. 43, 1197: *hec omnia laudaverunt et in elemosynam dederunt predicta ecclesie de Moris Petronilla, uxor mea, de cujus hereditate predicta ista movebant, et Margareta, mater ipsius, et Agnes, filie ejusdem*.

43. Duchesne, *Vergy, preuves*, 108–9, 1222.

44. Clairvaux 1, 221, no. 25, 1206: *hereditas ista movebit de capite Agnetis*, which *sine retentione contulit*. Similarly Gila, wife of Hugh of Lourcy, gave Pontigny 10*s.* from

the tolls she had *in capite* at Rouvray, apparently without her husband's consent, for after her death Hugh and his two sons and daughter formally consented in the chapter house at Pontigny (*Pontigny*, 250–51, no. 208, January 1213).

45. *Avenay*, 2: 95–96, no. 38, 1209: 20s. revenue from an oven, *qui eam jure hereditario contigit*; her unnamed husband and three named sons consented; Gautier, lord of Nanteuil, consented (*sicut dominus a quo istud descendit in feodum*) and confirmed the transaction (*sicut dominus feodi*).

46. Henry of Thorigny gave his daughter Agnes a 200*l.* dowry; she gave it to her father-in-law, William of Verzy, in return for a 20*l.* revenue (*Willelmus assedit illi filie Henrici et hereditibus XX libratis terre jure hereditario possidendas*). Thibaut IV consented because the revenues *movent de feodo meo* (CR 5, fol. 278r, ca. 1230). William was allowed to redeem his fief within four years upon payment of the 200*l.* Similarly, Gobert of Nesle acquired his daughter-in-law Isabelle's 200*l.* dowry in exchange for a 20*l.* income assigned on his lands; Gobert's heirs could redeem the rent if she predeceased her husband (CR 5, fol. 330v, March 1222, o.s.).

47. Oda, daughter of the viscount of Melun, exchanged her 500*l.* dowry for a 50*l.* rent assigned on her husband's lands by three local lords (Leroy, "Contrat de mariage," 459–62, 1204). If she died without heirs, her husband could redeem it within four years from *her* heirs (*ab hereditibus sive hereditariis predictae domine*). That contract also defined her dower as her husband's best residence (*melius herbergagium*) and half of his lands. The Parlement of Paris decided a similar case in 1261: the knight who sold his wife's *hereditas*, with her permission, in exchange for an equivalent amount of property from his own inheritance (for which he gave her his sealed letter recording that "exchange or compensation") made a legally binding contract, said the court (*Les Olim*, 1: 149–50, no. 4).

48. See n. 150 below.

49. *Preuilly*, 210–14, no. 342, May 1234 = Quantin, *Recueil*, 217–19, no. 478, arbitration by the bishop of Chartres. Heloise of Chaumont said that her husband, Odo des Barres, and his mother (or stepmother) Helisent, viscountess of Sens and lady of Chaumont (Yonne), had given Heloise's tithe of Villemannoche to Preuilly, *non consentiente nec laudante ista domina Hel., vel si laudaverat hoc, fecerat invita et coacta, ut dicebat ipsa, cum tamen dicta decima moveret de capite ipsius*. Heloise pledged (*fidei sacramento*) to repay 100*l.* (a considerable reduction of the debt) over five years and to seal her own letter accepting the settlement, which she did in April 1235 (*Preuilly*, 223, no. 357). The donation in question seems to have been made two decades earlier, shortly after Heloise's marriage (*Preuilly*, 119–20, no. 175, 1212); it is unclear from the fragmentary copy of the text whether Heloise actually consented or was simply listed with the other members of the family.

50. *Coutumier*, arts. 3, 7 (a dowry reverts to the woman's father).

51. See *Jeanne of Dampierre.

52. *Layettes*, 3: 245–46, no. 4182, 10 July 1255.

53. See n. 151 below.

54. Delisle, *Mémoire sur les opérations financières*, 105–6, no. 12.1, August 1269: the dowry was to be invested *in emptionem terre et redditum faciendam pro ipsa Blanca et nomine ejusdem*.

55. Odo of Matthew, for example, who married Gila, sister of the viscount of Melun, had to return her 500*l.* dowry in four annual payments following her death without heirs (Leroy, "Contrat de mariage," 461–62, 1209).

56. As Philip I of Flanders put it, on dowering his wife, Elizabeth of Vermandois: *uxorem legitimo matrimonio despondi, eamque de possessione mea, consuete et antiquo more nobilium, dotare decrevi* (*De Oorkonden der Graven van Vlaanderen*, 2.1: 286–87, no. 182, 1159).

57. Corbet, “Le douaire dans le droit canonique,” concludes that since the early canonists had made the dower an essential part of a legitimate marriage, it drew much less interest by Gratien’s time than such highly charged issues as consent to marriage.

58. Lemaire, “Les origines de la communauté des biens entre époux”; and Le Jan-Hennebique, “Aux origines du douaire médiévale.” For the one-third dower of western France, see Vincent, “Douaire préfix et quotité coutumière,” 568–76; and for Normandy, see Baudin, “La *dos* dans la Normandie ducal.” Examples of dower letters from Normandy and western France ca. 1000 are printed in *Thesaurus*, 1: 101–4, 110–11, 122–24. Lemesle, *La société aristocratique dans le Haute-Marne*, 124–25, cites a dower letter/marriage contract from the 1080s.

59. Most are known as copies in Cluny’s cartularies (Ridard, *Essai sur le douaire*, 31–37, and Le Jan-Hennebique, “Aux origines du douaire médiévale,” 111–12). Stafford, “*La mutation familiale*,” 115–24, reviews the evidence on Cluny’s dower letters; see also Santinelli, *Des femmes éplorées*, chap. 5.

60. In one of the earliest references to the half-dower in Champagne, Milo of Dommartin, leaving for Jerusalem, perhaps on the First Crusade, promised the monks of Montier-en-Der the half of his allod that his wife possessed for her lifetime (her dower) as well as the other half if Milo and his wife did not have children (*Montier-en-Der*, 259–60, no. 125, ca. 1095–ca. 1129). In 1122 Nicholas, castellan of the bishop of Laon, mentioned his mother’s dower, which became his wife’s dower (*Laon*, 176–77, no. 97: *terram que de dote ipsius uxoris erat*). In 1157 Ivo II of Nesle, count of Soissons, described the dower he settled on his wife Yoland of Hainaut (half of Nesle and what pertained to its castle) with the consent of his lord, Raoul of Vermandois. Ivo later added to the dower the homages of forty knights (*hominia XL militum*), who took oaths to observe Yoland’s rights (*Nesle*, 2: 84–86, no. 13, 1157: confirmation by Louis VII).

61. The scribe who copied the dower letter Hugh of Broys gave his wife in 1197 called it a *cartam de dotalicio* (see n. 80 below). In the Laonnois, Agnes of Berlandcourt received the *instrumentum* of her dower from her husband (1171), and Emeline of Bosmont still possessed her dower letter (*carta dotis*) when she surrendered it (1174/84) to the canons of Saint-Martin of Laon (*reddidit abbati et fratribus Sancti Martini cartam dotis suae*), not wishing to contest her father-in-law’s alienation of part of her dower lands (Morelle, “Mariage et diplomatique,” 228 n. 8 and 227).

62. Stephen of Pringy resembles the knights of the Laonnois who gave their wives dower letters in 1160s and 1170s (Morelle, “Mariage et diplomatique”). Stephen was the count’s liegeman for a fief in the castellany of Vitry (*Feoda* 1, no. 387, ca. 1178). A lady Tafina (perhaps his daughter) latter held Pringy as a liege fief (*Feoda* 2, no. 2235, ca. 1190); she still held it ca. 1200 (*Feoda* 5, no. 3192). In 1250 Jean of Saint-Phal, sixth son of Pierre of Saint-Phal, held Pringy with its fortified residence (*domum fortem*, perhaps the same one Stephen assigned as his wife’s dower in 1176), all of which produced about 80*l* income, according to his provost’s testimony (*Rôles*, no. 1218). See also Evergates, *Bailiage of Troyes*, 205.

63. Morelle, “Mariage et diplomatique,” 232–42, discusses the pastoral nature of the early dower letters. He suggests (257–58) that Gautier of Mortagne, bishop of Laon (1155–74), who was deeply interested in doctrinal issues relating to marriage, may have encouraged the use of dower letters in the Laonnois, and that they were associated with the marriage itself (233 n. 30). The document for Stephen of Pringy also suggests that it was part of the marriage ceremony.

64. AD Marne, G 389, no. 7, original; text in Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 3: 99: *Conjungui copulam a Deo institutam et Mosaice legis assertio et Evangelice auctoritatis declarat testificatio. Quapropter relinquet homo patrem et matrem et adhiberebit uxori sue et erunt duo in*

carne una et quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separet. . . . Ego Stephanus, O karissima Comitissa, laude et assensu amicorum meorum, te in uxorem recipio et de eorum consilio dotem tibi assigno medietatem videlicet Pringeii et firmitatem ibidem sitam et, si aliquo casu contingerit me illam amittere et aliam quantumcumque fortem edificare, illam tibi in dotem confero. Do etiam medietatem omnium quae alibi possideo et medietatem omnium quae adquirere potero. The document was prepared for Guy of Joinville, bishop of Châlons (1164–90). The last sentence, “Given by the hand of Gérard, chancellor” (*Data per manus Girardi cancellarii*), was written by a different hand and added to the document when it was presented to Comitissa. Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 3: 98, gives a topographical sketch of the residence.

65. *Coutumier*, art. 9, 1270s: *Il est coutume en Champagne que s’aucune noble femme demore veuve, et elle n’ait douaire devis, que elle emporte en douaire laquelle maison qu’elle veut panre de celles que ses mariz tenoit de son herritaige . . . tout soit ce qu’elle enportoit la moitié de tot l’erritaige de son mari en douaire, laquelle moitié elle en doit pourter par droit commun* (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 43). See also Chabaud, “Le douaire dans les coutume de Reims.”

66. *Simon of Joinville, seneschal of Champagne, and *Marie of Garlande, widow of Henry IV of Grandpré, who contracted to marry their children, agreed that Simon would dower Marie’s daughter Alix *ad usum et consuetudinem Campanie* (Didot, *Études*, 191–92, “O,” 1231; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 31).

67. Beaumanoir credits Philip II’s (lost) *établissement* of 1214 for imposing the half-dower as the “general custom” of the realm (the Beauvaisis, he notes, was exceptional in retaining the one-third dower). Beaumanoir also reports that the half-dower did not apply to the widows of barons, who were to receive instead prescribed or negotiated dowers, so as to preserve “baronies” intact (Beaumanoir, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, 1: 212–13, par. 445).

68. *Li prestres fet dire a l’homme quant il espouse, car il li dit: “Du douaire qui est devisés entre mes amis et les tiens te deu.”*

69. In 1193 Philip confirmed the dower assigned by William IV of Garlande (younger brother of Anselm III of Tournan-Possesse; see Appendix E, Genealogy 8) for his wife, Alix of Châtillon: half of all his lands and acquisitions “by whatever means,” and a temporary residence until his mother vacated her dower house at Livry (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 1: 547–48, no. 452). Philip’s court ca. 1200 resolved an intricate case involving the half-dower of a man’s two wives: the children of his first wife inherited her dower (half of all his property and his best residence), while the children of the second wife received her dower (half of his lands remaining after the first dower was assigned); the remaining one-fourth of the man’s property was divided equally among all the children of both wives (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 2: 222–23, no. 666).

70. Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide*, ll. 4758–60:

La motié de tote ma terre
Li voudrai doner en doaire,
S’ele veut ma volenté faire.

71. Louis VI was keenly aware of the importance of dowers. In establishing his peace in Laon in 1128, he protected widows in the lifetime enjoyment of their dowers (*Actes de Louis VI*, 2: 88–96, no. 277, par. 21). In 1128 and 1132 he was careful to exempt his wife’s dower from his gifts to two collegiate chapters (*Actes de Louis VI*, 2: 59–62, no. 263; 2: 174–75, no. 317).

72. In 1232 Ponce V, viscount of Polignac, offered a similar episcopal dower letter to Adelaide of Traînel (sister of Garnier IV of Traînel-Marigny): in the presence of many prelates, nobles, and barons, he assigned her a dower (*nomine sponsalitii vel*

donationis propter nuptias) of three castles, other lands, and 200 marks of silver, then swore to honor her as his legitimate wife (*jurasse quod dictam A. teneat et custodiat legitime et honorifice ut uxorem*), under threat of excommunication and interdict (Achery, *Spicilegium*, 3: 594).

73. *Saint-Yved de Braine*, 323–25, no. B 1, April 1153: *Ego Ludovicus . . . notum sit igitur universis presentibus et futuris, fratrem meum comitem Robertum in uxorem accepisse Agnetem, Brenensem comitissam, et secundum ecclesie morem ei dotem assignasse Drocas videlicet cum principali firmitate et totam castellariam cum omnibus appendiciis et medietatem omnium que ubique terrarum poterit acquirere. Quam dotem in presentia nostra ipse recognovit. Et postmodum prece Roberti, et pro honestate domine et honestatis ipsius testimonio, dotem ita constitutam regia benignitate concessimus*. The letter was not copied into Saint-Yved's cartulary of the 1210s, but the original document survived in the abbey's archive until 1692. If, as likely, *Agnes of Baudement deposited the letter with the canons, it would be the earliest known example of a dower letter placed for safe-keeping with a religious institution.

74. *Layettes*, 5: 23–24, nos. 67–68, 1171. Hodiernne received, *in dotalicio*, Nogent-l'Artaud, its castellany, and all his lands and future acquisitions in the castellanies of Château-Thierry and Sézanne along the Marne River and at Orbais; their children would initially inherit what Artaud possessed and what he might acquire at Provins, Troyes, and elsewhere. The count's chancellor presented the document in the presence of Artaud's colleagues (several high officials) and many barons and knights.

75. CR 5, fol. 363r, 1221; fol. 314r, ca. 1223; both trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, nos. 42A–B.

76. AD Haute-Marne, G 76, no. 1, 1221 (Duchesne, *Dreux*, pt. 1, 261, partial text; cataloged in Choiseul, 62, no. 92): *Ego Renardus, dominus Caseoli. Omnibus presentes literas inspecturis. Notum facio quod ego dedi in dotalitium Alaydi, uxori meae, dominae Salinensi, castrum Caseoli et medietatem terrae meae ubicunque fuerit. . . . Et venerabilis pater Hugo, episcopus Lingonensis, de cujus feodo dictum castrum teneri dinoscitur, ad petitionem meam, dictam A. in feminam ligiam recepit de dicto castro et aliis supradictis que ad feodum ipsius episcopus pertinent*. After Renard died, Alix sealed a letter claiming the castle and its appurtenances, *jure dotalium*, which she had received from the bishop, *in feodum et homagium ligium* (AD Haute-Marne, G 82, December 1246 = Duchesne, *Dreux*, pt 1, 262, abstract). See *Alix of Dreux and *Renard II of Choiseul.

77. For the High Court's statement regarding the *douaire devis*, see n. 65 above.

78. *Layettes*, 1: 204, no. 497, 1 July 1199; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 40. Countess Margaret of Bourbon's dower contained several of the same castellanies (*Layettes*, 2: 245–46, no. 2231, March 1233, n.s.; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 29B).

79. Manasses IV, count of Rethel, dowered his son Hugh's wife, *Felicity of Beaufort, with the castle of Bourcq, while Hugh, *filius meus*, *eam dotavit de medietate omnium rerum quas ipse acquirit postquam ipse eam desponsaverit*; several knights who witnessed the act promised to become hostages in Vitry if the terms of the contract were not met (*Rethel* 1: 27–28, no. 12, ca. 1191).

80. CR 3, fol. 151r–v, 1197, *vidimus* of after 1201 (Duchesne, *Dreux*, pt. 5, Broyes, *preuves*, 18 = *Thesaurus*, 1: 667 = CB, no. 393): the castle of Broyes and other lands that Hugh's eldest son held were excluded from *Elizabeth of Dreux's dower, as were unspecified lands reserved for the dowry of their daughter *Emeline of Broyes (for its fate, see Evergates, *Documents*, no. 30). Elizabeth received the castle of Arc in dower, and the knights holding fiefs within her dower lands fell under her lordship: *Milites autem quorum feoda sita sunt infra hanc divisionem que facta est eidem Helysabet ab eadem prescripta feoda recipient, et inde homines sui erunt. Hec autem omnia tenebit*

Helysabet en duaire quamdiu habitu vixerit seculari; ea autem moriente, hec omnia ad heredem suum [Simon of Châteauvillain] *redibunt*. In the original Latin document, which Elizabeth apparently deposited at Clairvaux for safekeeping, the scribe quoted Hugh as saying that he gave Elizabeth certain lands *in doaire* (*Ellysabet uxori mee dedi in doaire*); the scribe at Clairvaux who made the verbatim copy of that letter (*oculo ad oculum perspeximus, et verbo ad verbum inscribi fecimus*) for Countess Blanche called it a *cartam de dotalicio*. The monks at Clairvaux did not copy the letter into their thirteenth-century cartularies, and the original has disappeared. The letter is known only through the copy sent to Blanche in 1201 and copied it into her cartulary ca. 1224.

81. Quantin, *Recueil*, 279–80, no. 578–80, November, 1257: marriage contract, by which William gave half of all his land within the county of Joigny (excluding its castle).

82. See n. 67 above.

83. Vincent, “Douaire préfix et quotité coutumière,” 602, and Morelle, “Mariage et diplomatique,” 245.

84. *Rethel*, 1: 139–41, no. 86, November 1239: *quant cele chose li sera assise quitelement et parmi ces choses faites et afermées, li cuens doit penre à feme ma fille Jehane*.

85. Mesqui, *Provins*, 187, no. 1, 1137: *hoc equidem laudant et concedunt Matildis comitissa, uxor mea, de cujus dote Pruvinum est, et Henricus filius meus . . . et Matildis comitissa hanc etiam sigilli sui impressione corroborat*. Young Henry indicated his consent by marking a cross next to his name (*Signum Henrici*).

86. BM Provins, MS 85, no. 3, 1170 (*Saint-Quiriace*, 256–57): *laudavit Maria Trecentis comitissa, uxoris mea, et sigilli sui appositione confirmavit, de cujus dot res habetur*. In the original parchment there are two slits for pendent seals; a scribe wrote *dote* above the left one).

87. See Chapter 8 at n. 92.

88. “Mores,” 46, no. 2, ca. 1152, pancarte of the bishop of Langres: *Petronilla comitissa, ejusdem comitis uxor, laudavit et confirmavit donum suum, sicut vir suus disposuit, nam ad dotem ejus finagium illud pertinebat*.

89. *Hospitaliers*, 2: 27, no. 1183, 1204: *jure dotalicio*.

90. The wife and children of the knight Poitevin of Guignicourt promised: *neque ratione dotis neque ratione alia dictam decimam reclamabunt* (see ch. 4 n. 88).

91. LP 2: 168–69, October 1246: *ne por doaire ne por nulle autre raison*.

92. *LB*, 55–56, no. 11, May 1200 = *CB*, no. 262: *Jean I of Montmirail pledged his fief to the count of Champagne (*comitem Campanie*). Yoland of Coucy, second wife of Robert II of Dreux, likewise received revenues *in recompensation* for the *permutationem* of her original dower revenues, which Robert had alienated to Saint-Yved (*Saint-Yved de Braine*, 195, no. 45, April 1208). The knight Milo of Germaine sold his wife Basile’s dower (the tithe from several villages he held in fief from the knights Odo of Sevigny and Giles of Ambly) to the chapter of Reims for 180*l.*, then assigned her a new dower on his lands at Damery (AD Marne, G 431, no. 4, May 1211).

93. *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 28, April 1205 = *Thesaurus*, 1: 501–2: Jean of Brienne stated that Thibaut gave him the property in fief after assigning it to Blanche in dower (*postquam eam [Blanche] duxit in uxorem et ei dotalitium fecit, mihi sine assensu ipsius dederat in feodum et casamentum*).

94. *Rôles*, no. 1621: *dixit quod in donatione non consensit et reclamavit dotem suam*.

95. Cecile of Clermont was another widow who accused the monks of obtaining her dower lands from her husband, but she later dropped her suit (*Cheminon*, 85, May 1218). Ermengard, widow of the provost of Bar-sur-Seine, also discovered after her husband’s death that he had alienated her dower lands (property within the

parish of Mores) to the monks of Mores; she invested them with the property but retained her lifetime use, in effect, recovering her dowry (“Mores,” 68, no. 44, 1197).

96. See nn. 108–9 below for widows presenting their dowry letters to the chantry. Morelle, “Mariage et diplomatique,” 227, suggests that in the Laonnois most dowry letters entered monastic archives as title deeds with the transfer of property.

97. *Preuilly*, 273–74, no. 442, January 1243, n.s., letter of Odo, abbot of Preuilly, describing the two letters Thibaut deposited *custodienda*: the papal bull of dispensation for marriage, and the *litteras super dotalicio* from Jean’s father Pierre, count of Brittany, dated 15 August 1235, which the abbot quoted verbatim.

98. In the earliest complete dowry letter from the Laonnois (1163), Bartholomew of Sissonne dowried his wife Mathilda with the “best part” (*optimam partem*) of his possessions, designated as the three fiefs he held from the abbess of Notre-Dame of Soissons, the abbot of Saint-Médard of Soissons, and the count of Soissons (Morelle, “Mariage et diplomatique,” 266–69, no. 1).

99. *Feoda* 1, no. 726: *Guido de Dormanz, ligius et tres menses custodie, apud Dormancium*. [Added] *Uxor ejus tenet in dotalitio*. The scribes who updated the earlier rolls often inserted “his wife” next to the original entry to indicate a widow’s dowry: *Petrus de Dormanz, ligius et II menses custodie. Apud Dormancium et quod habet apud Sparnacum*. [Added] *Uxor ejus* (*Feoda* 1, no. 727).

100. In Hainaut, women held fiefs from the early twelfth century, but the earliest documented example of a woman’s homage is from 1178 (Didier, *Le droit des fiefs*, 196–200, 200 n.131); Count Baldwin’s ordinance of 1200 allowed widows the lifetime use (exempt from service and justice) of fiefs acquired during marriage (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, 21: 621–22). In Flanders, the wife of Enguerran, count of Saint-Pol, did homage for her dowry fief ca. 1156, following her marriage, in the presence of four hundred knights (*De Oorkonden der Graven van Vlaanderen*, 2.1: 314–15, no. 202, ca. 1150–62).

101. *Feoda* 2, no. 2266: *Domicella Aaliz de Brotieres fecit homagium de feoda de Charmes*. In most cases when the scribes ca. 1190 updated the rolls of ca. 1178, they simply added the widow’s name to her husband’s original entry or noted that “his wife did the homage” (*Feoda* 1, nos. 3, 45: *uxor ejus fecit*).

102. “Mores,” 73, no. 51, 1204: *hominium de eodem casamento . . . recognovisse et fecisse*.

103. See Chapter 2 n. 25. A decade earlier Ida, countess of Boulogne, and her husband, Renaud of Dampierre, did homage to the king for her inheritance (see Chapter 2 n. 3).

104. LP 1, fol. 155r–v, 1209: *in ligiam feminam meam de medietate predicta recepi* (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 41A). See *Simon of Joinville.

105. See n. 76 above.

106. LP 2: 147–48, October 1245: *feme lige de son doaire, s’est a savoir de Grandpré et de la chastellerie que ie li avoie otroïé en douaire quant je l’esposé . . . et de li fit homage dou doaire devant dit*.

107. See *Gautier II of Vignory.

108. Margaret *fecit homagium ligium . . . de quocunque tenet ex hereditario suo et de dotalicio quod tenet a dicto Erardo* [of Villy, marshal, 1223–26] *marito suo* (*Hommages* 1, no. 3842). Isabelle *fecit homagium ligium de dotalicio suo et de avoeria filiorum suorum* (*Hommages* 2, no. 5170).

109. *Hommages* 1, no. 4006: *fecit homagium ligium de dotalicio suo secundum tenorem litterarum dicti Pontii de dote sua effectarum*.

110. See Table C.5 and Evergates, “The Aristocracy of Champagne,” 5. Women represented a higher percentage of fiefholders (27 percent) in the *bailliage* of

Troyes in southern Champagne (Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 71). In the duchy of Burgundy, women rendered about 14 percent of the homages in 1315 (Caron, *La noblesse dans le duché de Bourgogne*, 200–10).

111. See n. 80 above.

112. *Rethel* 1: 204–6, no. 126, April 1252: she informed her *feodatis, militibus, hominibus et communitatis* that she held the castle and castellany *ratione dotis mee sive donationis propter nuptias*, but that henceforth, *faciatis quod debetis tam in homagiis quam aliis quibuscumque* to her brother-in-law, *et ei tanquam dominio vestro obediatis* (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 63).

113. See *Gautier II of Vignory.

114. Only in Normandy was the widow's custodial rights over her children abridged by the lord's right to marry her children and transfer her husband's property; see Petot, "Le mariage des vassales," 29–36.

115. This custom (see n. 65 above) and the examples cited below reveal a situation fundamentally at odds with Duby's depiction of widows as being "driven out" of their homes in order to accommodate their sons (Duby, "Women and Power, 71–72).

116. Beaumanoir, *Coutumes*, 211, par. 439: *La fame, par nostre coustume, en porte en son douaire le chief manoir, tout soit ce que ce soit forteree.*

117. Comitissa of Pringy: see n. 64 above. Beatrice of Nanteuil-le-Fosse: *Rethel* 1: 61–62, no. 33, January 1218, n.s. Oda of Melun: see n. 47 above.

118. CR 5, fol. 367r, December 1227: *herbergagium quodcumque ipsa melius voluerit.*

119. Text in "Chronique et mélanges," 561, July 1218; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 41B: *Et sciendum quod quando Gaufridus, filius meus primogenitus, erit in etate quimdecim annorum, si forte velid a me recedere, ego totam terram que jure hereditario ad ipsum pertinet eidem relinquam et ad proprium redibo dotalicium.* In the event, Ermengard died before her son reached his majority and *Simon of Joinville remarried.

120. See n. 80 above.

121. *Hommages* 2, no. 5282, 1230s: *quas tamen ipsa tenebit quamdiu vixerit.* See also n. 79 above.

122. See Chapter 2 nn. 25, 49.

123. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, 63–64 [Joinville and Villehardouin, 192]. See *Beatrice of Auxonne.

124. *RôlesT*, no. 5360, ca. 1262. See also Chapter 6 n. 20.

125. LP 3, fol. 223v, December 1237.

126. CR 8, fol. 293v, July 1247.

127. See Chapter 8 n. 87.

128. William IV of Garlande dowered his wife Alix of Châtillon: *dedit in dotalitium A., uxori sue, domum suam de Livreio [Livry] et omne possessum, et medietatem terre sue, et medietatem acquisitionis sue, quocumque modo adquisirat, et medietatem omnium rerum que ei accident, quocumque modo accident; et quia domum suam de Livreio uxori sue, matre sua vivente, dare non potest quoniam de dotalitio matris sue est, interim donat et concedit uxori sue domum suam de Cruissi [Crussy] cum omni terre pro exangio domus de Livri donec mater sua illam relinquerit, quocumque modo eam relinquat, et tunc predicta A. ad dictum dotalium redeat* (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 1: 547–48, no. 452, 1193: confirmation of Philip II). See also Nesle, 1: 217–18, and Alix's brother *Gaucher III of Châtillon.

129. LP 2: 532–33, 28 November 1228 (Vignory, 223, no. 104): *ego tantum faciam quod uxor mea quittabit doarium quod habet apud Vangionem rivum [Vignory] et quod neptis [Bertha of Kibourg] ipsius Anseli [of Possesse] habebit castrum Vangionis rivi in doario, si maritagium factum fuerit inter ipsam et Galterum [II], filium meum.* Fourteen years later (1242), Bertha predeceased *Gautier II of Vignory.

130. LP 1, fols. 264r–265r, 14 January 1245, n.s. (her letter of notification to Thi-

baut IV: *nos dotem et quidquid juris habemus apud Sanctum Desiderium et in tota terra . . . dilectis filiis nostris Guillelmo et ejus fratribus remissimus*).

131. Marie, widow of the knight Nicholas of Sevrey, resigned her dower to her eldest son in return for eighty *setiers* of wheat annually (LP 1, fols. 109r–110v, January 1235). Mathilda of Epinal, widow of Raoul of Montguichet, gave her entire dower to her stepson for a 100s. rent but threatened to retake it if the rent was not paid (LP 1, fols. 154v–155r, September 1208). When Margaret, mother of the knight Hurric of Marac, resigned her dower of domain and fiefs at Dancevoir (which had been purchased by the monks of Longuay), she was required to make a public resignation before the bishop of Langres within forty days of his return to Langres, and to obtain his seal on her letter of resignation (AD Haute-Marne, 6 H 12, April 1220).

132. AD Marne, 17 H 143 (Cheminon), no. 2, April 1224. Domitella identifies herself as the daughter of the deceased knight Frederic of Vienne and states that she sealed the letter (which she may have written herself) with her husband's seal.

133. See Chapter 8 n. 10.

134. See Chapter 4 n. 101.

135. Emeline and Thibaud of Baslieux sold the entire dower (a house) of her first husband (BNF, Collection Moreau, vol. 102, fol. 208r, 1201). The widow Doeta and her husband Robin of Molins sold her entire first dower to Saint-Etienne for 9*l.* (Saint-Etienne, 273v, 1271). Nicola of Mojore, the second wife of the knight Evrard of Bayel, sold her dower lands to Montier-la-Celle, from whom they were held in fief; her new husband consented, as did Evrard's son by an earlier marriage, the squire Jean of Valentigny, who received 110*l. prov.* for that alienation from his inheritance (*Montier-la-Celle*, 65–66, no. 57; 66–67, no. 58, both of 1251). Helvide of Saint-Jean-de-Bonneval sold her first husband's dower to the Templars with the consent of her two sons; her second husband took no part in the transaction (Pétel, "Templiers," 465, 1209). Margaret, lady of Cohons, sold to Auberive all the landed rents she had in dower from her first husband, with the consent of her second husband and their son (AD Haute-Marne, 1 H 45, 1218). In her letter of 1257, Aglantine, widow of Wiart of Vauconcourt, announces that she sold her dower with the consent of her second husband, Orri of Thivet, and of "all my children," meaning of both marriages (Gigot, *Chartes*, 73, no. 73).

136. *Rôles*, nos. 96: *domum de Sancto Projecto de doario uxoris sue quandam uxoris Gaufridi de Sancto Projecto, militis*. Bouchard also reported that he had heard from his wife (*audivit ab uxore sua*) that her first husband held a fief from the count. Bouchard said that he did not owe castleguard, but that his stepson Oudet owed it and did it. Oudet of Saint-Pregts, a squire at the time, held the fortress of Saint-Pregts but lived in his own fortified residence at Bray, for which he owed forty days castleguard (*Rôles*, no. 126). Focard of Arcy did homage for his wife Jeanne's dower from her first husband (*Hommages* 1, no. 5216: *fecit homagium ligium de doario Johanne, relicte domini Symonis de Trelou*). See also *Feoda* 5, nos. 3405, 3406; *Rôles*, nos. 421, 937.

137. See *Andre II of Ramerupt.

138. See *Jeanne of Dampierre. Alix of Chacenay's second husband William, viscount of Melun, brought suit to the royal court for her dower assigned by her first husband Guy, count of Forez. Alix's marriage contract, read at the inquest, proved her right (*Les Olim*, 1: 257–58, no. 15, 1267).

139. Jacques, his wife, and his brother quitclaimed for 25*l.* (*Montier-la-Celle*, 260–61, no. 220, 1146).

140. See Chapter 7 n. 43. Anseric of Montréal destroyed his mother's village for the same reason; Thibaut IV imposed a fine (Quantin, *Recueil*, 193, no. 427, 1236; 194, no. 429, 1236; 203, no. 447, 1238; 205, no. 452, 1239).

141. Saint-Etienne, fol. 37r–v, June 1221: her dower consisted of the village of Chapelle near Troyes; her son Odin sold it to Guy of Chappes, lord of Jully, who agreed to pay Alix a lifetime income of 60*l. prov. in pecunia numerata* at the Fair of Saint Remi of Troyes (1 October), as compensation. Her agent who collected the money would give Guy a receipt (*patentes litteras*). The count ordered the relevant documents stored in Saint-Etienne so that *ad omnia supradicta fideliter observanda*. In another case, Beatrice, wife of Jean of Roye, complained to his lord, Dreux of Pierrefonds, that Jean had alienated “what she had in dower” (*dicens quod eam in dotem habuisset*); Dreux brought the parties together for an amicable settlement (*Monuments historiques*, 294, no. 568, 1160).

142. *Thesaurus*, 1: 933–34, undated letter of ca. 1218 = CB, no. 385: Robert, eldest son of Robert II of Dreux and Braine, and his three brothers, inform Blanche that they gave their mother a sealed letter (*litteras nostras habet patentes*) confirming her lifetime dower (*quoad vixerit*) and were sending this confirmation at Blanche’s request, as contained in her letter to their mother.

143. See Chapter 4 n. 74. Ade remarried, to Raoul, count of Soissons (1180–1235). When she later returned to her original dower lands at Hans (1238), she resigned her dower (half of the castle and castellany of Hans), which she had held for twenty-six years, so that her eldest son Jacques could dower his wife with it: she surrendered the great house (*mansionem*) but kept the “new house” (*nova domo de mota de Hans que penitus mea est et erit*); text in Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 1: 59. See also Nesle, 1: 67, no. 28.

144. Canon lawyers used *divortium* to mean annulment, that is, the dissolution of a union later determined to have been canonically invalid (notably between persons related within the prohibited degrees of kinship); see Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 370–71.

145. Melleville, “Travail historique,” 220–21. Elizabeth was the eldest daughter of Robert II of Dreux and Yoland of Coucy. Her birthdate is unknown; she was married by 1218 and divorced by 1236. Jean promised to return to Thibaut IV or to the bailiff of Épernay, “within two weeks of the divorce (*divortium*),” the count’s letter granting Elizabeth an 80*l* rent (LP 2: 206, March 1236, n.s.). Elizabeth certified that it was a lifetime rent (LP 1, fol. 281r, June 1236).

146. See Chapter 8 n. 90.

147. See *Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine.

148. Biller, *The Measure of Multitude*, 31, observes that early thirteenth-century commentators noted how the aristocracy was manipulating the canon law of marriage, which served, in effect, as “a system of divorce.”

149. Gertrude of Dagsburg (born ca. 1204) was heiress of Albert, count of Metz and Dagsburg. She was betrothed to Thibaut I, duke of Lorraine (1213–20), in 1206, married in 1216, and widowed in 1220. In May 1220 she married Thibaut of Champagne, bringing her inheritance of the county of Metz-Dagsburg and a handsome widow’s dower of Nancy and Gondreville (*Thesaurus*, 1: 878 = CB, no. 435; CB, no. 441); they were divorced by May 1221. According to Aubry of Trois-Fontaines, “Chronicon,” p. 910 [year 1222], Thibaut *duxit in uxorem, quam tamen, ventulata postmodum affinitate de percepto ecclesie, post biennium dimisit*. Gertrude then married Simon of Linange and died childless in 1225 at twenty-one. See Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 93–95, 375; Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4: 188–89; and a full biography in Legl, *Studien*, 343–71.

150. Petit, *Histoire*, 2: 460–62, no. 695, September 1224: *si forte contingeret questionem moveri a me vel a quocumque alio de divorcio celebrando inter me et dictam Emelinam, uxorem meam, si inter nos fuerit divorcium celebratum, infra duos annos post divorcium ponere teneor tota summam dicte pecunie in manu celerariorum Clarevallensium* (trans. in Ever-

gates, *Documents*, no. 30). That long document contains many provisions regarding *Erard II of Chacenay's repayment and *Emeline of Broyes' possible children by another marriage in the event that she and Erard divorced: *Et si forte in ipsam inter me divorcium celebrari contingeret, et ipsa alio viro nupserit et ex eo heredes habuerit, heredes illi nichil habebunt in predicta villa de Blaigneio, set heredes mei quos ab ipsa suscepi. Et si divorcium inter me et ipsam non fuerit celebratum, ipsa tenebit et habebit quicquid habeo et habere debeo apud Loches et Landreville de emptione quam feci a Philippo domini Planceii* [as community property], *et quicquid habeo apud Essoie de hereditate mea post decessum meum* [as dower]. He sold her dowry, the village of Courbon, for 2,030l. (Petit, *Histoire*, 2: 462, no. 696, September 1224). Erard may have sold other dowry property in 1207 (*Langres*, 173–74, no. 151).

151. *Layettes*, 2: 245–47, no. 2231, March 1233, n.s.: *si contingerit, quod avertat Deus, divortium inter dictum comitem et Margaretam uxorem ejus quocumque modo celebrari* (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 29B).

152. LP 2: 476–78, 11 August 1230 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 213 (erroneously dated by the editor): Simon of Joinville's letter announcing the betrothal; Thibaut IV stood pledge for any objections raised by Alix's older brother, Henry V of Grandpré). *Alix of Grandpré and *Jean of Joinville married ten years later in 1240.

153. CR 5, fols. 269v–70r, August 1230. The count pledged that Simon would deliver the dower (LP 2: 475–76, August 1230).

154. LP 1, fols. 143r–144r, June 1231 = Didot, *Etudes*, 191–92, "O," Thibaut IV's warrant; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 31. The letter also provided for the return of Alix, should the marriage not occur: *Et si casu contingeret quod matrimonium non fieret, predicta Alaidis jam dicte comitisse* [her mother Marie] *vel Henrico, fratri suo, libera et in loco salvo reddetur*.

155. See *Marie of Garlande.

156. GC, 4: *instr.*, 93–94, no. 61, 1195, decree of divorce by the bishop of Troyes and the abbot of Montiers-en-Argonne = Achery, *Spicilegium*, 3: 557–58 = *PL*, 206: 1080. In her letter to the pope, Mathilda argued that she and Gaucher *in ea linea consanguinitatis attingit infra quam nec matrimonium contrahi potest*. The prelates found the couple *esse consanguineos in quarto et quinto gradu, sententiam divortii inter ipsos juxta formam canonicam solemniter promulgavimus*. Then *ipsa vero domina, ad mandatum nostrum, predicti Galcheri consortium abjuravit*. Mathilda and Gaucher had the same great-great-grandfather, William II, count of Burgundy.

157. See *Mathilda of Bourbon.

158. See *Alix of Courtenay. William of Joigny's second wife, a Beatrice of unknown lineage, appeared first in 1212, suggesting a delayed remarriage (*Nesle*, 2: 336–38).

159. Sheehan, "Influence of Canon Law," 17–18.

160. Lesort, *Les chartes du Clermontois*, 63–64, no. 4, April 1211. See also *Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine.

161. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 2: 178–79, no. 709, April 1202: Philip promised her a dowry, while Arthur was to swear to accept her when she attained a marriageable age, that is, when she could render the marriage debt (*cum ipsa ad etatem debitam pervenerit*) and never to put her away (*nunquam, vita comite, dimittet eam aliquo modo*). After Arthur's death, Philip betrothed her to Philip, count of Namur, who accepted even more stringent clauses: *pro legitima sponsa sua habebit, toto tempore quo ipsa vixerit et toto tempore quo idem comes vixerit, neque ipsa dimittet quamdiu vixerit sed ipsam tantam sponsam suam legitimam conservabit*. The count had to give her in dower one-third of his lands on the day of marriage and one-third of all he later acquired by whatever means and had to pledge 10,000 marks that he would fulfill the contract (*ibid.*, 2: 545–47, no. 953, August 1206).

Chapter 6. Inheritance and Succession

1. See Chapter 4.
2. Perroy, "Social Mobility Among the French Noblesse" is a classic statement.
3. Paillot, *La représentation successorale*, 48–49. The abbot of Montier-en-Der incorporated that understanding in a *conventio* by which Geoffroy I of Joinville and his heirs in the next two generations would retain possession of two churches: *ipse dum viveret teneret, et post eum filius suus si haberet; si vero absque filio esset et filiam haberet, ipsa teneret; deinde si ex filio aut filia heres exiret, qui jam tercius esset et iste teneret. Si vero filium aut filiam non haberet, secundus heres, unus ex fratribus suis existeret, et postea unus ex propinquis suis tercius esset* (Montier-en-Der, 169–72, no. 66, 1050–81).
4. Goody, *The Development of the Family*, 239: "A system that allocates parental property to daughters as well as to sons, whether by dowry or by inheritance, is already 'bilateral' from the standpoint of the transmission of wealth."
5. Even in Normandy inheritances were divided among sons; see Garnett, "'Ducal' Succession in Early Normandy"; Turner, "The Children of Anglo-Norman Royalty," 29–30 (who concludes that Anglo-Norman ruling families "fail to demonstrate the strictly patrilinear pattern" proposed by Duby); and Christelow, "The Division of Inheritance" (who shows that most children within Anglo-Norman baronial families did in fact inherit).
6. See n. 21 below.
7. See Chapter 4 at n. 15.
8. Gilissen, "Le privilège de masculinité dans le droit coutumier." Bart, *Recherches sur l'histoire des successions ab intestat*, chap. 1, finds evidence of partible inheritances from the eleventh century.
9. Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 172; Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne*, 221–25; and Holt, "The Heiress," 256–57.
10. The *fratres domini de Triagnello*, Ansellus videlicet et Garnerius, attended Thibaut II's court, where they witnessed their fiefholder make a gift ("Leprosérie," 520–21, 1151). In 1162 the Trainel brothers appeared together as the *domini* of Henry Devanz's fief ("Leprosérie," 523–24).
11. See Chapter 8 ("Briel-sur-Barse").
12. See Chapter 3 at n. 85.
13. "Molème," 325, 1231: the three Verpillières brothers first converted the village to a fief, then mortgaged the fief to the monks. Little is known about this family of knights (Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1734). For the Conflans brothers, see Chapter 3 n. 41.
14. Erard IV of Chacenay and Jean IV of Arcis-sur-Aube shared the allodial village of Lusigny before dividing it, then selling each half to Saint-Loup of Troyes for 800*l*. Erard explained the sale as being: *pro meis et terre mea negotiis et necessariis utilitatibus agendis et expendiendis* (Chacenay, 93, no. 184, January 1282, n.s.).
15. Examples in Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 32–37, 46–47.
16. Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1719–23, and Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 207–9 (with genealogy). Elvide of Vendeuvre's second son, Milo of Pougy, described his one-eighth share of Vendeuvre as his inheritance, *ex parte matris*, as consisting of a *domum fortem et partem castri Vendopera* (Rôles, no. 1125). He later sold it to his cousin, Jean of Durnay, for 2,750*l*. (Layettes, 4: 255–56, no. 5356, February 1268, n.s.). Jean already had his mother Margaret's one-eighth share of Vendeuvre and another one-eighth share that his father Gérard had purchased from her brother Odo II for 4,000*l* *prov.* (Chacenay, 74–75, no. 155, 1244). Thus by 1268, Jean of Durnay held at least three-eighths of Vendeuvre. Hermesend's one-eighth share passed to her second son, Odo, who assigned half of it (one-sixteenth) to his wife in dower; she still

held it in 1262, when her son Simon said that he held only one-sixteenth of Vendeuve because his mother had her dower there (*RôlesT*, no. 5349). See *Simon IV of Clefmont.

17. See Chapter 8 (“Ramerupt”).

18. See Appendix E, Genealogy 9 (based on Faget de Casteljau, “Emmeline, dame de Reynel,” 7, which revises Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 144–46, 310). Gondrecourt was listed among the “great fiefs” of Champagne ca. 1204: one-half was held by Hadvide’s husband, Hugh II of Vaudémont, the other half by Hodiard’s second son, Guy of Plancy (*Feoda* 2, nos. 2444, 2450), who did liege homage for the *castellum* there in 1221 (see Chapter 2 n. 72). Guy’s half of Gondrecourt passed in 1240 to his only daughter Jeanne, who with her husband, Eustace of Conflans, sold the *fortrece*, the *signorie*, and the *mouvance* over the attached fiefs to Thibaut IV in exchange for land elsewhere, to be assigned after an appraisal so that it would be of the same value, free of the count’s justice, and regarded as Jeanne’s inheritance just as Gondrecourt had been (AN, J 202, no. 37, 1250 > LP 3, fols. 58r–59v, May 1250 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 242–43). Jeanne consented to the exchange (AN, J 201, no. 29, June 1250 > CR 8, fols. 501r–502v, 515r–v). In 1262 Jean of Gondrecourt, son of Geoffroy of Vaudémont, reported for the other half of the castle and castellany (*RôlesT*, no. 5840).

19. The same was true in Lorraine, despite Frederick I’s prohibition of divisions of duchies and counties; an ordinary *feudum* could be divided, provided that each part was held in *fidelitatem* directly from the lord of the fief (Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 162–63).

20. *Layettes*, 3: 246–49, no. 4184, July 1255; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 12B.

21. *Hugh III of Broys in 1197 and *Hugh V of Châtillon in 1247 formally divided their lands. Count Thibaut I of Bar-le-Duc did the same in his testament of 1211: he dowered his current (third) wife with three castles, which would pass to her son Renaud (his second son), and gave the rest of his lands, including Bar-le-Duc, to his eldest son (by his second marriage to Hermensend of Bar-sur-Seine). He promised his daughter Elizabeth a dowry of 1,000*l.* and a rent of 400*l.*, to be paid by his wife and eldest son, who also promised to provide for the count’s yet-to-be-born child, whether male or female (Lesort, *Les chartes du Clermontois*, 63–65, no. 4, 3 April 1211: *quicquid ipsa pepererit masculum vel feminam*; see also Poull, *Bar*, 149). Thibaut later revised his testament to reflect the death of his second son, reducing his wife’s dower to one castle and granting all the rest to his eldest son Henry, then about twenty-four (Lesort, *Les chartes du Clermontois*, 68, no. 6, February 1214).

22. The undated draft version begins: *Blancha comitissa Trecensis palatina*, followed by the names of fourteen barons; then: *nos, de communi voluntate et assensu, statuimus quod si aliquis baronum Campanie vel Brie. . .* (AN, KK 1064, fol. 394r = CB, no. 449A). The final version begins: *Ego Blancha comitissa Trecensis palatina notum facio universis tam presentibus quam futuris, me, de communi consilio et assensu baronum meorum et vavassorum, statuisse. . .* (AN, J 198, no. 20, 1212 = *Layettes*, 1: 385–86, no. 1031 = *Coutumier*, 145–46 n. 1 = CB, 449B; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 35). The seals are missing, but the names of the sealers are written along the bottom and sides of the document.

23. It begins: *cum esset contentio de faciendo iudicium qualiter liberi masculi castellanorum et baronum meorum deberent paritiri inter se* (the case in question is not known); it concludes: *stabilimentum istud factum est de omnibus castellis que movent de me, et ab hac die qua factum est in antea firmiter permanebit; et partitiones que facta fuerunt usque ad diem qua presentes confecte fuerunt littere, stabiles erunt et durabunt* (CR 3, fol. 180r–v, December 1224 = CB, no. 444; and CR 4, fols. 206r–207r = *Coutumier*, 141–45 n.

32 = *Thesaurus*, 1: 919–20 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 55–56, 163–64). A translation is in Appendix A.

24. In Brittany, by contrast, Duke Geoffroy's Assize (1185) formalized the principle by which baronies and fiefs of knights passed indivisible to eldest sons, who were to provide honorable but indeterminate shares to their brothers. Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, 182–203, concludes that the Assize sanctioned current practices rather than created new ones.

25. *Coutumier*, 131–41, art.1 note a, reading of the earliest manuscript, “A,” ca. 1300: *C'est la chartre de Champaingne des barons et des chevaliers*.

26. As the ordinance of Thibaut IV put it: *redditus et exitus illius castelli* [of the eldest brother] *erunt appreciati cum alia terra et in omnibus istis habebit unus quantum habebit alius* (*Coutumier*, 141–45, n. 32 = *CB*, no. 444). Blanche's ordinance speaks of an *estimata vel computata velentia* (see n. 22 above). Beaumanoir, *Coutumes*, 215–16, par. 450, assumes that the children ordinarily made the distribution (*li enfant partirent selonc la coutume du pais*).

27. *Coutumier*, arts. 2, 56, 57. Beaumanoir, *Coutumes*, 226, par. 475, also notes the exclusion of sisters from the collateral inheritance of fiefs except in the absence of brothers.

28. See *Guy of Sailly and Chapter 8 (“Chacenay”).

29. *Layettes*, 3: 95, no. 3846, 1250; Poull, *Bar*, 189, 191–94.

30. See Chapter 8 at n. 65.

31. *Hommages* 1, no. 3733, November 1222.

32. In this instance the division seems not to have occurred: thirty years later Robert's widow was still occupying her inheritance (see Chapter 8 n. 5). Garnier of Marigny and Guichard of Cremora also promised to divide their fiefs among their sons (*Hommages* 1, nos. 3865, 3943). The knight Geoffroy II of Blacy did the same: one son would take his fortified house at Blacy, the other would have his property at Bethancourt (*Hommages* 1, no. 3911).

33. Similarly in England, none of the 192 baronies in the period 1200–1327 failed for want of heirs (Waugh, *The Lordship of England*, 18).

34. *Elizabeth of Nogent-sur-Seine's closest relatives were her father's nephews who witnessed his last act in 1146; it is not known whether their descendants claimed Nogent in 1186.

35. Josbert was identified as *dominus* of Chaumont in 1204 (Longuay, fol. 139r–v), perhaps as custodian for the absent Milo, and might reasonably have considered himself as the closest heir and successor. He was married and had two sons at the time (Longuay, fol. 99v, 1206). His brother Stephen was married with six sons in 1203, when he made a donation for his brother Milo's soul (Petit, *Histoire*, 3: 394, no. 1080). For the events surrounding the transfer of Chaumont, see Chapter 2 n. 31. Jolibois, *La Haute-Marne*, 127, gives a brief history of the Chaumont.

36. See *Jean of Possesse.

37. See Chapter 8 n. 10.

38. Pont-sur-Seine was held by a branch of the lords of Trânel until about 1147, when it entered the comital domain (Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 2: 1171–72; Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 193); Blanche purchased their residual rights there (*LB*, 53–54, no. 9, November 1208; 62, no. 19, 1209). Manasses I, lord of Villemaur in the early twelfth century, was viscount of Villemaur, as was his son, Manasses II, under Henry I (*Feoda* 1, no. 330, ca. 1178). The Villemaur patrimony was divided into two parts: Blanche purchased one-half from its heiress Alette in 1211, who with her husband Fromond of Corroy sold all her rights *in tota castellania, tam in domanio quam in feodis* for 900*l.* (AN, J 195, no. 60, 1211 = *CB*, no. 424); and the remaining half from Mabile of Villemaur and her husband Erard of Villehardouin in 1219 (AN, J 195,

no. 5 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 107–8 = CB, no. 119), thus bringing the castle and town entirely within the comital domain (Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1776–78; Hubert, “Recherches sur les frontières,” 6–7).

39. See Chapter 2 n. 83.

40. The count gave Renier’s eldest son, André, land at Chaplaine, a 120*l.* rent, and 400*l.* in cash, then paid off Renier’s 500*l.* debt to the chapter of Langres. Renier and his sons disappear from view after 1250, but his sister Alix retained remnants of the Nogent lordship (Faget de Casteljau, “Nogent-en-Bassigny,” 68–70).

41. *LB*, 77–78, no. 36, 1203.

42. The letter begins: “I, Elizabeth, lady of Châteauvillain, and I, Simon of Châteauvillain, her son, make known to all, present and future, that we have given and conceded to our dearest lady Blanche, illustrious countess of Troyes, and to Thibaut, her son, and their heirs: the tower and fortress at Baudement and all we possess in its castellany in tenants, lands, waters, customary taxes, justice, fiefs, and whatever we have in the adjacent villages” (AN, J 195, no. 59, February 1211 n.s. = *LB*, 63–64, no. 21: jointly sealed by *Elizabeth of Dreux and *Simon of Châteauvillain). See also Mesqui, “Les ponts,” 39–40, and *Agnes of Baudement.

43. In England, only 36 (18.7 percent) of 192 baronies passed exclusively from father to son in the period 1200–1327 (Waugh, *The Lordship of England*, 19, table 1.1).

44. Bouchard, *Nobility and the Church*, 314–16 (315, genealogy); Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 370 (genealogy); *Choiseul*; and Faget de Casteljau, “Recherches sur la maison de Choiseul.”

45. Henry I (1152), Henry II (1187), Thibaut IV (1222), and Thibaut V (1256) were eldest sons. Thibaut III (1198) and Henry III (1271) were younger sons who succeeded older brothers. Jeanne became countess (1284) after the death of her infant brother. The percentage of eldest sons succeeding would be even lower (four of nine) if Hugh (a third or fourth son, 1093) and Thibaut II (a second son, 1125) were included.

46. Goody, “Inheritance, Property and Women,” 10.

47. Wolf, “The Family of Dynasties in Medieval Europe,” 221. Of 100 successions: the eldest surviving son (37), another patrilineal male (19), women (12), and other relatives (32).

48. Table C.8: 68.4 percent comprises the total of firstborn (53.6 percent) and oldest surviving (14.8 percent) sons.

49. See *Pierre of Joigny. See also the cautionary remarks in Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 164–66, about determining who in fact was a firstborn son.

50. Table C.8. Excluded here are the infant and childhood deaths of firstborn sons, since the second son became de facto eldest son at a young age.

51. *Vignory*, 178–79, no. 19, after 1108.

52. In a typical division of intact parental properties, *Gautier II of Vignory inherited all of Vignory, while his younger brother Guy inherited their mother’s lordship of Laferté-sur-Amance. See also *Gautier I of Vignory and Chapter 8 (“Vignory”).

53. See under *Elizabeth of Nogent-sur-Seine, *Jean II of Montmirail, *Simon IV of Clefmont, and *Simon of Joinville.

54. Aigremont passed through Renier’s eldest daughter to her eldest daughter Judith (after the deaths of brothers), then to an eldest son (1206) who preferred it to his father’s lands in Germany (which three younger brothers shared). See Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 347 (genealogy); Bouchard, *Nobility and the Church*, 279–84; Faget de Casteljau, “Choiseul, I,” 150–52; and *Choiseul*, 23 nn. 20, 23.

55. Savetiez, “Dampierre-Saint-Dizier,” 17 (1884): 216–20, 283–90, 361–68.

56. Savetiez, “Dampierre-Saint-Dizier,” 17 (1884): 468–71; 18 (1885): 66–70. William III of Dampierre, presumptive heir to his mother’s county of Flanders, promised the count that one of his younger brothers would hold all of Dampierre in liege homage from the count of Champagne (*Layettes*, 2: 637–38, no. 3552, October 1246). In the event, the second younger brother inherited Flanders and the third inherited Dampierre.

57. See Chapter 8 n. 65.

58. Jolibois, *La Haute-Marne*, 287–88. See Appendix E, Genealogy 15.

59. See n. 118 below.

60. Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 221, 223; Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 737–38; Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 185; *Coutumier*, art. 16 and 166 n. 3. See also *Guy of Sailly.

61. See *Petronilla of Bar-sur-Seine.

62. Manasses of Bar-sur-Seine’s younger brother, Thibaut, married his maternal uncle’s daughter Margaret to become lord of Champlost and Bragelogne (Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 109).

63. See *Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine.

64. See Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 347, and Faget de Casteljau, “Choiseul, 1,” 151–52 (Aigremont); *Elizabeth of Dreux (Baudement); *Felicity of Beaufort (Beaufort); Chapter 8 (“Chacenay”); n. 51 above (Laferté-sur-Amance); *Molesme*, 2: 87, no. 82, 1076–1100, where Gila of Plancy’s castle, *castrum ejusdem domne*, was described as being *de suis rebus*, that is, her inheritance rather than a dower; Bouchard, *Nobility and the Church*, 383–84 (Vignory); and Chapter 8 n. 5 (Ville-sur-Arce).

65. See *Simon of Bricon and Appendix E, Genealogy 3.

66. See *Jean II of Montmirail.

67. See Chapter 8 at n. 93.

68. Table C.8.

69. *Coutumier*, art. 15, decision of the Parlement of Paris, 1289: *Il est coustume en Champagne que se eschoite vient de costé que l’en en droit relief, c’est asavoir la valour de l’issue de la terre en 1 an. Item, il convient que tant de hoir comme il sunt a l’eschoite, il facient tant de fiez, car li uns ne peut garentir l’autre.*

70. Baldwin, *Philip Augustus*, 50–51, 171.

71. In 1220 Gérard of Durnay and Guy of Sennecey agreed to pay 300*l.* and 240*l.* respectively as relief for their shares of the county of Bar-sur-Seine and gave pledges for payment (see Chapter 8 n. 10). Two years earlier, Margaret, countess of Burgundy and lady of Oisy, did homage for the fief she inherited collaterally from her nephew Thibaut VI, count of Blois (AN, J 198, no. 43 = CB, no. 161, May 1218). The chancery recorded relief payments in the 1220s (*Hommages* 1, nos. 3718, 3875, 3893).

72. *Hommages* 1, nos. 3848, 3875. *Rôles*, nos. 546, 973.

73. Longnon, *Documents*, 3: 11. See Table C.7 for fief values.

74. See n. 82 below.

75. Martindale, “Succession and Politics,” 28–30, discusses fraternal succession in princely houses.

76. “Oï! Champaigne, queus barons / avez perdu en po de tens!” (Guiot de Provins, *Oeuvres*, ll. 476–77). Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 4:25–72, cites the crusaders from Champagne.

77. See *Gaucher III of Châtillon-sur-Marne.

78. Another younger son succeeding a childless older brother who died on the Third Crusade was Henry of Arzillières (1191–1202). He later emerged as a leader of the Fourth Crusade and accompanied Geoffroy of Villehardouin, the future prince of the Morea, to Syria. But Henry left his bones at Acre just as his brother had a decade earlier. See Barthélemy, “Les seigneurs et la seigneurie d’Arzillières,” 168–69, and Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 22–23.

79. See *Simon of Joinville.
80. See *Guy of Sailly.
81. See *Jean of Possesse and Chapter 8 (“Garlande-Tournan-Possesse”).
82. Gaucher of Rethel paid a 2,000*l.* relief (*Rethel*, 208–9, no. 130, August 1252: receipt of Jean of Thourotte, governor of Champagne).
83. See Chapter 8 (“Broyes, Beaufort, and Châteauvillain”).
84. Mathilda’s husband, Guy of Arcis-sur-Aube, wrote to the inquest commissioners in 1250 that the castle (*castrum*) and lordship of Arcis-sur-Aube were worth 200*l.t.* and had twenty-three attached rear-fiefs (*Rôles*, no. 1140). Guy died in the course of the inquest; he was succeeded by his only son, Jean III (1251–73), who married Alix of Joinville (she later married John of Lancaster; see Chapter 8 at n. 109). See Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 158–59 (with genealogy), and Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 4: 26–28. In dividing Arcis-sur-Aube in 1273, the oldest son, Jean IV, a knight, became lord of Arcis and assumed responsibility for providing his sister Helisent a dowry income of 200*l.*; the younger brothers Erard, *escuier*, the cleric William, and Millet shared the remaining lands (*Chacenay*, 90, no. 178). The next year, the lordship of Cornay was divided in a similar fashion after the death of Milo of Cornay (1219–74): the eldest son Jean took the fortress while his younger brothers Gaucher and Milo took other properties in liege homage from him; the fourth brother was abbot of Chéhéry (Pouilly, “Notice sur Cornay,” 288).
85. *Chacenay*, 90–91, no. 180, 1278; Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 158–59.
86. *Chacenay*, 97, no. 191, 1 November 1285 (the Parlement of Paris): *Judicatum est quod consuetudo Campanie bene probata est, scilicet, quod castrum et castellanie et fortalitia et hereditates provenientes a latere equaliter dividuntur; secundum consuetudinem Campanie*. The High Court restated the custom in Champagne on this occasion: *que quant chatel vient d’eschoite de costé, il se doit departir entre les freres hugelment, sans nul avantage* (*Coutumier*, art. 50).
87. Lalore, *Chacenay*, 97–98, no. 192, 1286.
88. *Coutumier*, art. 57, June 1287: *elle n’i auroit riens, se ce n’estoit d’aleu ou de censive* (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 36C). See also *Coutumier*, 163 n. 4.
89. See the topographical diagrams in *Chacenay* and Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 288. William had been a cleric since at least 1273 (*Chacenay*, 90, no. 178).
90. Gislebert of Mons, *Chronicon*, 121, chap. 82. Paillot, *La représentation successorale*, 40–46, discusses the event; see also Nicholas, “Countesses as Rulers,” 126–27.
91. See *Marie of Montmirail.
92. Since Judith of Aigremont’s oldest son preferred Aigremont, her younger son took her husband’s lands (Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 347, genealogy).
93. *Hommages* 1, no. 4197.
94. *Layettes*, 3: 132, no. 3945, June 1251.
95. See the contributions in Bourin, *Génese médiévale de l’anthroponymie moderne*, and Bourin, Martin, and Menant, *L’anthroponymie*.
96. Bourin, “France du Midi et France du Nord,” 190–94. By the twelfth century, aristocratic families throughout Western Europe preferred toponyms as second names (Wilson, *The Means of Naming*, 132–39). Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, 7 (table 3) finds that 44 percent of 12,000 persons identified between 1066 and 1166 had second names derived from toponyms (versus 12 percent for patronyms).
97. Contamine, *La noblesse*, 223–29.
98. *Hommages* 1, no. 1255. *Feoda* 1, no. 1255: *Robertus Fayel* [added:] *Iste Robertus idem est quod Robertus de Biautel prescriptus* (*Feoda* 1, no. 1209: *Robertus de Bauteuil*). *Feoda* 3, no. 2602: *Bartholomeus de Polisi, de Rici, de Vilede et de Vilers*.
99. *LB*, 90, no. 50, 1204.

100. *LB*, 124–35, no. 91, 1205. See *Hermesend of Bar-sur-Seine.

101. *LB*, 63, no. 20, 1209. See *Elizabeth of Dreux.

102. See Chapter 8 n. 138.

103. Lapiere, *Changer de nom*, makes some interesting observations of the role of migration and name change in the formation of identity.

104. See *Elizabeth of Nogent-sur-Seine (for Milo II), *Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine, and Roger, “Les Morhier,” 99 (for Simon I of Bricon/Rochefort). Bouchard, “The Lords of Seignelay,” 45, finds the same in northern Burgundy.

105. Clairvaux 2, 225, no. 38, May 1219: *Garnerius miles de Confino*. It is not known whether Garnier inherited anything from his father (see Chapter 3 n. 43).

106. See *Choiseul*, 51–52, no. 63, 1205; Faget de Casteljau, “Choiseul, 2,” 148. See *Renard II of Chiseul.

107. See *Simon of Châteauvillain and *Jean of Châteauvillain.

108. *Clairvaux*, 116, no. 98, before 1163: *Hugo de Fonteto querelam movit adversus fratres de Claravalle de pasturis terre sue; postea vero, penitentiam agens, humiliter recognovit culpam suam quia avus suus Petrus de Brieio . . . donaverat fratribus usuaria totius terre sue*.

109. *Clairvaux* 2, 401, no. 48, 1215: *Guido miles de Noex, filius dominus Petri grossi de Fontetis*.

110. See Chapter 8 (“Villehardouin”).

111. *LP* 2: 375–77, July 1227; *Saint-Pierre*, 180–81, no. 189, April 1228: *Ego Erardus de Brenna, dominus Remruici*. Before 1222 he was only *Ego Erard de Brene* (*LP* 2: 353–58, June 1218). See *Erard of Ramerupt.

112. See Chapter 8 at n. 31.

113. *Vauluisant*, fol. 43r, 1184 (= “Vauluisant,” 371–72, no. 160): *Ego Ansellus de Triangello et ego Garnerus de Triagnello, frater predicti Anselii laudamus atque concedimus ecclesie Vallislucentis pro redemptione animarum nostrarum quicquid de patrimonio et feodo nostro, dono vel emptione, possidet in terris, in nemoribus, in pratis et in aquis presentem paginam duobus sigillis nostris roboravimus*.

114. See Chapter 1 at n. 170.

115. In his own letters he announced himself: *Ego Garinus, dominus Triagnelli* (*Vauluisant*, fol. 56r, December 1184 = “Vauluisant,” 463–64, no. 233). The bishop of Troyes, his cousin, called him: *nobilis vir, Garnerus de Triagnello* (*Saint-Loup*, 159–60, no. 116, 1195). In 1209 both he and his son were identified as “of Trainel” (*Saint-Loup*, 203–4, no. 152).

116. *Feoda* 2, no. 2451: *Dominus de Marigniaco*.

117. In 1228 he was: *Ego Garnerus de Triangulo, dominus Marigniaci* (*LP* 2: 512–13, 1228 = (*Traité des fiefs*, 2: 186). In 1237, *Ego Garnerus, dominus Marigniaci*, confirmed as eldest brother the alienation of property that moved from his younger brother Dreux (*Droconis, domini Trianguli, fratris meus*); *Paralet*, 199–200, no. 219. For the Marigny descendants, see Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 863.

118. *Vignory*, 246–47, no. 144, November 1239: *Je Guiz de Vannorri, sires de la Ferté sus Amance*.

119. Guy (1231–51) was known to his fiefholders who solicited his seal as *mon seigneur Guion, seigneur de la Ferté sus Esmance* (Gigot, *Chartes*, 34–35, no. 33, 1251). The seal of his son Gautier (1252–95) reads: *Sigillum Gualter de Firmitate* (Jolibois, *La Haute-Marne*, 285–86). Gautier was identified as lord of Laferté in 1265, when he and his wife received 50 *l.t.* from the count for converting their village to a fief (AN, J 193, no. 44 > CR 8, fol. 466v), and in 1275 (*RôlesB*, no. 6928).

120. *Montiéramey*, 159–60, no. 139, June 1199; 160, no. 140, July 1199.

121. The count granted landed revenues worthy of a “barony” to *dominus Jacobus de Durnay* in exchange for his share of Bar-sur-Seine. Jacques agreed to the

count's terms: *Ego Jacobus de Chacenai omnia que premissa sunt, sicut superius sunt expressa, teneor firmiter et inviolabiliter observare* (LP 1, fols 144r–145r, 14 March 1223 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2:144–45); the act is known only through a copy, and since it makes no mention of the count's seal, it may have been draft to which Jacques gave his consent before the final letter was prepared.

122. See Chapter 8 ("Nogent-l'Artaud").

123. See Chapter 8 n. 107.

124. Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, nos. 282–94. Helvis, widow of Henry of Rethel, castellan of Vitry, likewise retained her husband's title (*ego Helvis, castellana Vitriaci*) to preserve her son's claim to it while her new husband, *Renard II of Dampierre, exercised the office.

125. Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, nos. 303, 311. See also *Beatrice of Auxonne.

126. *Rethel*, 107, no. 70, 1232: *Ego Felicitas, domina Bellforti, dicta comitissa Regitestis*: a jointly authored and sealed letter with her son Hugh III.

127. Clairvaux 1, 191, September 1246: *Ego Elisabeth de Jonivilla, relicta Symoni quondam dominus Clarimontis* (sale of Colombé-la-Fosse); Flammarion, "Clefmont," 388–89. See also *Elizabeth of Joinville. Helia of Villemaur is another example of a widow who assumed her own prestigious patronym (*Helia de Villemauro*) after being widowed by the marshal Milo of Provins (*Paraclet*, 117–18, no. 93, 1197: act of Countess Marie executing Helia's deathbed wishes.).

128. See *Guy IV of Châtillon and *Hugh V of Châtillon.

129. Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 2: 37, February 1227, n.s. Nieuw, *Un pouvoir comtal*, 170–71, relates Elizabeth's change of title rather to her conflict with her son Guy in 1222–23.

130. For the Garlande, see Chapter 8 n. 127.

131. In 1215: *Ego Guido, dominus Salliaci*, letter of liege homage to Thibaut IV (CR 3, fol. 92r, 1215 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 59 = *CB*, no. 249). In 1224, at the Christ-mas council: "of Saily" (see Appendix A). In 1244: *Je, Guis, sires de Sailli* (Gigot, *Chartes*, 11–13, no. 11). In 1245: *Ego Guido de Juniville, dominus de Sailli* (AD Haute-Marne, 5 H 6, no. 22). See also *Guy of Saily.

132. Gigot, *Chartes*, 118–19, no. 106, 1259: *Je, Robers de Joymville, sires de Sailli*. The count's scribes identified him only as "lord Robert, lord of Jully" (he held his mother's lordship until his half brother William came of age) and "lord Robert of Saily" (*Rôles*, nos. 84, 1132, 1294).

133. See Chapter 8 n. 80.

134. Contamine, *La noblesse*, 223–29.

135. Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 515–16; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 64.

Chapter 7. The Aristocratic Life Course

1. Sears, *The Ages of Man*; Burrow, *The Ages of Man*; Shahar, *Growing Old in the Middle Ages*, 12–18; and Guenée, "L'âge des personnes."

2. Elder, "Family History and the Life Course," and Hareven, "Introduction: The Historical Study of the Life Course," "Turning Points," and "The History of the Family," esp. 106–8.

3. Edouard de Barthélemy, *Diocèse ancien*, 2: 378: *pro nativitate filii ex Mathilde, uxore mea . . . actum apud Vitriacum castrum . . . MCXXVII, mense decembris*.

4. See Chapter 5 n. 78.

5. See n. 7 below.

6. See Appendix D ("Prosopographical Register") for all unattributed references.

7. The High Court stated that a boy left his mother's wardship at fifteen and a girl at eleven, that is, they could do homage for their inheritances at that age in the

absence of a father: *hons est hors d'avoerie au quinzainne an et fenme a XI ans . . . si tost comme elles auroient XI ans, elle doit repaître [her fief] dou signour* (see Chapter 4 n. 144). The inquest that determined Countess Jeanne's age (1284) also found that in Champagne girls customarily did homage and received homage after completing their eleventh year: *mulier que complevit undecimum annum et intravit duodecimum possit facere homagium et recipere homagia a vassallis* (Viollet, *Les Établissements de Saint Louis*, 3: 165–68; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 38).

8. The only case of a girl being sent to the court of a lord as a hostage, rather than as a future spouse, is Blanche's daughter Marie, who was about two when sent to the royal palace in 1201 (see Chapter 2 n. 25).

9. Brown, "The Prince," 322.

10. See Chapter 4 n. 56.

11. Brown, "The Prince," 304–5.

12. The contract is unusual in that it makes no reference to Blanche's nubility. According to Odo II's letter: *Matrimonium vero debet celebrari quando Otho, filius noster, habebit quatuordecim annos completos. Theobaldus vero comes Campanie debet adducere Blancham, filiam suam, apud Borbonam et eam tradere nobis ut ibidem sponsalia celebrantur* (*Layettes*, 2: 64–66, no. 1738, 19 January 1226, n.s.). Odo II's son later declined that marriage, forcing *Gautier II of Vignory, one of the pledges, to transfer *mouvance* of Vignory castle to Thibaut IV. Stoertz, "Young Women," 24–26, gives similar examples.

13. *Layettes*, 2: 311, no. 2432, 16 January 1236.

14. See Chapter 5 n. 97.

15. See Chapter 5 n. 84.

16. The nature of female monasticism in Champagne requires a separate study; brief remarks are in Evergates, "Aristocratic Women," 104–9. There is one example of a woman who must have entered a convent at a young age but who left fifteen years later to marry. She is Adeline of Briel, daughter of a well-to-do knightly family, who left Fontevraud's priory of Foissy in order to marry the knight Adam of Servigny. She entered Foissy in 1197 when her father, Estout I of Briel, gave his fief at Magnant as her entry gift (AD Aube, 27 H 3), and left ca. 1213 (*Montiéramy*, 275, no. 272). By that time her younger brother Renaud had become a founding baron of the Frankish principality of the Morea (Evergates, "The Origin of the Lords of Karytaina," 96–98, 114, genealogy).

17. Canonists referred to puberty and sexual capacity rather than to age per se as determining readiness for marriage (Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 433–34).

18. Gislebert of Mons, *Chronicon*, 102–3, chap. 64.

19. The marriage contract between Jocelin of Lignol's daughter and Guy and Clementia of Bayel's son is typically ambiguous: if the girl died before the marriage, one of her sisters would replace her, *quin illa ad etatem nubilem perveniret* (LP I, fols. 146v–148r, 1231; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 28).

20. Achery, *Spicilegium*, 3: 682: *nos [Philip III] et regina [Blanche] predicta curam adhibebimus diligentem et operam dabimus efficacem quod dictus filius noster et Joanna predicta constituta in etate sufficienti ad sponsalia contrahenda, ad sponsalia se obligent. Et quando dicta Joanna ad nubilem etatem venerit, dictus filius noster eam accipiet in uxorem et ipsa eum recipiet in maritum* (trans. in Evergates, "Aristocratic Women," 87).

21. Table C.9 and Evergates, "Aristocratic Women," 88–89. Fourrier, "Retour au *Terminus*," notes that Marie of France was called betrothed (*sponsa*) after giving her consent to marriage at fourteen (1159), and wife (*uxor*) after she married at nineteen (1164).

22. Table C.10. That was also the case for English royal marriages between 1150

and 1500: of eighty-seven marriages, forty-nine (56 percent) occurred when the bride was fifteen or older (Parsons, “Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power,” 66–67).

23. For Agnes of Bar-le-Duc, see *Hugh V of Châtillon.

24. Evergates, “Aristocratic Women,” 76–79.

25. Parsons, “Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power,” 66–67, gives convincing evidence on this point: of twenty-three girls married before fifteen, sixteen (70 percent) had their first child at least three years after marrying. Stoertz, “Young Women,” 33–34, draws a similar conclusion.

26. Lusse, “D’Etienne à Jean de Joinville,” 27.

27. Table C.11. Modern historians implicitly project on all medieval families the model popularized by Herlihy from the evidence in late medieval Italy. “Roughly estimated,” concluded Herlihy, “girls in the elite classes would marry at fifteen and men at thirty” (“The Making of the Medieval Family,” 149). Herlihy deduced a complex family dynamic between an aged father, his much younger wife, and their alienated sons.

28. Table C.9 and Evergates, “Aristocratic Women,” 88–89.

29. See *Hugh V of Châtillon-sur-Marne.

30. Table C.12. DeAragon, “Dowager Countesses,” 91 (based on fifty first marriages of Anglo-Norman countesses between 1066 and 1230).

31. *Montier-en-Der*, 227–28, no. 100, 1050/85. Nocher’s mother and brothers confirmed his wishes.

32. See Chapter 5 n. 145.

33. Table C.13.

34. See Chapter 6 n. 76.

35. Helvide of Dampierre-le-Château; see under *Simon of Joinville.

36. Table C.13.

37. See also *Alix of Aigremont.

38. *Paraclet*, 89–90, no. 72, 1185.

39. “Second career” is the felicitous expression of Labarge, “Three Medieval Widows and a Second Career.”

40. The obituary for the Paraclete is exceptional in identifying nuns according to their entry status (*conversa*, *Deo sacrata*, *monaca*, *monaca ad succurrendum*); see Chapter 4 n. 129.

41. Venarde, *Women’s Monasticism*, 95–103, summarizes the evidence for France in general. DeAragon, “Dowager Countesses,” 93–94, finds that about 10 percent of the fifty-eight dowager countesses in England entered religious life.

42. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 445, no. 117, 1155.

43. Havide, widow of Renaud I of Choiseul (1148–58), so angered her son, Fulk II of Choiseul (1158–92), that he ravaged the abbey’s lands (Faget de Casteljau, “Recherches sur la maison de Choiseul, 2,” 143–44).

44. See Evergates, “Aristocratic Women,” 84.

45. *Obituaires*, 4: 190 (8 March): *domina Maria, reverendissima monacha, nobilissima Campanie comitissa*.

46. At Pont-sur-Seine in July 1226, Blanche ordered the provost of Villemaur to pay the abbess of the Paraclete 11*l.* from the tolls of Pont and Marcilly (*Paraclet*, 176, no. 488).

47. Table C.14. Women predeceased their husbands in four of twenty-nine tabulated marriages. Of twenty-five widows, fourteen (56 percent) remarried, a figure remarkably close to the 57 percent (thirty-three of fifty-eight) of widowed countesses in England who remarried (DeAragon, “Dowager Countesses,” 89).

48. Guigue, “Testament,” 163: *si vero sepe dicta S., uxor nostra, matrimonium vellet contrahere, volumus quod dotem suam, quam ei dedimus, integram habeat*.

49. In England, about half of remarrying widows (nine of eighteen for whom there is sufficient information) married widowers (DeAragon, “Dowager Countesses, 89).

50. *Agnes of Baudement had a similar life course: widowed with an infant daughter, she remarried, had eight children in a lengthy second marriage, then spent sixteen years as a widow.

51. Gislebert of Mons (*Chronicon*, 68–70, chap. 35) reports a similar case: Yoland of Hainaut had no children by her marriage to Ivo II, count of Soissons and lord of Nesle (1146–78), when widowed at forty-seven; but in her second marriage, to the young Hugh IV of Saint-Pol, she had two daughters, including Elizabeth, heiress of Saint-Pol in 1205 (see *Gaucher III of Châtillon and Appendix E, Genealogy 7).

52. See Chapter 5 n. 149.

53. Table C.15.

54. Faget de Casteljau, “Emmeline,” “Encore les Reynel,” and “En remontant la Blaise.”

55. *Hommages* 1, no. 3741: *fecit homagium ligium de doario uxoris sue et avoeria puerorum uxoris sue*.

56. Felicity of Brienne married first (ca. 1100) Simon I of Broys (d. ca. 1132/36), then Geoffroy III of Joinville; she was last mentioned in 1178 (Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 33; Duchesne, *Dreux*, Broys, 14–16, *preuves*, 11–13). Aubry of Trois-Fontaines twice mentions the fact that Felicity remarried (“Chronicon,” 818 [1117], 831 [1132]). See Lusse, “D’Etienne à Jean de Joinville,” 14–15.

57. Simonnet, *Essai*, 68, 1188: *Ego Gaufridus, dominus Jonisville, frater Hugonis, dominus Breensis*. See also Chapter 2 n. 15 and *Simon of Châteauvillain.

58. Table C.16.

59. Evergates, “Aristocratic Women,” 88–89, 103.

60. See *Elizabeth of Nogent-sur-Seine.

61. See *Simon IV of Clefmont.

62. Hugh of Avranches, according to Orderic, “was always surrounded by a huge household, full of swarms of boys of both high and humble birth” (Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3: 216–17, bk. 6 chap. 2).

63. He witnessed his brother Henry’s act in 1145 as a cleric (*Montier-la-Celle*, 41–42, no. 24) but seems to have left the comital household to study in Paris. We know nothing about Thibaut IV’s son William (b. ca. 1250–d. 1267), who may have been a canon in Saint-Etienne of Troyes and Saint-Quiriac of Provins.

64. Didot, *Études*, 188–89, “M,” 7 June 1218 = CB, no. 155.

65. See n. 7 above for the age of male succession, and Chapter 2 n. 39 for the age of comital succession.

66. Duby, “Youth in Aristocratic Society.”

67. Lett, *L’enfant des miracles*, 51–52, has pertinent remarks on the meaning of *adolescens* and *juvenis*.

68. Thibaut IV was married in May 1220 and divorced by May 1221 (see Chapter 5 n. 149). He was knighted on 17 May 1222 (Aubry of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, 912: *cingulo militiae accingitur*), and became count on 22 May 1222.

69. Philip IV’s predecessors were knighted at quite different ages: Louis IV (sixteen), Louis VII (twelve), Philip II (fifteen, one year after his coronation), Louis VIII (twenty-one), Louis IX (eleven, just before his accession), and Philip III (twenty-two); see Contamine, “Points de vue sur la chevalerie,” 276.

70. Molesme, 2: 119, no. 117, 1085–95: *factus miles adeptisque comitatus honorem*.

71. See Chapter 3 n. 130.

72. Quantin, *Cartulaire général*, 1: 494–96, no. 340, after 1151: *Sed quum tunc temporis Freferus miles non erat, promisit Ansellus quia, quando miles fieret, terram ab eo num-*

quam tenerat nisi prius hec omnia lauderet et confirmaret. The two sons of Adeline and Bartholomew Coquille *cognoverunt et laudaverunt* their mother's donation *postquam milites facti sunt* (Clairvaux, 71, no. 45, 1147–62).

73. BNF, Collection de Picardie, vol. 200, fols. 118r–119r, 1184: *Ad maiorem autem prescripte donationis confirmationem, ego Johannes Noviomensis castellanus, ad cuius feodum pertinere dinoscitur tota prefata possessio, assensum meum eidem donationi adhibui et hanc paginam tempore adolescentie mee conscriptam, me proprio sigillo roboraturum promisi quam postquam miles mihi exhibita tam sigilli mei appensione quam prescriptum testium assignatione confirmavi.*

74. For Gautier of Argentolle, see Chapter 4 n. 87. Giles, son of Pierre of Warnécourt, was *nondum militum et nondum uxorum* (Montiers-en-Argonne, fols. 34v–35r, April 1231).

75. Flori, *L'essor de la chevalerie*, 299–300, concludes the same from an analysis of Gislebert of Mons' account of knighting within the twelfth-century comital family of Hainaut.

76. See Appendix D n. 100.

77. *Erard II of Chacenay, *nondum milites*, lacked a seal in 1203.

78. Table C.5 and Chapter 2 nn. 158–59. See also Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy*, 137; and Keen, *Chivalry*, 67.

79. See Chapter 2 n. 39.

80. The archbishop of Reims confirmed what the king *per suas litteras approbatam* (LB, 79–80, no. 38, April 1210 = CB, no. 14). The duke of Burgundy approved and confirmed the *judicium . . . quod rex fecit* (LB, 88–89, no. 48, September 1209). The bishop of Langres confirmed the *judicium a domino Philippo rege factum* (LB, 104–5, no. 65, January 1210 = CB, no. 62).

81. See Chapter 4 n. 144.

82. GC, 12, *instr.*: 160–61, no. 88, June 1241, letter of the bishop of Auxerre: *Et dictus Galcherus confessus fuit coram nobis se tempore confectionis presentium litterarum, etatis sue quintum decimum explevisse, terram suam tenere et feoda a dominis suis recepisse.* See also Nesle, 2: 340–41u.

83. It is not clear at what age boys could take oaths. Beaumanoir states that it was twelve, although he recognized the cases in which younger boys took oaths (*Coutumes*, arts. 558, 562–63); see Lett, *L'enfant des miracles*, 24–25.

84. Poull, *Bar*, 107–8.

85. See *Pierre of Joigny.

86. See also Hugh of Le Puiset (Appendix D n. 11).

87. See Chapter 5 n. 119.

88. In her first act as widow, Beatrice called herself *Beatrix de Joinville, seneschalesse de Champagne* (Simonnet, *Essai*, 194–95, 1233). In 1234 she was *Ego Beatrix, domina Joinville, senescalla Campanie* (Simonnet, *Essai*, 196).

89. LP 2: 478, 1 May 1239 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 225: *Ge Jehan sire de Joinville, seneschaus de Champagne, fais a savoir a tous cels qui ces lettres verront, que je ai tex convenances vers madame ma mere la dame de Valcolor, que je li ai otroie a tenir tot le fie que je tieng de mon tres chier signor Thiebaut, par la grace de Dieu roi de Navarre, conte palasins de Champagne et de Brie, de Noel qui premierement venra jusqu'a quatre ans accomplis, et ai requis mon signor le roy devandit, se je issoie de ces convenances devandites que il les fist tenir comme chiez sires. En tesmoing de cette chose, j'ai fait seeler ces lettres an mon seel, en l'an de l'Incarnation de Jhesu Christ, MCCXXXIX, le premier jour de mai.*

90. See Chapter 2 n. 47.

91. See Chapter 2 n. 50.

92. Beatrice's letter states that Blanche and Thibaut *recepissent* [William] *in hominem suum ligium de comitatu Jovigniaci et de pertinentiis ad eorum feodum pertinentibus*,

salvo jure alterius, et idem Willelmus postmodum, proprio motu et spontanea voluntate, se et totam terram suam in mea custodia posuisset (Layettes, 1: 543–44, no. 1530, 19 April 1222, at Château-Thierry). She states further that she and William swore on relics to render the castle of Joigny to Blanche or Thibaut, to their *nuncio*, or on notification *per litteras suas patentes* (see Chapter 2 n. 71).

93. Jordan, *Louis IX*, 6.

94. Table C.9.

95. Table C.10.

96. Poull, *Bar*, 119–28.

97. Poull, *Bar*, 129–31.

98. Tables C.10, C.11.

99. Table C.9.

100. Table C.14.

101. Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 191.

102. Debuissou, “La provenance des premiers cisterciens,” 19–21, finds that 90 percent of the monks cited in Bernard’s *vitae* came from aristocratic families. Veyssière, “Le personnel de l’abbaye de Clairvaux,” establishes a register of twelfth-century monks at Clairvaux from its archive of documents. Wollasch, “Parenté noble et monachisme réformateur,” poses basic questions regarding the social and familial consequences of conversion.

103. Gaucher succumbed to Bernard’s exhortation (1120s) when he and a band of knights (*nobilium cohors militum*) visited Clairvaux. William of Thierry recorded that event in the *Vita Prima* of Bernard (*PL*, 185: 257, nos. 55–56). See also Debuissou, “La provenance des premiers cisterciens,” 117, and Veyssière, “Le personnel de l’abbaye de Clairvaux,” 52, no. 152.

104. Since Jean was in debt to Clairvaux for 100*l.* when he took the habit there, he assigned his younger brother, Master Thibaut, a 10*l.* revenue with which to pay off the debt (AD Haute-Marne, 5 H 10, no. 485, 1216; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 48). Jean sealed his letter with his own seal, which he must have kept with him at Clairvaux. Garnier of Rochefort, the former bishop of Langres (1193–98) who was a monk at Clairvaux, witnessed Jean’s profession and confirmed it with his own letter (AD Haute-Marne, 5 H 10, no. 486, 1216).

105. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity*, esp. chaps. 1–3.

106. Bishop Garnier called Guy *dilectus frater noster* (Vauluisant, fol. 214, 1195).

107. *PL*, 216: 979, no. 9, July 1213: they calculated the degree of kinship (*parentelae lineam computaverunt*).

108. Guy’s deposition is recorded in two letters sealed by Odo III, duke of Burgundy, and *Gaucher III of Châtillon, count of Saint-Pol: (1) CR 3, fols. 167v–169r. July 1217 = *Thesaurus*, 1: 863–64 = *CB*, no. 416: *Quia igitur idem Guido longevus estet magne etatis, timentes ne decederet, recepimus super hoc ejus testimonium et dedactum in scripto presenti* (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 25); and (2) CR 3, fols. 34r–35r, 9 July 1217 = *Thesaurus*, 1: 863 = *CB*, no. 84.

109. Roger, “Les Morhier,” 119–20, no. 21; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 47.

110. Table C.9. The longest-lived Capetian kings, Louis VI and Louis IX, lived to sixty (Shahar, *Growing Old*, 114).

111. Table C.16.

Chapter 8. Aristocratic Lineages: Case Studies

1. I use lineage in the sense of bilateral descent rather than agnatic line of succession to a specific property or castle (see Chapter 4 n. 27).

2. See Chapter 1 n. 14.

3. Those studies appear in the journals of the departmental historical societies of the Aube, the Marne, and the Haute-Marne. The local tradition of genealogical research continues in important studies by Roserot (his *Dictionnaire historique* is a mine of information on aristocratic families in southern Champagne), Poull (the Bar-le-Duc and related families on the eastern border), Faget de Casteljau (families in the Haute-Marne), Mathieu (families in central Champagne), Belotte (Bar-sur-Seine), and Poissonnier (Choiseul).

4. Brief accounts of the Bar-sur-Seine are in Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 106–32, genealogical table 2; Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 107, 160–61; and Belotte, “La région de Bar-sur-Seine,” especially 17–31 and 456bis (whose revised genealogy is adopted here).

5. For Renaud of Bar-sur-Seine, see Bouchard, *Nobility and the Church*, 406. Herbert of Bar-sur-Seine married Amica, heiress of Ville-sur-Arce: her lordship passed to their younger son Hugh, to Hugh’s only son Jean Goriard and to his daughter Emeline (her older brother Hugh II inherited their mother’s property at Mag-nant). In April 1219 Emeline’s husband, the knight Robert of Fontette, augmented the fief of Ville-sur-Arce, which he held in her name, with a 15*l.* revenue and promised the count that after their deaths Ville-sur-Arce would be divided into two fiefs, one for each of their sons (LP 7, fol. 219r–v = Pétel, “Les seigneurs de Ville-sur-Arce,” 805–6, no. 4). The lordship was still intact in 1250, when the widowed Emeline reported that her inheritance at Ville-sur-Arce with its fortified residence was worth 160*l.t.* (*Rôles*, no. 55). Her son Pierre held 40*l.t.* there, and his younger brother Milo held the same amount from him as a rear-fief (*Rôles*, no. 56). Pierre’s widow held the entire lordship and fortified house in 1275 (*RôlesB*, no. 6516). See also Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 210–11 (with genealogy), 181–83; and Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1825–28.

6. See *Agnes of Baudement and *Petronilla of Bar-sur-Seine.

7. See Chapter 1 at n. 149.

8. *Feoda* 3, no. 2709; *Feoda* 4, no. 2913.

9. See *Milo IV of Bar-sur-Seine.

10. *Helisent of Joigny kept her dower lands (half of the county) for six years before selling them to the count in August 1225 (AN, J 768, no. 2, with her seal > LP 2: 78, 81–82 = *Thesaurus*, 1: 934): *Ego Helissendis, Barri super Sequanam comitissa, notum facio . . . me vendidisse . . . totum dotalitium meum comitatus Barri super Sequanam, quod scilicet dotalitium movet de feodo comitatus Campanie, et omnes conquestus meos quos feci tempore bona memoria M[ilonis], comitis Barri, mariti mei, quos habebam et tenebam tempore venditionis*. Belotte, “La région de Bar-sur-Seine,” 21–27, and Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 110–12, summarize the dismemberment and reconstitution of Bar-sur-Seine in the years between 1219 and 1227. The heirs of Milo’s sisters Helvide and Margaret each received one-fourth of Bar-sur-Seine:

(1) Helvide’s husband, Guy of Sennecey, paid 240*l. prov.* relief (*de rachato*) for her one-fourth share of Bar (AN, J 198, no. 47, 13 January 1220 n.s.), which passed in equal shares to their two children: Colin and his wife Agnes sold his (one-eighth) share to Guy of Chappes and his nephew Clarembaud (AN, J 196, no. 10, 29 July 1220); Laurence and her husband, Ponce of Cuiseaux, first promised not to alienate Laurence’s (one-eighth) share of Bar-sur-Aube (*Layettes*, 1: 502, no. 1405, August 1220), then sold it to Thibaut IV in 1223 (LP 3, fols. 19v–20r, April 1223 = Duchesne, *Vergy, preuves*, 174; and LP 3, fols. 74v–75r). There is no evidence that Laurence was a daughter of Hermesend of Traînel, as argued by Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 111.

(2) The one-fourth share of Bar that went to Margaret, widow of Simon I of

Rochefort, passed to her two children equally: Simon II of Rochefort did liege homage for one-eighth of Bar (AN, J 196, no. 7, 29 July 1220 > LP 3, fol. 174r–v = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 18–19, 119–20); Agnes of Rochefort's son, Gérard of Durnay, paid 300*l. prov.* relief for her one-eighth share (AN, J 198, no. 48, 13 January 1220, n.s. > LP 3, fols. 35v–36r = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 104), in the absence of her husband, *Jacques of Durnay. On returning from overseas, Jacques acquired his brother-in-law's share, and in 1224 he sold both shares (one-fourth) of Bar-sur-Seine to Thibaut IV in exchange for other lands (LP 1, fols. 124v–126r = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 144–45) constituting a “barony” (see n. 96 below).

11. *Chacenay*, with its catalog of acts, remains indispensable. See also Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 283–89 (and genealogical table 4); and Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 166–67 (with genealogical table) and *Documents* (genealogical table 3).

12. See Chapter 1 n. 149.

13. *Feoda* 1, nos. 62–63: *Comes Barri super Sequannam, ligius. Dominus de Chacenai. Feoda* 2, no. 2436: *Dominus de Chascenai est homo ligius domini Campanie et tenet Chascenai ab eo.*

14. See *Erard I of Chacenay.

15. See *Jacques of Durnay.

16. See *Erard II of Chacenay.

17. See Chapter 6 at n. 84.

18. *Vignory*, with its collection of documents, remains essential. See also Bouchard, *Nobility and the Church*, 379–84 (with genealogical table).

19. Guy V who is known chiefly through his benefactions to the Cistercians, primarily in licensing the acquisition of his fiefs (*Clairvaux*, 11–16, no. 7 [3], 1135; *Vignory*, 183–84, no. 28, 1138–50).

20. *Feoda* 1, no. 73: *Dominus de Waignorri, ligius post comitem Burgundie* (probably for Oudincourt, which he received from Henry I in 1168). For 1204, see Chapter 2 n. 37.

21. See *Gautier I of Vignory.

22. See Chapter 6 at n. 118.

23. See *Gautier II of Vignory.

24. *Vignory*, xcv–c; Jolibois, *La Haute-Marne*, 549–50.

25. See Chapter 6 n. 16.

26. Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: introduction, 123 (genealogical table 3), and 2: 1225–34; Arbois de Jubainville, “Ramerupt”; and Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 196–99 (with genealogical table).

27. See *Felicity of Beaufort.

28. See *André II of Ramerupt.

29. See *Erard I of Ramerupt.

30. LP 2: 372–73, 375–76, July 1227: a complex exchange of property that Erard had acquired in making peace with Thibaut IV.

31. Erard II was *ultra mare* during the inquest of 1250 (*Rôles*, no. 1091). Chancery scribes later made entries for his four sisters: each reported for one-quarter of Ramerupt (*Rôles*, nos. 1126–27, 1143, 1173). See Chapter 2 nn. 112, 131.

32. The count of Grandpré acquired the second quarter in 1252 (see Chapter 2 n. 131). In March 1267, Henry requested Thibaut's consent to his mortgage of “the tower and castellany” of Ramerupt for two years to the count's receiver, Renier of Acorre (LP 2: 161–162). The count paid off the debt of 1,700*l. prov.*, provided that he was repaid in two years (LP 2: 162–63, 1267). If a three-fourths share of Ramerupt produced 850*l.*, the entire lordship would have yielded about 1,133*l.* annually.

33. Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, remains the work of reference (with genealogical table); Lusse, “D'Etienne à Jean de Joinville” (with genealogy, 47), is a recent syn-

thesis. Genealogies are also in Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 397, and Evergates, *Documents*, xxix. Mathieu, “Nouvelles recherches,” vets the question of origins, whether Joinville was founded by a “new” man or a transplanted nobleman.

34. Geoffroy III of Joinville succeeded his father in 1137/41, about the time he married Felicity of Brienne, widow of Simon I of Broyes. He accompanied young Henry on the Second Crusade and appeared as seneschal in 1152. His son Geoffroy (IV) shared the lordship of Joinville from 1179 until Geoffroy III died in 1188, in his mid-sixties (Lusse, “D’Etienne à Jean de Joinville,” 2–14). See also Ulrich, “Guy de Joinville, évêque de Châlons.”

35. See *Simon of Joinville and Humblot, “Guillaume II de Joinville.”

36. See “Jully-sur-Sarce” below and *Guy of Sailly.

37. See *Geoffroy of Joinville.

38. See *Jean of Joinville.

39. Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 223–28.

40. See their contemporaries *Simon of Châteauvillain (1200–1259) and *Jean of Châteauvillain (1259–1314).

41. *Jean of Joinville had serious financial difficulties in the 1250s and 1260s (Lusse, “D’Etienne à Jean de Joinville,” 35–38).

42. Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*; Bur, *Formation*, 238, 249, 250 (genealogical table 24); Mathieu, *Montmirail en Brie*, 44–104.

43. He witnessed an act of Stephen and Adela as Gaucher of Montmirail (*Notre-Dame de Chartres*, 1: 104–8, no. 24, 1099) and appeared with Hugh of Troyes as Gaucher of La Ferté-Gaucher (*Montiéramey*, 25–26, no. 17, 1102; *Saint-Loup*, 14–16, no. 14, April 1104). He and his wife Elizabeth founded a priory at La Ferté-Gaucher (*Molesme*, 2: 95, no. 89, ca. 1093). Gaucher was castellan of Château-Thierry, perhaps by collateral inheritance (*in hereditatem successerat*) from Hugh, castellan of Château-Thierry, in 1119 when he and his entire family (wife Elizabeth, sons Gaucher and Helias, and daughter Eustachia) witnessed a joint act of Adela of Blois and Lisiard, bishop of Soissons (Bonde and Maines, *Saint-Jean-des-Vignes*, 65 n. 31; and LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, app. 1 no. 103). See Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 120–24, for the earlier history.

44. See Chapter 7 n. 103.

45. Bernard visited Helias, his wife, and infant son in ca. 1123, shortly after Helias’s brother entered Clairvaux. In 1126 Helias attended Thibaut II at Château-Thierry (*GC*, 10: *instr.* 110, no. 20, 1126). He held his wife’s dowry in fief from the abbes of Faremoutiers (see Chapter 5 n. 37).

46. See *Gaucher of Montmirail.

47. André appeared as a knight in 1132, as lord of La Ferté-Gaucher in 1144, and as lord of both Montmirail and La Ferté-Gaucher in the earliest roll of fiefs (*Feoda* 1, no. 930, ca. 1178: all-year castleguard [as castellan] at Château-Thierry; *Jean I of Montmirail replaced him by ca. 1190). André also held a fief in Provins (*Feoda* 1, no. 1398: *Dominus Feritatis Gaucherii* [et] *Montismirabilis, ligius*). If he was born ca. 1115, he was in his mid-teens when he attended Thibaut II (1132), and over fifty when he inherited Montmirail after his mother’s death (ca. 1166). He died in the 1180s in his late sixties or early seventies.

48. Adelaide acted as *domina castri* between 1158 and 1166 (Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 642–43, nos. 5–6).

49. See *Jean I of Montmirail.

50. See *Helvide of Dampierre.

51. See *Jean II of Montmirail.

52. The third son, Matthew, and second daughter, Felicity, shared equally La Ferté-Gaucher and the viscounty of Meaux. The youngest child, five-year-old *Marie of Montmirail, was promised Condé-en-Brie as dowry.

53. Matthew did homage for (1) his collateral inheritance from Jean II (Montmirail, La Ferté-Gaucher, the tower of Château-Thierry) and (2) Felicity's lands, described as one-half of Ferté-Ancoul and the viscounty of Meaux and other lands, for which he promised to pay 300*l. tour.* in relief. He left a sealed letter in testimony of his homages and promise (*Hommages* 2, nos. 5131–32: *le conte me receut en son hommage des choses dessus dites et osta sa main de mon fié*, letter of 15 August 1243).

54. Born ca. 1230, Enguerran IV became heir apparent in 1250 on the death of his older brother Raoul II (Barthélemy, *Coucy*, 201 n. 179, 408–9, genealogical table).

55. The most comprehensive treatment remains Duchesne, *Chastillon*. Mathieu, “Châtillon-sur-Marne” (with genealogical tables) reworks the twelfth-century genealogy, and Mesqui, “Crécy-en-Brie,” reviews the evolution of the Châtillon's most important fortification in Champagne. See also Bur, *Formation*, 454–57 (with genealogical table), and Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 3: 47–50. Nieus, *Un pouvoir comtale*, 151–73, with genealogical table, 174–77, offers a concise history of the thirteenth-century Châtillon counts of Saint-Pol.

56. Bur, *Formation*, 235, 252–53.

57. See Chapter 6 n. 38.

58. I follow the genealogical reconstruction in Mathieu, “Châtillon-sur-Marne,” specifically in making Henry the heir of Montjay rather than of Châtillon. Henry appeared as a “Châtillon” in attending Thibaut II at Roucy (1117) and at Vitry (1126) but as a “Montjay” at Vertus (Barthélemy, *Diocèse ancien*, 2: 416, no. 48, 1135) and at the court of the archbishop of Reims (Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 2: 222, 1127). The archbishop's pancarte confirming the earliest gifts to the Cistercians at Igny (1130) called him *Henricus de Castellione* (ibid., 2: 23).

59. *Gaucher II of Châtillon was also called “of Montjay” (Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 2: 24). See also *Beatrice of Crécy.

60. Adele of Dreux (b. ca. 1145, d. 1205/10) married four times and had at least ten children. She first married Galeran III of Breteuil (after 1156), then (by 1161) Guy II of Châtillon-Montjay (*Nesle*, 1:204, genealogical table, 206–7). Widowed with five young children (ca. 1170/72), she soon married Jean I of Thourotte (d. 1176/77). Her fourth marriage, to Raoul of Nesle, count of Soissons (d. 1183), lasted about five years. She remained a widow for perhaps twenty-five years and died in her sixties.

61. Guy II (b. ca. 1135), the eldest son of Gaucher II, was a minor at his father's death (1148). In his mid-twenties he married Adele of Dreux (ca. 1161), a teenage widow (see n. 60 above), and appeared at the royal court shortly thereafter. He died by 1170, leaving five young children (*Feoda* 1, no. 693, fief roll for Châtillon, ca. 1178: *pueri Guidonis de Castellione, custodiam annum et ligius*). In his own letters, Guy called himself variously “of Châtillon” and “of Montjay” (Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 2: 26–27). His widow Adele retained Montjay in dower until her death; in 1204 her fourth husband, Raoul I, count of Soissons, held it in her name (Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 2: 34).

62. See *Gaucher III of Châtillon.

63. See *Hugh V of Châtillon.

64. *Layettes*, 3: 443, no. 2902, 1241: *plenariam et liberam habeant potestatem faciendi permutationes et excambia super hereditate mea de comitatu Blesensis*.

65. Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 56–57, March 1247, n.s.

66. *RôlesB*, nos. 6055–6110, of 1275.

67. Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 195, 1290: the *castrum, villam et castellaniam*. See also Châtelain, *Châteaux forts*, 125.

68. *Registres du Trésor des Chartes*, 1: 4, no. 6, 21 October 1303.

69. I prefer “derivative” or “segmentary” (in the sense of “offshoot”) to “collateral,” with its connotation of continuing dependence on the eldest son.

70. Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 221–23; Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 2: 734–43; Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 185.

71. Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 57–58.

72. Guy held Jully *de feodo et casamento* from his brother (*Montiéramy*, 127, no. 97, 1192).

73. See Chapter 2 n. 16. In 1206 Guy founded a chapter of canons in the castle (Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 736).

74. In 1198 Guy appeared among eleven Champenois barons who witnessed the count’s homage to the king (see Chapter 2 n. 4).

75. See Chapter 2 n. 18.

76. Guy of Chappes’ wife Petronilla (d. 1236) was one of two heiresses of Thibaut of Bar-sur-Seine, lord of Bragelogne and Champlost (younger brother of Milo III, count of Bar-sur-Seine, 1147–51). See Appendix E, Genealogy 11.

77. See *Guy of Sailly.

78. Robert of Sailly held Jully in custody until his younger half brother William did homage for it on coming of age (1262): in 1251 Robert declared that he held the castle (*castrum*) of Jully as a comital fief (*Rôles*, no. 84); the rest of Jully (except the *donjon*) he held in rear-fief from his cousin Jean, lord of Chappes (*Rôles*, no. 1132).

79. Belotte, “Bar-sur-Seine,” 93, 397–98 (annex 7, table 7), based on an account of the late thirteenth century. Of Jully’s 770*l.* annual revenue, 186*l.* (24 percent) came from rents and taxes at Jully, 194*l.* (25.2 percent) from rents and tailles beyond Jully, and 390*l.* (50.6 percent) from domain produce. Jully thus produced about as much as Beaufort (see at n. 94 below).

80. Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 515–16; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 64.

81. See Duchesne, *Dreux*, pt. 5, “Broyes”; and Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 3: 28–31.

82. See *Hugh III of Broyes, and Millard, “De la réunion de Châteauvillain.”

83. See *Elizabeth of Dreux and *Simon I of Châteauvillain.

84. See *Jean of Châteauvillain.

85. See Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 2: 956–58; Bur, *Formation*, 212–13 (genealogical table 21), 237–38, 259; Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 4: 104–8; and Pigeotte, “Les anciens seigneurs de Beaufort.” See also *Felicity of Beaufort.

86. Comital officials who drew up the first rolls of fiefs regarded Simon of Beaufort as the most important baron in the castellany of Rosnay, listing him immediately behind the viscount (*Feoda* 1, no. 178: *Dominus Bellifontis, ligius*). In 1203/4 Beaufort was ranked among the county’s “great fiefs” (*Feoda* 2, no. 2448).

87. *Rethel*, 1: 139–41, no. 86, November 1239: the marriage contract assigned *Jeanne of Dampierre a provisional dower (Mézières castle) until she could obtain Beaufort with a 500*l.* income.

88. Jeanne’s brother William III, lord of Dampierre, negotiated her marriage contract: he gave her a dowry of 4,000*l.* cash and a 200*l.* rent; Thibaut of Bar-le-Duc dowered her with a 3,000*l.* rent assigned on his castle at Clermont-en-Argonne (Lesort, *Les chartes du Clermontois*, 85–89, no. 23, 3 May 1243).

89. *Rethel*, 1: 156–58, no. 98, July 1245; 158–60, no. 99, 31 August 1245. Jeanne died shortly after her marriage in the spring of 1245 (Poull, *Bar*, 229–30). In September Jean of Rethel declared his fiefs to the bailliff of Sainte-Menehould, including the castle of Beaufort with its castellany and fiefs (*Rethel*, 1: 161–62, no. 100 = *Layettes* 2: 586–87, no. 3385); the bailliff abstracted the letter (*Rôles*, no. 1336: *tenet castrum de Biaufort cum castellania et feodis*).

90. Jean of Rethel complained to the archbishop of Reims about an abuse of authority; the archbishop notified Innocent IV, then at Lyon, who asked the count to restore the castle to Jean and pay damages for molesting a plaintiff, pending a court decision on the *questionis matrimonii* (CR 8, fol. 52v, 1 October 1250).

91. *Rethel*, 1: 199–200, no. 122, 21 October 1251; 209–10, no. 131, 15 October 1252; 220–21, no. 139, June 1253.

92. *Rethel*, 1: 216–17, no. 137 (Marie claimed half of Beaufort as dower), June 1253; 220–21, no. 139, June, 1253.

93. Prince Henry purchased the castle and castellany of Beaufort for 7,000*l.* (Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 155 n. 1, June 1270 = *Layettes*, 4: 462, no. 5715) in partial fulfillment of his marriage contract by which he had to invest the 23,000*l.* dowry of Blanche of Artois (LP 1, fol. 270r–v, 1269). Thibaut V had already transferred *mouvance* over Beaufort to Henry (*Rethel*, 1: 336, no. 205, 1263).

94. *RôlesB*, nos. 7286–97, and Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 155–56 (domanial survey of 1275).

95. See Chapter 2 n. 19.

96. For Erard of Brienne's barony, see Chapter 2 n. 64. Thibaut created the second "barony" in exchange for one-fourth of Bar-sur-Seine, which Jacques II of Duranay's wife Agnes inherited from her mother, Margaret of Bar-sur-Seine (see n. 10 above): the property was to be sufficient for a barony (*quantum potest valere ad baronem*), specified as 500*l.* annual revenue, and the fortified residence built there was to be on flat land—not on a hill—and without a tower (LP 1, fols. 124r–126r, March 1223 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 144–45: *Forteritiam bona fide quidem facere poterit in plano, non in colle, cum fossatis et plano muro sine tormellis et sine turre*). This property, identified as Gronay, had a *domus* in 1262 (*RôlesT*, no. 5313). For the term *baronia*, see Chizelle, "L'accession à la baronnie."

97. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, 52, par. 90–91. See also Evergates, "Nobles and Knights," 31–33; Bur, *Formation*, 373–74; Benton, "The Court of Champagne Under Henry the Liberal," 87–93; and *Obituaires* 1: xxix–xxx.

98. Jacques of Vitry, *Exempla*, 106–7, and Etienne of Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, 124–25.

99. *Feoda* 1, nos. 1600, 2002. Obituary for Notre-Dame of Provins: *Obiit dominus Artaudus, miles de Nogento, qui de suo proprio refectorium dormitoriumque sororem fecit* (*Obituaires*, 1: 925).

100. See Chapter 5 n. 74.

101. *Feoda* 1, nos. 934, 1749 (*Dominus Altaldus, ligius; tota terra sua in prepositura de Sezannia*). *Feoda* 3, no. 2731, ca. 1201 (*Nogentum Eraudi*).

102. Bur, *Formation*, 373–74, cites Nogent-l'Artaud as the best documented example of an advocate constructing a new castle on monastic lands.

103. *Layettes*, 5: 25, no. 73.

104. *Langres*, 167–68, no. 145, 1182 (letter of Countess Marie).

105. *Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 1: 279–80, no. 198, 1182.

106. Artaud may have died by ca. 1190, when Hodiernne took his fief (*Feoda* 1, no. 2002) and certainly by 1195 (Corlieu and Léguillette, *Nogent-l'Artaud*, 17–18). He seems to have had two sons, Jean and Nicholas, by a previous marriage (Lespinasse, *La Charité-sur-Loire*, 193–94, no. 89, April 1198: anniversary Masses). Hodiernne incurred severe ecclesiastical sanctions, including excommunication (*Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 2: 166, no. 388, 1209; 2: 181–87, no. 394, 1211 = *PL*, 216: 488, no. 132).

107. William sealed his own letter as: *Ego Guillelmus, dominus Nogenti, filius Hodiernne de Nogento* (*Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 2: 195–96, no. 403, September 1212). The king confirmed the agreement reached in the presence of papal legates (*ibid.*, 2:

199–201, no. 405 = *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 3: 364–67, no. 1243). The monks noted that William succumbed, *post multas excommunicationum sententiae in eum latas*; they read his sealed letter of agreement and the confirmations of the king and Countess Blanche in their chapter hall: *In eodem capitulo lecte fuerunt littere sigillate sigillo ejusdem Guillelmi, quas suas esse publice recognovit, predictae pacis formam continentes, litteras eiam domini regis Francie et domine comitisse Campanie, sigillatas sigillis eorum, ejusdem pacis formam continentes* (*Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 2: 203, no. 408, 1212).

108. Isabelle died in December 1250 (Corlieu and L  guillette, *Nogent-l'Artaud*, 22). William II reported for the castle lordship in the inquest of 1262 (*R  lesT*, nos. 6837–38). The protracted dispute of the 1260s is described in Corlieu and L  guillette, *Nogent-l'Artaud*, 24–30; see also *Layettes*, 5: 267–68, no. 784; 277–83, no. 81; 284–85, no. 819.

109. AN, J 765, no. 15, 1283; Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 2: 958; Corlieu and L  guillette, *Nogent-l'Artaud*, 34–36. See also n. 93 above.

110. Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 177–78.

111. Bournazel, *Le gouvernement cap  tien*, 31–41 (with genealogy) incorporates much of Despont, “Une famille seigneuriale aux XIIe et XIIIe si  cles: la famille de Garlande.” Mathieu, “La famille de Garlande    Possesse” (with genealogical table) focuses primarily on the tie with Tournan and Possesse. See also Evergates, “Nobles and Knights,” 21–24 (with genealogical table), and Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 1: 85–87.

112. William of Tyre called the Garlande and Guy of Possesse, who were companions on the First Crusade, “greater men who were not however counts” (Evergates, “Nobles and Knights,” 23 n. 61).

113. Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, 76–77.

114. Bautier, “Paris au temps d’Ab  lard,” 68–69.

115. Heloise may have been Gilbert of Garlande’s daughter by a first marriage who was placed in Argenteuil after her father remarried. For her identity, see Lobrichon, *H  lo  se*, 111–29.

116. Mathieu, “La famille de Garlande,” 80–83, suggests that Guy of Tournan was the same as Guy of Possesse (who died on the First Crusade at Nicaea, 1097), and that he had acquired one of his two castles through marriage. Guy of Possesse and Guy of Tournan each had a son named Manasses, whose own sons were Guy (II), Jean, and Hugh. I accept Mathieu’s suggestion for this identity, despite the lack of specific confirmation. For Manasses’s first marriage, see *Beatrice of Cr  cy. I also adopt Mathieu’s numbering here; earlier I counted Guy II as Guy III (Evergates, “Nobles and Knights,” 21–22). Guy II is mentioned in 1149 as lord of Possesse with a wife and children (AD Marne, 20 H 8, no. 8).

117. BNF, Latin 5441 (Marmoutier), p. 62, undated act of Thibaut, bishop of Paris (Despont, “Une famille seigneuriale”) places it 1155/58; Bournazel, *Le gouvernement cap  tien*, 50, prefers 1155, while Mathieu, “La famille de Garlande,” 74, suggests 1158). Guy of Garlande was accompanied by his two sons, Anselm (II) and Pagan. Guy (b. ca. 1110) appeared at Thibaut II’s court at Provins in 1140 and went on the Second Crusade; he was called *dominus castri de Tornon* (AN, LL 1397, fol. 20, ca. 1160 = Despont, “Une famille seigneuriale,” *pi  ce justificative*, no. 5, his arbitration of a local dispute in the presence of his two sons). Guy of Garlande was probably the “lord of Tournan” in the earliest fief roll (*Feoda* 1, no. 1402, ca. 1178) and appeared as lord of Tournan in 1186 in his seventies. Mathieu, “La famille de Garlande,” 78–79, gives a biography.

118. Mathieu, “La famille de Garlande,” 74, suggests that Possesse and Tournan were both mortgaged ca. 1158. I think rather that Possesse was mortgaged after Emperor Frederick I transferred *mouvance* over nine imperial castles (including Possesse) to Henry I in 1162, an event recalled by testimony a generation later

(*Feoda* 1, no. 2283; see Bur, *Formation*, 406–71). Guy of Garlande's brother Manasses, bishop of Orléans, was a key participant in the negotiations between emperor, king, and count preparatory to the meeting at Saint-Jean-de-Losne (1162).

119. See *Jean of Possesse.

120. Mathieu convincingly identifies Guy as a cousin through his mother's brother (Manasses). See n. 115 above.

121. Arbois de Jubainville, "Recueil," 295–96, no. 20, undated act of Henry I (probably of 1166, since it precedes in the cartulary an act dated 1166 [BNF Latin 5441, pp. 58–59]) in which the count said that he accepted 260*l. prov.* and 12*l. chalo-nais* from Guy of Garlande and Matthew of Touquin (the count's fiefholder whose role here is not clear) as redemption for Guy II of Possesse's debt (*castellum suum quod Possesse dicitur propter 260 libras Pruvinienis monete et 12 libras Catalaunenses monete michi in vadiomnium posuit*). It was at this point in 1166 that Guy of Garlande exempted the monks of Clairvaux from paying taxes within his lands at Tournan (*Clairvaux*, 156, no. 128).

122. Anselm II was lord of Possesse in 1171/72, when Pope Alexander complained to the archbishop of Reims about the depredations of the "noble" Anselm who burned down a church and an entire village in retaliation against the canons of Châlons (*PL*, 299: 840–41, no. 961). He was probably the "lord of Possesse" owing all-year castleguard ca. 1178 (*Feoda* 1, no. 372).

123. *Layettes*, 1: 109–10, no. 263. See also *Beatrice of Crécy.

124. In March 1186 Guy of Garlande and the bishop of Paris sought the king's personal confirmation: Guy testified that his son Anselm [II] had held the castle of Tournan, and that later his grandson, Anselm junior, held it "just as his father had held it" (*Registres de Philippe Auguste*, 1: 196–97, no. 164). The text states that it was Guy's wish to transfer the lordship of Tournan to his son Anselm II in 1175 (*precepto et voluntate ipsius Guidonis*) and that more recently both he and his son Anselm II wished to transfer it to Anselm III (*precepto et volunatē patris sui et Guidonis avi sui*). Guy soon died in his mid-seventies.

125. His unnamed mother appears in the fief rolls ca. 1190 (*Feoda* 2, nos. 2222, 2396) as liege (for Possesse) and liege save fidelity to the bishop of Paris (for Tournan). Anselm III succeeded by 1193; in that year he and his wife granted a communal franchise to the townsmen of Tournan (*Layettes*, 1: 172–73, no. 410). Anselm III's brother, William IV of Garlande, married Alix of Châtillon (see Chapter 5 n. 128).

126. Anselm IV's widow Alix held Possesse in dower after his death (see Chapter 4 n. 141). It is not known whether Anselm V and his brother Jean divided the two castles between them; after Jean's death (1272), Anselm V appeared as lord of both Tournan and Possesse (AD Marne, 22 H 45, no. 1, October 1277).

127. Anselm IV identified himself in his own letter as: *ego A. de Garlande (Notre-Dame de Paris*, 1: 150, no. 177, 1232). The scribe of the bishop of Paris used the same form in a list of fiefs: *Dominus de Tornonio, scilicet Ansellus de Garlande, fecit homagium ligium Willelmo Parisiensi episcopo de castro et de tota castellania de Tornonio et fuit per anulum aureum investitus* (ibid., 1: 147, 1228/29).

128. Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 136, no. 3697, September 1335; Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 228.

129. Mouillebouche, *Les maisons fortes en Bourgogne*, 251–62, finds that 30 of 65 identified fortified residences in thirteenth-century Burgundy were held by descendants of castle-holding families.

130. Dace, "Lesser Barons and Greater Knights," offers interesting comparisons with six middling English families.

131. Longnon, *Recherches*, is the fullest account of Geoffroy's immediate family.

Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1769–73, traces the Villehardouin descent through the thirteenth century.

132. Bur et al., *Vestiges*, 4: 144–46.

133. See *Jean of Villehardouin.

134. Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 32–41; Longnon, “The Frankish States in Greece”; and Bon, *La Morée franque*, chaps. 2–3.

135. Prince William still held a share of Villehardouin and Brandonvillers in 1249, when he informed Thibaut IV that his cousin, Villain of Aulnay, was his procurator for those properties (LP 1, fols. 170v–171r, February 1249, n.s.).

136. See *Geoffroy of Villehardouin.

137. Erard called himself “lord of Villehardouin” in 1219, when he exchanged his property at Villemaur for Villy from Countess Blanche (AN, J195, no. 5 = CB, no. 119). See Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1770–71, and Bur et al., *Vestiges* 4: 143–45.

138. William I called himself *Guillemus de Villiaco* (Saint-Etienne, fols. 44v, December 1236), and was remembered as such in the obituary of Saint-Loup of Troyes (*Obituaires*, 4: 294). William II and his brother appeared as co-lords of Lézignes in 1254 (*Ge Girars sires de Lisines et ge Guillaume sire de Lisine, ses freres*), when they promised to repay Countess Margaret the 100*l.* she had given as dowry to William II’s wife, Mahaut of Sexfontaines, if Mahaut died without children (LP 3, fols. 514–52r, January 1254 n.s.: both sealed).

139. Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 237–38; Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 69–71; Evergates, *Bailliage of Troyes*, 161–62, and “The Lords of Karytaina” (with genealogical table, 113).

140. The Briel appeared among the “many knights from Bar-sur-Seine, Chacenay, and other places” who attended the funeral at Molesme for Alix, wife of their neighbor Robert of Ricey, and they witnessed Robert’s donation in Molesme’s chapter hall (*Molesme*, 2: 211, no. 227, 1107–25).

141. See Chapter 6 at n. 108.

142. Estout appeared among the knights of Erard, count of Brienne, in 1161 (“Bassefontaine,” 8–10, no. 4) and again in 1182, with his brother Odo, also a knight (*Saint-Loup*, 103–4, no. 69). Estout held a fief (Bouy) from Henry I ca. 1178 (*Feoda* 1, no. 1965). The Villehardouin also had revenues at Bouy; Estout of Briel’s sister Celine may have been *Jean of Villehardouin’s wife.

143. Evergates, “The Lords of Karytaina,” 94 n. 30 and 99 n. 41.

144. Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 2: 713–15, 718–19, genealogical table 10, with additional comments in 1: 137–38, 143–45. Lambert may have been archdeacon of the chapter of Langres (1185–1200); see *Langres*, 67–68, no. 26, 1185.

145. Renier Acorre, the count’s receiver (1271–88), similarly took the title lord of Gouaix after purchasing the village of Gouaix (Verdier, “La construction d’une seigneurie”).

146. Countess Blanche confirmed Pierre’s office and lordship in 1215 (Petit, *Histoire*, 3: 456, no. 1343). In 1220 Pierre announced himself as: *Ego Petrus, dominus Janicurie, domine comitisse Campanie camerarius*, in a quittance of all debts owed by the chapter of Langres to Pierre and his father Lambert (*Langres*, 195–96, no. 175). Squire Erard I of Jaucourt declared in 1250 that he held a fief with its fortified residence at Jaucourt (*Rôles*, no. 17). Lambert bequeathed his younger son Pierre, a canon and later dean of Saint-Etienne of Troyes, a 100*l.* life rent (*Obituaires*, 4: 455).

147. Thibaut of Dinteville owed all-year castleguard at Laferté in the 1170s (*Feoda* 1, no. 14, with a remark added ca. 1190: *Ipsemet fecit*). His son Wiard and Wiard’s nephew William were listed ca. 1201 (*Feoda* 4, nos. 2772, 2778). In 1220 Wiard, knight of Dinteville, gave all his possession there (land, pastures, tenants)

to Clairvaux, retaining nothing, with the consent of his nephew William, from whom he held the property in fief. Wiard's wife Emeline consented, as did their daughters Margaret and Gertrude; but since their third daughter Marie, *quia parva erat, nec adhuc loqui poterat, laudaverunt pater et mater ipsas, Wiardus et Emelina* (Clairvaux 2, 231, no. 54). Thibaut IV confirmed that Pierre, lord of Jaucourt, gave the monks a number of properties he had purchased from Raoul, knight of Grange, in exchange for Dinteville (Clairvaux 2, 180–81, no. 46, 1226).

148. For the lords of Dinteville, see Jolibois, *La Haute-Marne*, 188–90, and Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 143–45, and genealogical table 7.

149. See Chapter 3 nn. 55–56 for examples of fathers purchasing fiefs for their sons.

150. See Chapter 6 (“Lineage Failure”).

151. Perroy, “Social Mobility Among the French Noblesse,” 31–36, who deduces an entire social dynamic from the failure of lineages with heiresses, necessitating replenishment by nonnobles who established new lineages by marrying heiresses.

Appendix A. The Ordinance of 1224

1. The original document does not survive; copies were made in the last folios of the two chancery cartularies completed in 1224: CR 3, fols. 179v–180r (*Traité des fiefs*, 2: 55–56, 163–64 = *Thesaurus*, 1: 919–20 = CB, no. 444) and CR 4, fols. 206r–207r. A collated text is printed in *Coutumier*, 142–44 note.

Appendix B. The Registers and Fiefs and Homages

1. Perhaps after the royal ordinance of 10 March 1321 that ordered an examination of all titles to domain, fiefs, and jurisdictions at the Chambre des Comptes. In 1321–22 the bailiffs of Champagne drew up exceptionally detailed rolls of property alienated since 1285: rolls survive from the bailliages of Vitry (Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 517–25) and Chaumont and Troyes (AN, J 976, nos. 19, 21). See Langlois, “Registres perdus,” 115 n. 5, 116 n. 3; and Evergates, “Chancery Archives,” 173 n. 63.

2. The introductory chapters to the *Layettes*, vols. 1, 5, and *Registres du Trésor des Chartes*, 1: ix–xix, provide a brief history of the royal archive.

3. Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 572–77: *Dedans ung coffre neuf, joignant la cheminée*.

4. Some of those volumes circulated outside the Chambre des Comptes for the convenience of researchers and copyists (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: vii–viii).

5. The inventory of 1489 describes it as: *Item ung autre livre de parchemin, couvert d'une peau de parchemin, intitulé sur la couverture d'icelluy, en grosse lettre, Feoda Campanie, contenant Vlxvi feuillets de parchemin escriptz et ung à escrire, lequel livre est cotté par “J”* (Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 573). Lévesque de la Ravallière noted that it consisted of 130 folios in five quires, and that the earliest survey concluded with a *summa militum* on folio 47 (BNF, Collection de Champagne, vol. 136, fol. 223).

6. Longnon regarded AN, P 1114 (published as vol. 7 of Arbois de Jubainville's *Histoire* in 1869) as a translation made by the comital chancery, even though the chancery did not use vernacular in its registers of fiefs and homages before 1275 and rarely used it in the count's letters, with the notable exception of the communal franchises (1230–31). In fact, MS 2277, an early eighteenth-century copy, two stages removed from a 1686 copy of the original, confirms that P 1114 was not simply a French translation of the original volume but rather a wholesale reorganization of the material (Longnon, *Documents* 1: vi–xi); clearly it was produced in the royal chancery ca. 1326, when royal officials were translating other provincial regis-

ters recently sent to Paris, including the rolls of Thibaut V (*RôlesT*) of 1262 (see n. 15 below). Longnon's new edition based on MS 2277 appears as *Feoda Campanie* 1–6 in his *Documents* 1 (1901).

7. Thus volume “J” consisted of: fols. 1–47 (*Feoda* 1), fols. 47–58 (*Feoda* 2), fols. 59–65 (*Feoda* 3), fols. 66–74 (*Feoda* 4), fols. 75–87 (*Feoda* 5), fols. 91–130 (*Feoda* 6).

8. Longnon initially dated *Feoda* 2 to ca. 1200–1201 (which I followed in my *Bailliage of Troyes*), but while his edition was in press he realized that *Feoda* 2 actually was drawn up under Henry II and therefore should be dated 1187/90 (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: xiii–xiv, and 796, a correction to 75, col. 1, line 1).

9. Longnon (*Documents*, 1: xv–xvi) distinguishes three surveys: *Feoda* 3 (ca. 1201), *Feoda* 4 (1204–10), and *Feoda* 5 (ca. 1210–14), which he dated primarily on the basis of an entry dated 1214 at the end of the roll for Provins (*Feoda* 5, no. 3135) and several additional entries to the roll for Bray dated 1211–14 (*Feoda* 5, nos. 3044–46, 3048). Confusion on this point seems to arise from the fact that Longnon thought of the *Feoda* lists as following one another in a codex volume rather than being discrete rolls lacking chronological order and containing later entries (see n. 12 below). Earlier I had thought that *Feoda* 2/3 and *Feoda* 4/5 constituted two sets of registers, but I now group those fragmentary registers differently. *Feoda* 2 certainly must be from 1187/90, as Longnon himself realized. But *Feoda* 3 and *Feoda* 4 represent miscellaneous lists from ca. 1201, and *Feoda* 5 contains a new survey from about the same time (ca. 1204, rather than ca. 1210 as I assumed in my “Chancery Archives,” 164–65). In sum, *Feoda* 3, 4, 5 were drawn up in the first four years of Blanche's rule but received later additions.

10. This volume (*Hommages* 1) was later called a “book of fiefs” (*Hommages* 2, no. 5270: *sicut in libro feudorum continetur*). It also contains: (1) the names of 152 fiefholders in the seven castellanies of Blanche's dower lands, which reverted to the count at her death (12 March 1229), and (2) a list of those who served in the royal expedition against Pierre of Dreux in 1228–29.

11. It was already in its present fragmentary state when inventoried in 1489: *Item ung autre petit cayer de parchemin, sans couverture, contenant VIII feuillets de parchemin, onquel cahier sont contenuz plusieurs hommaiges faictz au roy de France [sic], le quel [est] cotté par “EE”* (Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 576). It belonged to a 161-folio volume of the mid-thirteenth century (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: xviii–xix). It is today AN, J 193, no. 51. Longnon published it twice: (1) as an appendix to the *Rôles*, 355–78 (where he dated it to 1240), and (2) in Longnon, *Documents*, 1: 181–91 (where he dated it to “after 1234”).

12. The scribes faced the formidable task of organizing 75–90 undated rolls (one for each castellany from each survey). The rolls of Henry I were identifiable by their numerous corrections, but those of Henry II and Blanche were not easily distinguished from each other. The scribes assembled the rolls by castellany, then sorted them by chronological order without, however, indicating in the codex copy where each new roll began. Longnon tried to separate the composite castellany lists into their original parts under the assumption (which I shared in my *Bailliage of Troyes*, 9–10) that they had been written on quires rather than rolls (see Table B.3). For the role of the baronial invasion of 1229–30 in prompting the duplication of the fief rolls, see Chapter 2 n. 85, and Evergates, “Chancery Archives.”

13. The inventory of 1489 describes it as: *Item ung autre livre en parchemin, couvert d'une peau de parchemin, intitullé sur la couverture d'icelluy Feoda Campanie facta comite Campanie, onquel livre sont contenus les noms et surnoms de ceulx qui faisoient hommage au conte de Champagne, contenant CI feuillets, le quel livre est cotté par “M”* (Longnon, *Documents*, 2: 574).

14. BNF, Fr. 5291, fols. 129–238, a French translation of 1326 entitled *Homages*

fais à Thibaut, roy de Navarre, de Champagne et de Brie conte palatin, du commencement de son regne l'an de grace MII lvi et puis (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: xxxii). Sixteenth-century copies preserve the Latin text for five castellanies (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: xxix–xxxiv).

15. The French transcription was made by five scribes from separate *bailliage* rolls (Longnon, *Documents*, 1: xxxii), suggesting that the lost rolls resembled the extant *bailliage* rolls from 1275 (see below). Longnon dated the volume to 1264/65, after its most recent (added) entries, but the manuscript was already completed by December 1262. Gautier II of Vignory, for example, died in 1262; his entry contains an additional entry for his widow Isabelle, who did homage for her dower (the castle of Vignory and one-half of the castellany) on 9 December 1262 (*RôlesT*, no. 5845). William the Gascon, who is identified as treasurer of Saint-Quiriace of Provins (*RôlesT*, no. 5619), had become provost of Saint-Quiriace by 1263 (*Saint-Quiriace*, 189).

16. All but three of the missing rolls disappeared before 1615, when the *layettes* series was closed and Pierre Dupuy drew up his “Inventaire du Trésor des Chartes du Roy” (manuscript in the Archives Nationales). The rolls lost since 1615 are: (1) the roll of fiefs for Château-Thierry (AN, J 202, no. 53), (2) the roll of letters sent to the bailiff of Vitry (AN, J 202, no. 50), and (3) the roll of letters sent to the bailiff of Chaumont (formerly AN, J 198, no. 51: this location is presently occupied by the 8-folio fragment designated “EE” in the *Chambre des Comptes* [= the book of homages (*Hommages* 2)], which was moved there in 1876 from its previous location, AN, J 198, no. 83).

17. For the chancery practice of bleaching parchments, see the remarks in *Layettes*, 1: 94. It should also be noted that the rolls of 1249 are softer and more pliant than those of 1251.

18. Longnon, *Documents*, 1: xxxiv–xxxvii.

Appendix D. Prosopographical Register

1. Gigot, *Chartes*, 10–11, no. 9, October 1241.

2. Hermesend was still unmarried in 1159, when she and her two brothers accompanied their mother Petronilla at the foundation of Francheville priory (*Molesme*, 2: 467–68, no. 602).

3. *Paraclet*, 65–66, no. 48 (undated foundation act, dated ca. 1142 by Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 3: 1502).

4. Thibaut (born ca. 1160) married Laurette of Loos ca. 1175, the year he was knighted and acquired a seal. He was widowed with a daughter ca. 1184 at about twenty-four and remarried five years later (Paris, “Thiébaut,” 161–66).

5. Poull, *Bar*, plate 8 (photograph of the dower letter of 1189): both Thibaut and his brother Henry, count of Bar-le-Duc, sealed it in the presence of their mother, Agnes of Champagne (sister of Henry the Liberal).

6. The divorce followed the death of Henry the Blind, count of Namur and Luxembourg, whose ten-year-old daughter was deprived of her lands by the German emperor. Thibaut of Bar-le-Duc took up arms to win Luxembourg, then married its heiress in 1198 (Paris, “Thiébaut,” 168–69).

7. *Paraclet*, 128–29, no. 108 (1200), Hermesend’s sealed letter donating woods to the Paraclete; *Feoda* 5, no. 3580 (ca. 1201–4): *Domina Trianguli, ligia*.

8. *LB*, 152, no. 117.

9. *Obituaires*, 4: 392: *Emmanjarz de Trignel gist ou milieu dou chapitre* (18 April).

10. Gaucher and his wife Isabelle apparently did not have children (“Mores,” 82–83, no. 77, 1219 February, n.s.). Another son, Hugh (“Mores,” 65–67, no. 42,

1197), must have died before 1219. There is no secure evidence that William, grand master of the Temple, was Milo's son (Belotte, "Bar-sur-Seine," 24 n. 5).

11. Hugh of Le Puiset, eldest son of Ebrard IV, was displaced by the children of his father's second marriage. Hugh predeceased his father and never acted as lord of Le Puiset or viscount of Chartres. If he attained his majority by 1164, when he witnessed an act of Thibaut V of Blois, he would have been in his early twenties when he married Petronilla (Scammell, *Hugh de Puiset*, 310–11; Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 110–11; Dion, "Le Puiset," 31–32).

12. "Mores," 56–57, no. 19, April 1174.

13. Agnes, *domina* of Braine, donated a fishpond to Saint-Yved of Braine in Milo's memory (*Saint-Yved de Braine*, 171, no. 20, 1150).

14. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, 3: 439, no. 110, 1151 at Troyes. The two women appeared together again, perhaps in 1151, to endow an anniversary Mass for Milo at Saint-Pierre of Troyes; present were young Henry I (*comes, filius illustrissimi comitis Teobaudi*), abbot Pierre of Montier-la-Celle, several local abbots, and the lords of Brienne, Vendeuvre, and Dampierre (*Saint-Pierre*, 18–20, no. 14, undated act of the bishop of Troyes).

15. See Chapter 5 n. 73, for Agnes's dower, and Thompson, *The County of Perche*, 86–88, 90–99, for Robert's earlier wives.

16. Lewis, "Fourteen Charters," 146, 148–49, 156–59. Agnes and Robert sealed letters together in 1155 (162–63, no. 2, *tam sigillorum quam privilegiorum nostrorum firmiter consignavimus* a gift for their souls and that of her father), 1158 (163–65, nos. 3–4), 1152–ca. 1170 (165–66, no. 5), 1179 (166–67, no. 6), 1181 (168–70, nos. 7–8), 1184 (175–76, no. 11), and 1186 (176–77, no. 12, a quittance to Longpont for fiefs acquired *sine nostra licentia*).

17. For Simon of Beaufort, see Chapter 8 nn. 85–86, and Duchesne, *Dreux*, pt. 5, Broyes, 16–19, and *preuves*, 19–23.

18. *Chapelle-aux-Planches*, 30–31, no. 30, 1182; 33–34, no. 32, no. 84: *laudante Hugone, fratre meo, domino de Brecis, et postea succedente tempore Felicitate, filia me*.

19. CR 3, fol. 71r = CB, no. 187; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 65B.

20. *Rethel*, 1: 105–6, no. 68, February 1232, n.s. As lady of Beaufort, she consented to the alienation of a fief to Montier-en-Der (AD Haute-Marne, 7 H 2, fol. 22r, October 1239). Her seal reads: *Sigillum Felicitatis domine Bellifortis et comitisse Registensis* (*Rethel*, 5: 47–48, nos. 87–88, dated 1228 and 1230).

21. *Chapelle-aux-Planches*, 49–50, no. 49.

22. *Feoda* 2, no. 2134, ca. 1190.

23. She was born before 22 February 1119 (*Molesme*, 2: 241, no. 259).

24. "Mores," 53, no. 9.

25. After her second son, Erard I, left with Henry I for the Holy Land, she gave a granary to Bassefontaine for her and her husband's souls; lacking a seal, she had her brother, Erard II of Brienne, seal the document ("Bassefontaine," 115–16, no. 89, undated but after 1181 and before Erard's death in 1191 on the Third Crusade: *sigillo fratris mei Brenensium comitis roborari volui*).

26. *Montiéramey*, 120–21, no. 90, ca. 1191 = *Chacenay*, 32, no. 65. Mathieu, "La famille de Garlande," 84–85, rejects the evidence for her remarriage to Guy of Garlande.

27. Poull, *Bar*, 110.

28. See n. 33 below.

29. Petit, *Histoire*, 2: 458–62, Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 209–10. See Odo II's sister *Beatrice of Champlite.

30. Etiennette of Bar-le-Duc, born ca. 1129, had three children during her quarter-century marriage; she died ca. 1178 in her late forties (Poull, *Bar*, 106–7).

31. He was listed among the count's "great" fiefholders ca. 1178 (*Feoda* 1, no. 2040, ca. 1178).

32. Aubry of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," 708, states that Hugh ruled his lands for eighty years. In 1233 his grandson, Hugh V of Broys (1227–46), obtained Thibaut IV's license to build a *forteritia* in what Hugh called his *parvo castello* at Broys but promised not to build another fortress there without the count's permission (ANJ 195, no. 16).

33. In his last letter, Hugh gave one-half of Louvemont to Clairvaux, with the consent of his wife Elizabeth, son *Simon *junior* [of Châteauvillain], and daughter *Emeline [of Broys], lady of Champlitte (*Clairvaux*, 537, no. 421, 1200: *ego Hugo, Bretarum dominus, et prefata Helisabeth uxor mea presenti carte nostra sigilla apposuimus et eam domui Clarevallis imperpetuum confirmamus*).

34. Longuay, fol. 102, 1203 (*Chacenay*, 34, no. 73): *nondum miles*. The bishop of Langres sealed for him. By 1204 he had a seal (*Chacenay*, 34–35, no. 74).

35. Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 209–10.

36. *Chacenay*, 396–97, no. 2, 4 July 1218.

37. *Chacenay*, 51, no. 113, 7 March 1222. He purchased a fief-rent of 17 *setiers* of grain for Argensolles (AD Marne, 70 H 19, January 1223, n.s.).

38. LP 3, fol.17r–v = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 221.

39. *Chacenay*, 70, no. 149.

40. Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 285. He had not yet begun to talk in 1119 (see Chapter 4 n. 77).

41. "Bassefontaine," 122, no. 95, ca. 1146.

42. Longnon, *Les Compagnons*, 209–12. See Odo II's wife *Emeline of Broys.

43. Geoffroy of Deuilly was born in the 1170s, succeeded to Deuilly in 1195, married Beatrice in 1196, was widowed in 1217/19, and died ca. 1240 in his late sixties (Poull, *Vaudémont*, 24–25).

44. Flammarion, "Clefmont," 383, 387; *Layettes*, 5:122, no. 370, 1236: mortgage of La Ferté for 72*l. prov.*

45. *Rôles*, no. 1089 (*uxoris* by error for *matris*).

46. Gigot, *Chartes*, 291–92, no. 240.

47. Simon II and his eldest son Jean II both died before 1313 (Duchesne, *Dreux*, pt. 5, Broys, 43–48).

48. Longnon, *Documents* 2: 515–16, November 1314; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 64.

49. He was his mother's *filium unum* (*Langres*, 57, no. 106, 1206).

50. *Feoda* 2, no. 2439: *Dominus de Castro Villani est homo ligius Campanie et tenet Castrum Villanun cum omnibus feodis appendentibus a comite Campanie*. He also appears in a contemporary list entitled *De Magnis Feodis* (*Feoda* 4, no. 2920: *Simon de Castro Villani, ligius*).

51. *Langres*, 180–81, no. 155, 1206, letter of Elizabeth, *domina* of Châteauvillain: *Et sciendum quod S[imon], filius meus, quando elemosina facta fuit* [for their anniversary] *et eam laudavit, extra avoeriam erat*. Two years later Simon confirmed his mother's donation (*Langres*, 179–80, no. 153, 1208).

52. The seal beginning *Simonis de* [illegible] may have been this Simon's (see Chapter 6 n. 22).

53. Gigot, *Chartes*, 54–56, no. 54, June 1255.

54. Gigot, *Chartes*, 92–94, no. 84, September 1258: Simon's last act. He died by August 1259 (*ibid.*, 121, no. 19).

55. Gigot, *Chartes*, 143–44, no. 130, August 1261; 331, no. 272, 1270.

56. See Chapter 8 n. 59.

57. Duchesne, *Chastillon*, 34.

58. See *Beatrice of Crécy.

59. *Fontevraud*, 361–62, no. 361, ca. 1145, at Longueau, with license: *quodcumque quisque de casatis militibus meis huic elemosinae meae de casamento voluerit impertiri, ita tamen ne servicium feodi perdam*. He may have been accompanied to Fontevraud by the knight Geoffroy of Baslieux, his wife, son, and two daughters who made a donation to the convent of all the property they held in fief from Gaucher, with his consent (*Fontevraud*, 363–64, no. 364).

60. They appeared together in 1170 at the court of Henry I; in 1189 they both sealed a donation to Longueau (Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 2: 27–28).

61. *Nesle*, 1: 189–190, 2: 68 (genealogical table); Bur, *Formation*, 33–34 (tables), 454–55.

62. Duchesne, *Chastillon*, 69–76. See also Feuchère, “Les origines du comté de Saint-Pol,” esp. 137–39 on Hugh III of Saint-Pol (1174–1205), and Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 195–96.

63. Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 37: *ordinatores rerum suarum*; Gaucher’s wife and two sons consented. Perhaps Gaucher did this because his sons held diametrically opposed opinions about Thibaut IV.

64. The marriage contract between Hervé, count of Nevers, and Prince Louis (VIII) provided that Agnes would marry Louis’ eldest son Philip in two years, that is, in September 1217. The contract listed Agnes’s dowry properties and the two dower castles she would receive at marriage, and it provided that if Philip died before the marriage, his younger brother Louis would marry Agnes. Philip died but Louis did not take his place. See Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 40–41, July 1215.

65. Agnes was born ca. 1195 at the latest. Her marriage contract set her dowry at 500*l.t.* (Duchesne, *Chastillon, preuves*, 2: 52).

66. LP 3, fol. 52r–v, September 1219. In that same month, Blanche granted Hugh the office of butler for his life; in return, he promised to render his castles of Crécy and Crevecoeur on demand (*Layettes*, 1: 490, no. 1365, September 1219 = *CB*, no. 127; and CR 3, fols. 50v–51r = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 103 = *CB*, no. 128).

67. See Poull, *Bar*, 152–53.

68. Nieu, “Un exemple précoce de répertoire féodale.”

69. Poull, *La Fauche*, 23–24.

70. Duchesne, *Dreux, preuves*, 262: sealed with his mother Alix’s seal (*sigillum nobilis dominae Alypdis, matris mea, rogavi apponi*). Jean and his wife Alix did homage to the bishop (AD Haute-Marne, G 82, no. 10, December 1246 = Duchesne, *Dreux, preuves*, 262 [misdated to 1247]: sealed by the abbot of Vaux-la-Douce and by Jean’s mother Alix, *quia sigilla non habemus*).

71. AD Haute-Marne, G 82, nos. 11, 8, December 1246.

72. AN, J 196, no. 38, 1251 > LP 3, fol. 73r = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 224.

73. Gigot, *Chartes*, 210–11, no. 181.

74. He first appeared in 1176 consenting to his father’s gift to the Cistercians at Belfays (Chauvin, “Belfays,” 80, no. A4). Clemence and Renard both sealed the grant to the Templars (Faget de Casteljau, “Géographie, histoire, et généalogies” 181).

75. *Langres*, 182–83, no. 157.

76. Gigot, *Chartes*, 8–9, no. 7, February 1239, n.s.

77. *Rôles*, no. 1123, and Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 1: 175–76. See also Chapter 6 n. 16.

78. *Layettes* 1: 480, no. 1343 = *CB*, no. 259; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 55B.

79. Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 251 n. 79.

80. Vincent, “Isabella of Angoulême,” 178 n. 41.

81. She held the castle from the count of Champagne: *comitissa de Angolesmes, ligia de Feritate* (Feoda 2, no. 2410, ca. 1204).

82. Mathieu, “Châtillon-sur-Marne,” 26, and Evergates, “Nobles and Knights,” 21–24. After she remarried, Beatrice and her three sons by Manasses (Guy, Hugh, and Jean) established an anniversary for him (*Monuments historiques*, 257, no. 473, 1144, transit taxes that she identified as her inheritance: *quod sibi contingebat jure herediatrio*). See also Chapter 8 (“Garlande-Tournan-Possesse”).

83. For the much disputed issue of how Crécy was acquired by the Châtillon, see Mesqui, “Crécy-en-Brie,” 9–10; *Nesle*, 1: 190–92; and Mathieu, “Châtillon-sur-Marne,” 13 and n. 42. Guy II of Châtillon’s cryptic remark regarding his acquisition of Crécy (*cum autem processu temporis res in manum nostram devenerit*) suggests an irregular succession (*Monuments historiques*, 307–8, no. 611, 1168). See also Châtelain, *Châteaux forts*, 125.

84. This Helvide is not to be confused with her paternal aunt Helvide, daughter of Guy I of Dampierre and wife of Geoffroy IV of Joinville.

85. She first appeared with Jean in 1194, but she must have married in the late 1180s before the Third Crusade because her three children were of consensual age in 1202 and her oldest daughter, Elizabeth, took the veil in 1203.

86. “Vita de B. Joanne de Monte Mirabili,” 220, cap. 1.

87. “Vita de B. Joanne de Monte Mirabili,” 229, cap. 3, no. 55; her servant is quoted as saying to Jean: *Domina sudat, qua de causa videre illam vel loqui cum ea nunc vobis minime licet*.

88. Chénon, “Le rôle juridique de l’osculum,” 148–49.

89. Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 661.

90. She is last mentioned in February 1222, n.s., for her donation, in the presence of the bishop of Troyes, to the monks of Cantimpré (Piétrisson de Saint-Aubin, “Beaumont-lez-Montmirail,” 245, no. 8).

91. LP 2: 298–99. See also Nicholas, “Countesses,” 133–34.

92. LP 2: 207.

93. Hugh’s marriage to Mabile of Ypres produced a son Henry, who died young.

94. Hugh’s parents had married ca. 1191 (*Rethel*, 27–28, no. 12).

95. Poull, *Bar*, 229.

96. Lesort, *Les chartes du Clermontois*, 85–89, no. 23, May 3, 1243 (marriage contract).

97. Henry was younger brother of Manasses, count of Rethel.

98. AD Marne, 53 H 91, no. 3, 1190 = Barthélemy, *Diocèse ancien*, 1: 407, no. 32: joint act of Renard, lord of Dampierre and *castellanus* of Vitry, and Helvide, *castellana* of Vitry.

99. AD Marne, 20 H 11, no. 7, 1233; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 95. Related documents are in Barthélemy, “Chartes de départ.”

100. Renard III sealed his first letter, a confirmation of his father’s gift, after being knighted in 1213 (AD Marne, 20 H 10, no. 9). Since he was unmarried, he obtained the consent of his younger brother Anselm, his uncle Henry, and his sister Marie.

101. BNF, Collection de Lorraine, 719, fol. 115r, September 22, 1240 = *Choiseul*, 184, no. 2.

102. Poull, *Bar*, 106–7.

103. *RHF*, 15: 902, no. 300, 1171/72.

104. Jolibois, *La Haute-Marne*, 28–30. See also Chapter 5 n. 80.

105. *Clairvaux*, 537, no. 421.

106. Her earliest sealed letter (*Langres*, 182, no. 162, 1201), in which she founded an anniversary Mass for herself, her son, and her daughter, begins: *Ego Helysabeth, domina Castrisvillani*.

107. She won a dispute with the canons of Langres, who quitclaimed *mouvance* over five fiefs (*Langres*, 93, no. 57, 1206).

108. Clairvaux 2, 53–54, no. 48 = Arbois de Jubainville, *Études*, 371–72, no. 48; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 108.

109. Aubry of Trois-Fontaines (“Chronicon,” 945) says that she died in 1239, that is at the very time he was writing his chronicle; if Aubry is correct, Elizabeth would have been about eighty.

110. *Feoda* 1, no. 1503: *Filius Thome de Chasneto, ligius*.

111. *Langres*, 273–74, no. 275 (1190–91): *procurator terre Erardi*. Erard identified Jacques as his nephew who consented to his acts, as in 1179 when he confirmed all previous donations to Clairvaux by his father Jacques I and grandfather Anseric II (*Chacenay*, 196–98, no. 170; 198–200, no. 171, both done at Chacenay on 11 December 1179), and in 1189 (*Langres*, 306, no. 260).

112. Roserot (*Dictionnaire*, 1: 511), following local historians in Champagne, locates Durnay as a disappeared site near Vendeuvre. Jacques’ grandmother, *Agnes of Brienne, called him *Jacobus, filius domini Erardi* of Chacenay. Jacques himself preferred to be called “Chacenay” (see Chapter 6 n. 121). Faget de Casteljau (“Durnay ou Durnes”), who identifies Durnay as Durnes in the Franche-Comté, offers an entirely different interpretation.

113. Gérard, known from 1196, was married by 1206 and perhaps acted as lord of Durnay during his father’s absences (he sealed letters patent as lord of Durnay in January 1220, n.s. [*Langres*, 184–85, no. 159]).

114. *Chacenay*, 75, no. 156.

115. Alix was the daughter of Guy II of Châtillon (1148–70) and Adele of Dreux (d. ca. 1205/10), who married in 1161. If Alix was born ca. 1170, she was in her early twenties when her brother *Gaucher III of Châtillon sold Pierrefonds to provide her a dowry in marriage to William IV of Garlande, who dowered her at the same time (see Chapter 5 n. 128).

116. *Layettes*, 1: 447–48, no. 1235, August 1217.

117. *Nesle*, 1: 219–20, no. 6.

118. Since her father died in 1171 and her son Jean II was in his majority (at least fifteen) ca. 1200/1204 when he appeared in the fief rolls, Jean II would have been born ca. 1186 when Helisent was in her late teens.

119. She confirmed donations by the brothers Itier and William of Chesnoy, *in anno illo quo dominus meus erat ultra mare* (“Jully-les-Nonnains,” 280, 1204).

120. AN, J 757, no. 18, 1225 = *Marmoutier*, 217–18, no. 237: Helisent’s sealed letter resolving her dispute with Marmoutier regarding her custody over Marmoutier’s priory at Villeau, which she had *ratione dotis*; she quitclaimed for the souls of her husband Milo *et filiorum meorum, Johannis et Gaucherii*. A year earlier she endowed Clairvaux with the tithe from lands she had acquired herself (*de propria pecunia acquisivi ad usus porte*) for clothing twenty paupers each year (Arbois de Jubainville, *Études*, 369, no. 35, 1224).

121. Arbois de Jubainville, *Études*, 368, no. 21, 1226.

122. Her daughter Beatrice married Simon II of Rochefort (see Appendix E, Genealogy 3).

123. *LB*, 68–69, no. 26: Countess Blanche’s confirmation, at Pierre’s request.

124. William II came under his mother’s custody for three years (1222–25); if she retained custody until he was twenty-one, he would have been born ca. 1204.

125. In one of her last letters she identified herself as lady of Is (Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, no. 462, 1268).

126. LP 1, fols. 158v–159v, July 1218 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 94–95, 95–96 = Didot, *Études*, 187–88, “L.”

127. *Feoda* 6, no. 4140, ca. 1230: *Dominus Gaufridus de Jonvilla fecit homagium ligium de parte sua quam habebit in hereditate patris sui et de senescallia quando eveniet ei post decessum patris sui. Idem fecit homagium ligium de ballio comitatus Grandis Prati et de dotalicio comitis Grandis Prati. Idem fecit homagium ligium salvo ligeitate regis et hereditate uxoris sue.*

128. Geoffroy, lord of Briquenay (b. 1247–d. 1290), and Jean, lord of Ancerville (his wife's inheritance, b. 1248–d. 1304).

129. Lusse, "D'Etienne à Jean de Joinville," 27.

130. Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, cat. no. 122.

131. See Chapter 5 n. 105, and Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie*, 410 (genealogical table of Montclair). Ermengard's age at marriage is unknown. During her thirteen-year marriage (1207–21), she had one son, *Geoffroy of Joinville, and two daughters, Isabelle (lady of Montclair) who married *Simon IV of Clefmont, and Beatrice who married the viscount of Châlons. Ermengard died at about thirty.

132. See Humblot, "Guillaume II de Joinville."

133. LP 2: 464, August 1214 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2:24–25 = Didot, *Études*, 187–87, "K": *Clamabam enim in illa senescallia ius hereditarium quod domina comitissa mihi negabat et contradicebat.*

134. Simon's son-in-law, *Simon IV of Clefmont, also renounced his homage (*Layettes*, 1: 480, no. 1343, 1219; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 55B).

135. LP 2: 464–67 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 32–33 = *Thesaurus*, 1: 865–66 = *CB*, no.

155. In the event of his death overseas, his son would succeed at fifteen (1224); see Chapter 7 n. 87.

136. The count gave Simon a sealed letter stating that the seneschalcy would be held in liege homage by Simon's heir who inherited Joinville, thus linking the office of seneschal with the lordship of Joinville (Barthélemy, *Diocèse ancien*, 1: 307 n. 1, 28 July 1226 = Simonnet, *Essai*, 114 = Champollion-Figeac, *Documents historiques*, 1: 618–19). See also Lusse, "D'Etienne à Jean de Joinville," 22.

137. Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 223–29.

138. Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville*, 224–26, 330–31; Lusse, "D'Etienne à Jean de Joinville," 45 n. 108.

139. *PL*, 185: 257, no. 56 (*Vita Prima* of Bernard of Clairvaux).

140. He was killed accidentally by Bartholomew of Oulchy, son of the knight Aubry of Oulchy, whose entire family made a gift for Gaucher's soul (*Nesle*, 2: 70 n. 2).

141. In 1190 Jean was castellan of Château-Thierry, where he owed all-year castleguard (*Feoda* 1, no. 1037; see Table B.3 n. 1 for a redating). He was listed among the "great barons" of Champagne ca. 1200/1201 for Montmirail, La Ferté-Gaucher, and Château-Thierry (*Feoda* 2, no. 2454).

142. Hugh of Oisy's properties passed through his deceased sister Hildiard (d. ca. 1177).

143. "Vita de B. Joanne de Monte Mirabili," 219, cap. 1. In 1200 he replaced his wife's alienated dower (see Chapter 5 n. 92).

144. "Vita de B. Joanne de Monte Mirabili."

145. Mathieu, *Montmirail en Brie*, 78. Jean's bones are still preserved in a leather-covered box in the church of Longpont; see Dionnet, "Le cassette reliquaire."

146. Enguerran III (b. ca. 1182) had divorced Eustachia of Roucy and was widowed by Machaut of Saxony (Barthélemy, *Coucy*, 415 n. 203, 407).

147. Enguerann IV is best known for being condemned to death by Louis IX for summarily executing three nobles found in his woods (Barthélemy, *Coucy*, 475–86).

148. Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 675.

149. Boitel, *Montmirail-en-Brie*, 676–77: *filia hujus probissimi militis et devotissimi monachi fratris Joannis, quondam domini de Monte Mirabili, mater Ingranni [IV] de Coucy.*

150. For having torched Rolampont, he was condemned to forfeit his lands there (*Langres*, 57–59, no. 30, 1182).

151. AN, J 201, no. 8, October 1219 > LP 3, fols. 89–90. See Chapter 2 n. 31 for Ageville.

152. *Langres*, 194, no. 179, September 1228. At issue was the *reedificatione fossatorum et constructione novi fossati et novi muri et nove turris* at Cohons; he was ordered to dismantle the *forteritia* (*Langres*, 193–94, no. 178, December 1228).

153. LP 3, fols. 90v (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 68), 91r.

154. LP 3, fol. 90v, 1231; fol. 91v, 1233.

155. Renier and André jointly sealed a letter in November 1231 (*Langres*, 208–9, no. 195). Two months later André acted alone as “son of the lord of Nogent” (*Langres*, 209–10, no. 196, January 1232, n.s.).

156. His last act was to mortgage for 300*l.* the *mouvance* of six fiefs of knights he had acquired in 1206; the bishop of Langres gave him 150*l.* after three of the knights did homage, and the balance after all six did homage (AD Haute-Marne, G 82, July 1237).

157. Odo of Deuil, *The Journey of Louis VII*, 113.

158. *Paraclet*, 70–71, no. 52, 1146, act of Thibaut II by which Milo confirmed whatever the Paraclete received from the fiefs of his knights (*quicquid milites de feodo suo in elemosina ei darent*). About the same time, Milo allowed the monks of Vauluisant to acquire from his fiefs (*quicquid de feodo suo*) at Courgenay; the brothers Anselm II and Garnier, lords of Trāfnel, witnessed. Milo later formalized that grant at Vauluisant, on his way to Jerusalem in Anselm’s company, and asked the archbishop of Sens and bishop of Troyes to seal the document. Later, at Nogent, Milo’s daughter Elizabeth and her husband Gérard consented in the presence of Erard, chaplain of Nogent castle, Milo’s provost Rainald, and his *famulus* Garnier (*Quantin, Cartulaire général*, 1: 408, no. 257, undated but before 1148).

159. Vauluisant, fols. 105v–106r, 1164, regarding the abbey’s acquisitions, including *casamenta*.

160. Milo II (born ca. 1150) became the eldest surviving son after the death of his older brother Gérard. Milo II died in 1186 after ruling Nogent for fifteen years; he left a widow, Elvide, but no children. He was entombed with his father in the Paraclete (*Obituaires*, 4: 405). Macharius Gaslied, on his departure for the Third Crusade, remembered him as “dearest” Milo of Nogent (AD Marne, H 303, 1190, original).

161. *Paraclet*, 92–93, no. 75, 1186: act of countess Marie. In 1183 the countess noted that Milo II (whose wife Elvide was present) and Jean “do not yet have children” (Vauluisant, fol. 106).

162. *Obituaires*, 4: 397: Girarz, sire de Nogent, gist ou cuer au prevoires, à la seconde tombe à pranre devers saint Jehan [8 August]; Jehans, chivaliers, filz au seigneur de Nogent, gist ou cuer au prevoires, la seconde tombe devers le Saint Esperit [22 August]. The obituary for her father, Milo I, includes all Elizabeth’s sons and their wives: *Milo dominus de Nogenio; Petrus miles, Agnes uxor ejus; Milo junior ejusdem castri dominus; Johannes armiger et Petronilla uxor ejus* (*Obituaires*, 4: 405, 12 January).

163. *Paraclet*, 34–39, no. 21, 1198, papal confirmation of the convent’s property, including her entry gift of a granary with attached land (see also Chapter 2 n. 7). It is also possible that she remained in her castle after 1186, taking the veil only in 1198; but the location and inscription on her tomb suggest a long, intimate experience with the nuns at the Paraclete.

164. Vauluisant, fol. 101r–v, undated (“Vauluisant,” 660–61, no. 378): *Ego Elysa-bet de Nogento dicta quondam domina Nogenti*. In it she confirmed a gift to Vauluisant, a field she had purchased from the knight Raoul of Vilois; witnesses included chaplains of the Paraclete and one of Fontenay.

165. *Obituaires*, 4: 400 n. 10: *Elizabeth, deo sacrata, domina de Nogento* (11 October).

166. Elizabeth must have been an infant in 1138, when Milo and his wife Margaret failed to mention her in their consent to an alienation of a fief (*Montier-la-Celle*, 31, no. 25).

167. Dreux, lord of Pierrefonds, gave a *castellum* to the monastery of Valsevy, at the abbot's request; Nevel and Agathe consented (*Registres de Philippe Auguste*, 1: 450, no. 10, 1155).

168. In 1157 Conon was designated heir of both the castellany of Bruges and the county of Soissons, to succeed his childless uncle, Ivo of Nesle, who himself had obtained Soissons in a similar manner in 1141, when Count Renaud died without heir (*Nesle*, 1: 25 and 2: 29–33, no. 6, 1141).

169. In 1168 Conon, lord of Pierrefonds, confirmed a donation by Pierre of Vic to Longpont; Agathe added her seal because the fief involved her inheritance (*Ego Cono et Agatha uxor mea, ad cuius hereditatem feudum illud pertinebat, scriptum commendavi et sigillis nostris fecimus*); in the modern copy of an original letter, the copyist provides a facsimile of the two seals: *Sigillum Domine Petrifontis* and *Cono Domine Petrifontis* (*Longpont*, 197, no. 6). Four years earlier, Conon acted alone as lord of Pierrefonds, although he obtained Agathe's consent and recognized her right *per cuius legitimam copulam progenitorum* (*Registres de Philippe Auguste*, 1: 453, no. 14, 1164). Conon's letter exempting Clairvaux from taxes on their goods in transit through their lands mentions Agathe only as a consenter, but she did seal the letter (*Nesle*, 2: 169–70, no. 84bis, 1178–80 = *Clairvaux*, 259–60, no. 219 [seal: *Sigillum domine Petrifontis*]). In 1180 she and Conon jointly confirmed a gift and sealed a letter for Longpont (*Nesle*, 2: 171–73, nos. 86–87). In 1189 the abbess Rocella of Saint-Jean-aux-Bois noted that her convent possessed a sealed letter of Agathe and Conon (*carta sigillata apud nos est*), who gave the nuns a rent of 10 *modii* of grain and 100s. (BNF, Collection Moreau, vol. 91, fol. 156r-v). See also Chapter 1 n. 186.

170. BNF, Collection de Picardie, vol. 174, fol. 206v, 1192: *ego Agatha Petrefontis heres et domina* (gift to the nuns of Saint-Jean-aux-Bois, sealed with her seal); *Nesle*, 1: 190k, 1192: *legitima progenitorum meorum successione domina Petrefontis*. In a donation to Sainte-Geneviève of Paris, she is called *Agatha, jure hereditario, terre Petrefontis domina*; her seal reads *Sigillum Agathe, domine Petrefontis* (Douët d'Arcq, *Collection des sceaux*, no. 3214, 1183); a photograph of her seal is in Bedos Rezak, "Women, Seals, and Power," 69, plate 5, misdated 1171). Agathe's first acts as a widow were gifts to Longpont for anniversary Masses for her husband Conon, for her father and mother, and for her brother Nevel (AN, J 422, no. 7, 1183: *Ego Agathe, legitima progenitorum meorum successione domina Petrifontis . . . ejusdem donationis cartam sigilli mei appositione confirmo*).

171. *Monuments historiques*, 257, no. 473: Jean appeared as the last son, as he did in a papal confirmation of his father's donation (Montiers-en-Argonne, fols. 3v–5r, 1163).

172. Jean and one of his knights, Odo of Montaumer, witnessed two comital acts regarding local events (AD Aube, 20 H 9, 1158, and AD Marne, 73 H 5, 1159). In 1161 he witnessed Henry I's gift to the Hospitallers (*Hospitaliers*, 1: 216–17) and in 1164 a grant to Reclus (*GC*, 12: *instr.*, 270).

173. *Hospitaliers*, 1: 239, 1165 (Montiers-en-Argonne, Cheminon, La Chalaude, Hautefontaine, and Trois-Fontaines).

174. AD Marne, 53 H 81, no. 1, 1165 (Barthélemy, *Diocèse ancien*, 1: 402–3, no. 19), letter of Henry I, from whom the property moved in fief.

175. AD Marne, 20 H 10, no. 1, 1165 = Arbois de Jubainville, "Recueil," 293–94.

176. *Cheminon*, 53–54, 1173 (Cheminon versus Sermaize); Larrivour, fol. 30v–31r, no. 19, 1174 (Larrivour versus Montiéramey).

177. He first appeared as cellarmaster in 1180 (*Clairvaux*, 256, no. 215). In 1192 Rotrou of Perche, bishop-elect of Châlons, transferred to the Templars, at their request, the hospital Jean had founded at Possesse; he identified Jean as *consanguineus noster, bone memorie* (AD Marne, 53 H 6, no. 6, 13 November 1192). The next year Anselm III of Garlande, lord of Possesse, confirmed that transfer to the Templars at the king's court (*in curia regis*); he identified Jean as *cognatus meus, dominus Johannes, Clarevallensis monachus, predicte* [Possesse] *quondam dominus* (AD Marne, 53 H 6, no. 7, February 1193, n.s., in Paris). Jean may have died shortly after, although he was mentioned in 1198 (*Clairvaux*, 480, no. 376, 1198).

178. Quantin, *Cartulaire général*, 1: 198–99, no. 181: witness for his brother Erard, count of Brienne.

179. Quantin, *Recueil*, 46–47, no. 103, 1211.

180. Erard identified himself as “knight and son of André of Venizy” when consenting to his mother's gift for her burial at Pontigny (Quantin, *Recueil*, 11, no. 24, May 1203).

181. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 3: 328–31, no. 1217, 1211, resolution of a dispute with Pontigny over tenants living in the Othe Forest.

182. LP 2: 382–84.

183. While Jean was still a minor, his mother had a brief second marriage, with the considerably younger Enguerran III of Coucy, that ended in divorce by 1204 (Barthélemy, *Coucy*, 413–14).

184. LP 2: 201–2.

185. Barthélemy, *Coucy*, 416 n. 297.

186. The second oldest brother, Robert, initially held Sailly (Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 18–20), which passed by fraternal succession to Simon (1203–4) and then to Guy.

187. BNF, Fr. 11559, fol. 391r–v, September 1215 (trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 33). The settlement dealt only with their brother Geoffroy V's property, not with Guy's earlier distributions, such as Sailly.

188. LP 3, fol. 142v, June 1215 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 59. His brother Simon consented (LP 2: 463–64 = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 57).

189. AN J 196, no. 11, August 1222 > LP 3, fols. 145v–146r = *Traité des fiefs*, 2: 128–29. Guy's letter states that he had done *homagium ligium* for his wife's fief of Jully; he promised to render on demand both the *castellum*, which he held in liege fief, and the *burgum* of the castle *cum omnibus fortericiis*, which he held from his nephew Clarembaud V of Chappes. Guy had the *milites feodates* and other residents at Jully swear on his behalf that he would render the castle. He also promised that Jully would pass integrally to a single heir who would swear the same oath to render it.

190. Roserot, *Dictionnaire*, 2: 738–39.

191. Vauluisant, fol. 44r, 1171; Higounet, *Défrichements et villeneuves*, 113–16; *Layettes*, 1: 114, no. 277, 1177.

192. *Feoda* 1, no. 1326, ca. 1178; *Feoda* 2, nos. 1327, 2357; *Feoda* 3, no. 2626, ca. 1201: liege for two fiefs, each owing six weeks castle-guard); *LB*, 76–77, no. 35, 1204.

193. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 3: 65–66, no. 1005.

194. Vauluisant, fols. 43v–44r, ca. 1168–76 = “Vauluisant,” 375–76, no. 163; see also Defer, “Traînel,” 250, 255.

195. The Paraclete's obituary remembers him and his wife: *Guido Gastable, miles, Comitissa uxor ejus* (*Obituaires*, 4: 271, November 1225).

196. “Vauluisant,” 793–94, no. NC 16, 6 July 1225.

197. According to a papal inquest in July 1213, three noble-born monks of Quincy and Vauluisant—Simon of Courpalay, Pierre of Bauvin, and Guy Gasteblé

(of Trainel)—testified that Alix’s mother, Isabelle of Nangis, was the daughter of Florus, the younger brother of Louis VI (*PL*, 216: 979, no. 9).

198. Vauluisant, fols. 85v–86r, 1167: André, lord of Venizy, with his wife Alix.

199. *Feoda* 3, no. 2528, ca. 1190.

200. Quantin, *Recueil*, 108–9, no. 245.

201. She made her last bequest in January 1220, n.s. (AD Aube, 20 H 12). In 1221 Oda of Noyers sealed a letter confirming the bequest to Vauluisant made while Alix was *in sane mente* (Quantin, *Recueil*, 115–16, no. 262: *Et quia hoc vidi et audivi, presentes litteras feci sigili mei munimine roborari*).

202. *Vignory*, 203, no. 67, 1202; 205, no. 72, 1204.

203. He and Isabelle jointly sealed at least three letters patent for Clairvaux in 1202 (see Chapter 4 n. 119).

204. Longnon, *Les compagnons*, 20.

205. CR 3, fol. 58r–v, September 1214 = *CB*, no. 149.

206. *Layettes*, 1: 431, no. 1181, May 1216 = *CB*, no. 148: new fortress (*fortericias*) at Blaise-sous-Arzillières and Isle-sur-Marne.

207. He first appears in 1200 (*Vignory*, 40–41, no. 7).

208. *Vignory*, 224, no. 106: renunciation of her maternal inheritance.

209. *Vignory*, 231, no. 120, April 1232; 252, no. 156, 1246.

210. *Vignory*, 233, no. 125, 26 October 1232. Other jointly sealed letters: *Vignory*, 53–55, no. 19, 1232; 55–56, no. 20, 1235; 230–31, no. 119, April 1231; 231, no. 120, April 1232; 243, no. 138, May 1237.

211. *Vignory*, 239–42, no. 136, January 1237, n.s. AD Haute-Marne, 7 H 2, fol. 82r, 25 August 1237. See Higounet, *Défrichements et villeneuves*, 131.

212. *Vignory*, 260–62, March 1262: letter sealed by Jeanne and Stephen declaring that they held Vignory, *en fié et en homaige lige*, from Thibaut V and promising to render it at his need. Later in Troyes, Jeanne, on the advice of her father, did liege homage to the count for all except her mother’s dower: *fecit homagium ligium . . . de dicto castro et burgo et medietate totius castellarie et de jure feodorum ipsius* (*RôlesT*, no. 5845, 9 December 1262).

213. Jean Longon concluded that Geoffroy was born circa 1150 because he was a knight in the earliest fief rolls, which Longnon dated to ca. 1172. If those rolls are dated rather to ca. 1178 (see Chapter 1 n. 88), Geoffroy’s birth date would be closer to 1155, a date that places him squarely in his father’s second marriage.

214. *Feoda* 1, no. 1999: *Gofridus de Ville Harduin, ligius et debet Trevis custodiam*.

215. It cost Erard of Aulnay’s widow, Helvide, considerable expense and effort to secure a Christian burial for her husband; Geoffroy and his brother aided her in that quest (Longnon, *Recherches*, 152–153, no. 8, 1185; trans. in Evergates, *Documents*, no. 98).

216. Roscelin, perhaps the eldest son (b. ca. 1140–d.1182), became a canon at Troyes, then subdeacon of Saint-Etienne (Longnon, *Recherches*, 19–20).

217. *Feoda* 1, no. 1185 (at Rosnay).

218. In July 1189 Guy II of Dampierre gave Clairvaux a letter address *dilecto suo Johanne de Villa Harduini et bajulis terre sue*, directing him to observe Guy’s grant to Clairvaux (*Clairvaux*, 546, no. 432, undated). In a second letter, Guy granted the right to cut down five oak trees in his forests annually until he returned from his journey (*Clairvaux*, 303, no. 256, July 1189, sealed).

219. Jean’s name is on the draft document; his seal may have been one of the two seals missing from the final document (see Chapter 6 n. 22).

220. Evergates, “The Origin of the Lords of Karytaina,” 95, 103.

221. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei*, 2: 921–21, no. 19. Photograph of the letter with three extant pendent seals in Chassel, *Sceaux et usages de sceaux*, 111, fig. 113.

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